



JOHN KNOX,
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
IN SCOTLAND,

BY JOHN KNOX; *MP*

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED,
SEVERAL OTHER PIECES OF HIS WRITING;

INCLUDING
THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, COMPLETE,
AND HIS DISPUTE WITH THE ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUEL,
NOT GIVEN WITH ANY FORMER EDITION.

WITH
A MEMOIR, HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES,

BY WILLIAM M'GAVIN, Esq.

AUTHOR OF THE PROTESTANT, THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION VINDICATED, &c. &c.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, containing an historical sketch of the state of Religion in Scotland from the introduction of Christianity till the time when Knox's History commences	i
Life of John Knox	xxxiii
Ceremonial at laying the Foundation Stone of Knox's Monument at Glasgow	xli
Knox's General Preface	1
HISTORY of the REFORMATION of RELIGION in SCOTLAND.	
Book I from 1422 till 1558	3
Book II from 1558 till 1559	103
Book III from 1559 till 1561	175
Book IV from 1561 till 1564	245
Book V from 1565 till 1566	321
Letter delivered to the Lady Mary Regent of Scotland from John Knox	361
The Appellation of John Knox from the sentence pronounced against him by bishops and clergy	375
Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland	401
Admonition to the professors of the truth in England in 1554	409
The First Blast against the regimen of Women	459
Letter to the People of Edinburgh	463
Sermon delivered in 1565	465
First Book of Discipline	486
Oration against Reforming Preachers by Quentin Kennedy, Commendator of Crossraguell	527
Reasoning concerning the mass between Quentin Kennedy and John Knox in Maybole,	539
Prologue	541
The Abbot's First Letter	544
Knox's answer to the Abbot's First Letter	545
The Abbot's Second Letter	546
Earl of Cassilis' Letter	548
Knox's Answer to the earl of Cassilis' Letter	ib.
The Abbot's Third Letter	549
The Abbot's Fourth Letter	ib.
Answer to the Abbot's Fourth Letter	550
The Debate between them	551
Knox's answer in writing to Kennedy's last argument	570

81 18/8 78

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THE most interesting part of Scottish history is that which relates to the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century. From the period of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, our fathers, for many ages, were quite independent of the Church of Rome—holding a purer faith, and practising a more simple form of worship. But during the dark ages, corruption in both doctrine and worship began to prevail; and though the Scots maintained their religious independence much longer than most of the other nations of Europe, they yielded at last, and for about three centuries the Man of Sin reigned over them with absolute dominion. During this deplorable period, at least one-half of the property of the kingdom was possessed by a domineering and luxurious priesthood, who kept the people in the grossest ignorance, who studied above all things to prevent a ray of light from breaking in upon their votaries, lest it should discover their own corruptions; and as they possessed all the learning of the times, such as it was, and were believed to have power over the world to come, they found it easy to bend the minds of men to implicit submission to their will.

It must be interesting to know how our fathers burst such fetters, and cast off such a yoke; and happily we are furnished with abundant information on the subject. There are on record very ample details of the proceedings of the Reformers, after their cause became a national one, every step of their progress being distinctly marked, until they obtained the grand object of their labours and sufferings: and respecting these we have the important advantage of possessing the testimony of one who was not only a witness of what he records, but who bore a prominent part in the great events which form the subject of his narrative. Such is Knox's History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, of which a new edition is now offered to the public.

There have been many editions of Knox's History, but most of them imperfect, and incorrectly printed. The most perfect of these is the Folio edition published in Edinburgh, in 1732, from the manuscript in the library of Glasgow College, of which an account is given in the Introduction. This edition has been consulted in preparing the present. Dr M'Crie, speaking of it, says,—“The appearance of this edition removed all the doubts which had been entertained as to Knox having written the History of the Reformation. It is the only one that deserves to be consulted, if we except the imperfect edition.” This refers to one that was attempted in London

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soon after Knox's death, but which was not finished, being suppressed by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It also has been attentively consulted and compared in preparing this edition.

The Introduction, written by WILLIAM M'GAVIN, Esq. contains an historical sketch of the state of religion in Scotland, from the introduction of Christianity till the time when Knox's History commences, comprising a period of twelve centuries: and although the materials of history during this dark period are but scanty, there is enough to show that originally the Church of Scotland was independent of any foreign jurisdiction: that her ritual was comparatively simple and unostentatious; and how she became gradually affected by the errors of popery, and then subject to the See of Rome. The editor has also subjoined Notes to the history for explanation or elucidation; and occasional biographical notices of eminent characters, whose names occur in the text.

Besides all the author's productions appended to former editions, to the present edition has been added the following interesting and rare pieces written by Knox, and not given with any former edition, viz. The First Book of Discipline;—Quentin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel's 'Oration' in favour of the Mass, and against Knox and the reformers—The Disputation which took place betwixt John Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguel, at Maybole, in 1562. These scarce tracts alone have hitherto cost more than is now charged for a complete copy of the present work.

Glasgow, March, 1831.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTAINING

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE STATE OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TILL THE TIME WHEN KNOX'S HISTORY COMMENCES.

WE know nothing with certainty of the period when the gospel was first brought into Scotland. Writers on the subject seem all to have been desirous of assigning this event to a very early period, even to the first century of the Christian era. Dr Jamieson informs us, that the ancient Culdees professed to have received the Christian religion from disciples of the apostle John; but from any authentic record extant, it would appear that the sphere of John's labours was in the east, and so we may suppose was that of his companions and disciples. We know that Paul travelled westward as far as Italy, and that he purposed to go to Spain, but there is no authentic record of his ever having effected his purpose, except a very general expression in an epistle of his fellow labourer in the gospel, Clemens, which is reputed genuine. He says, "That St Paul, in preaching the gospel, went to the *utmost bounds of the west.*" This, if understood literally, may include the British isles, which were the western extremity of the Roman empire. But we can easily suppose that Clemens referred to Spain, which is right west from Italy, and the extremity of the empire in that direction. The British isles are north-west; and though they may be included in the expression, it does not appear that they are necessarily so. If the apostle of the Gentiles did visit our island, he would probably take Spain and Gaul in his way; and it must have been after he was set at liberty from his first imprisonment in Rome, A. D. 60 or 61. If not about that time, it can scarcely have been at all, consistently with what is recorded of his life and labours elsewhere.

Many highly respectable authors of the English church, regard it as an authentic historical fact, that this apostle did preach the gospel in Britain. The evidence does not command my entire belief, though I regard it as not incredible, so far as relates to the southern part of the island; but the words of Clemens in their most literal acceptation, do not necessarily include Scotland. The most ancient testimony relative to the introduction of Christianity into this part of the island, is that of Tertullian, in the second century, who says, that "before his time, Christianity had extended itself to parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms." We know that the Romans overran all England, and the south of Scotland: this author must therefore refer to the highlands, probably some of the western isles, which were afterwards so famous as seats of learning and religion.

Tertullian wrote about the end of the second century; and all that we gather from his testimony, is, that Christianity had penetrated the remote parts of Britain *before his time.* Eusebius in the fourth century, informs us that the gospel was preached in Britain by some of the apostles. He must have said this at least two centuries and a half after the apostolic age; he could not therefore speak from his own knowledge; and from the scarcity of written records, at that period, it must have been almost impossible to know the certainty of such matters, relating to a country so remote. We know how difficult it is to ascertain the truth of many things in the history of our own country, within less than three centuries, notwithstanding numerous written records; it must have been much

more difficult for an author of the fourth century to ascertain the truth of events said to have taken place in the first, and in a country so remote from his own. The ancient Scottish Christians are said to have kept Easter according to the rule of the Greek church, which is one of the reasons why Scotland is supposed to have received Christianity from the eastern, rather than from the western, or Roman church. But if it be admitted, that the Scots received Christianity along with a rule about keeping Easter, it will fix the era of that event a considerable time after the age of the apostles; it will at least prove that we did not receive Christianity from them, for they gave themselves no concern about keeping Easter, unless it be among the things which they condemned as will-worship and superstition.

We know little or nothing of what was passing in our own country at a period so remote as the first two centuries, except what is noticed by certain Roman historians, who either would not, or did not think it worth their while, to mention who first brought the gospel to our ancestors. But as Rome kept up a constant military intercourse with her remotest colonies; and as we know from the New Testament, that there were Christians in the Roman armies, we may reasonably conclude, that by their means, the gospel was carried to the remotest parts of the empire; and, perhaps, at first, so unobtrusively as not to attract the notice of historians or public functionaries at Rome. The kingdom of God cometh not with external show; and by the instrumentality of "devout soldiers," it may have come in many places; and multitudes in Scotland and elsewhere, may have embraced the gospel; and churches may have been formed, of the existence of which there never was any written record. In short, it was not till churches had departed from primitive simplicity, and acquired some degree of secularity and political importance, that historians began to take notice of them; which, I suppose, is the reason why so little is known of New Testament churches any where, except what we have recorded in the New Testament itself.

I suspect there is not a little of what may be called ecclesiastical vanity at the bottom of this desire to trace the origin of certain churches up to the apostolic age. It is like the pride of ancestry which exists in many great families. Besides, it is taken for granted by some that if a church had an apostolic origin, it must still have an apostolic character which does not by any means follow. I doubt if there be a church in existence that had an apostolic origin, in the sense commonly understood by the terms. *The church of Rome* certainly had not; but we find from the last chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans, that there were several churches in that city, which were acknowledged by the apostle as such, which is as good as if they had originated with him. There was the church in the house of Priscilla and Aquilla, verse 5. There was the household, or church in the house of Aristobulus, verse 10. There was another in the house of Narcissus, verse 11. In both these verses the word household is a supplement; and it might be read brethren, or church, as in the first instance. There are others mentioned in the 14th verse, and "the brethren," or church, "which are with them." Also in the 15th verse, and "the saints which are with them; so that we find there were at least five churches in Rome at the time when the apostle wrote his epistle; but there was no such thing known at the time as *the church of Rome*. The apostle does not address them as one church, as he does that in Corinth; but individually, as all the saints which be in Rome. Some churches did originate with the personal labours of apostles; but even these did not long retain their apostolic character. They became corrupt; and their candlestick has long been removed. Though it could be proved therefore, that the apostle Paul did plant the church of England, as some allege, and John or his disciples that of Scotland, it would avail nothing, unless these churches have remained as the apostles planted them. On the other hand, churches which are constituted like those of which we read in the New Testament, being built on the testimony of the apostles, have not only an apos-

tolie character, but also an apostolic origin, though they sprung up only yesterday. But it is time to attend to the facts of the case as these can be gleaned from the historians.

Buchanan records an event that was calculated to bring Christianity into notice and make it the subject of history, viz. the conversion of Donald I. king of the Scots, about the beginning of the third century. It is not mentioned, however, as the introduction of Christianity into the country, but the adoption by the king of a religion already professed by many of the people. He says, "It was of advantage, too, for the preservation of peace, that Donald first of all the Scottish kings, was converted to the Christian faith, although neither he nor several of the succeeding kings, together with a great part of the nobility who favoured them, were able to eradicate wholly the ancient heathen rites. But the expedition of the emperor Severus, which took place during his reign, overturned all his institutions, public and private." Book iv. chap. 36. If Christianity was among these institutions, as the words seem to imply, it would appear that Donald had given it some sort of establishment, perhaps no more than simply building places of worship, and giving the Christians his countenance and protection. These would be dispersed by the Roman army, and their buildings destroyed.

It is not surprising that Donald could not eradicate wholly the ancient heathen rites, for many of them are not entirely eradicated yet. The ancient religion of the people was Druidism, a species of heathen idolatry that prevailed over a great part of northern Europe. The priests of this idolatry practised an imposing ritual, were supposed to be the favourites of heaven, and they had great influence over the minds of the people, not only in matters of religion, but also as judges in civil causes. Their superstitious rites had a firm hold of the public mind, from which the people could not be emancipated by any thing short of the conversion of their souls to God, which we cannot suppose to have been the case with all, or even with a majority who professed Chris-

tianity, after the king became a Christian. The observances of Halloween, the kindling of lights on the hills at certain times, and the rites of Beltan (Baaltien, or Bell's fire, Dr Jamieson,) with many other practices which still exist, may be traced to our heathen ancestors. Genuine Christianity eradicates these things: but that which is national, or merely nominal, is perfectly consistent with what is called a harmless observance of them. The Baal fire of the Druids, was connected with bloody rites, and human sacrifices, which Christianity happily put down, notwithstanding the merely nominal profession of many who bore the name.

After the invasion of Severus we read no more of Christianity for nearly a century. It is not to be supposed that it ceased to exist in Scotland; but, not being in favour with Donald's immediate successors, it would be in too much obscurity to attract notice. David Buchanan, the author of a preface to an old edition of Knox's History, fixes its revival under the reign of Crathilinthus; but his celebrated namesake, whom this writer generally follows, places it in the reign of Fincormachus the immediate successor of the former. Both agree that the revival in Scotland was occasioned by what are called the ninth and tenth persecutions, under the emperors Aurelius and Dioclesian, which extended to the south of our island, and caused many Christian Britons to take refuge among the Scots. Thus Buchanan writes under the reign of Fincormachus, "Freed from external cares, the Scots, now, chiefly exerted themselves for the promotion of the Christian religion, to which they were incited by the following occurrence. Multitudes of Britons, fearing the cruelty of Dioclesian towards the Christians, sought refuge among them, of whom many, illustrious for the piety of their doctrines, and the uprightness of their lives, remained in Scotland, and led a solitary life, with such a reputation for sanctity among all ranks, that, upon their decease, the cells they had inhabited were changed into churches, and from that custom it still continues that the ancient Scots call churches, cells. This species of religious they

called Culdees, * and the name and the institution remained, until a more recent kind of monks, divided into a number of orders, expelled them, which latter were as much their inferiors in doctrine and in piety, as their superiors in riches, ceremonies, and other external rites, by which the eye is captivated and the mind deceived."

The southern refugees are said above to have "led a solitary life;" and it was very natural that those who had been driven, for the gospel's sake, from country and friends, and, perhaps reduced to a state of poverty, should cultivate retirement, at least separation from the world. But that they did not altogether seclude themselves from society, like many in other places, who abandoned the company of men to live in deserts, is, I think, evident from the statement of the historian. The word, *cell*, with a different pronunciation of the initial letter, furnishes the well known names of many of our towns and churches to this day. Thus, *Kilpatrick*, *Kilmalcom*, &c. The cells of the Culdees must have been places of public resort, else the word could scarcely have become synonymous with church. The Culdees were probably pastors of Christian congregations, who assembled at their cells, or places of residence, for divine worship. While the majority of the people were still heathen, and enemies to their religion, they would of course choose retired places for their meetings, where they could hear the word, and enjoy Christian fellowship without disturbance or hostile intrusion, just as our covenanters did in the time of persecution. These last were called mountain men, because they held their meetings for social worship in recesses of the mountains; and some of their ministers were compelled to reside not only in cells, but caves of the earth.

* It does not appear that the name originated with the exiles from the south, or belonged to them exclusively, I rather suppose that they attached themselves to a pre-existing order, or betook themselves to the ministry of the gospel, the ministry being the only sort of religious order that then existed. Dr Jamieson tells us that both the Scots and Irish claimed the honour of giving origin to the Culdees; but I do not recollect of any such claim being made by the English.

The ancient Culdee pastors would generally be buried where they had lived. Hence the word, *cell*, came to signify burying place as well as church; and hence also, the almost universal practice of burial places being attached to churches, the propriety of which will not be questioned: but as connected with the graves of eminent saints, or persons who were supposed to be such, it was the origin of much superstition and even idolatry. It became the fashion to build churches over the graves of such persons; to call the places by their names; to build altars to their memory; to regard the place which contained their bones holy ground; and then to regard the bones themselves as objects of religious veneration. But such a horrible prostration of intellect had not taken place at the period of our history to which these remarks relate.

That the Christians who came from England, on the persecution by Dioclesian, were at least not all idly recluse, appears from their activity in propagating the gospel and suppressing the heathen rites. The author of the preface above mentioned, writes as follows, "Among the fugitives who did then repair to Scotland for shelter from the general massacre, were many excellent men in piety and learning, whom the king Crathilinth not only kindly received, but also employed to aid him and his council in the farther settling of Christ's truth in his kingdom, and in the total extirpation of idolatry out of it; which was so much the harder work, because of the Druids, the principal false prophets, and idolatrous priests in those days; who not only by their subtle hypocrisy, and sense-pleasing divine service, but also by cunning forecast, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of civil affairs, and so gained upon the spirits of the poor and simple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The resolute care and diligence of king Crathilinth and his council, with the help of those pious and learned men, surpassed all difficulties; and having put quite down the groves and altars under the oaks, and, in a word, all idol-service, established the pure wor-

ship of the true God in every place of his dominions; and filled up the rooms of those false prophets, with godly and learned teachers of the people, which was done every where through the kingdom, but particularly in the islands, which those men chose for their principal abode, as being most fit for a retired life." There is a good deal of churchman-like colouring in the above. The king and his council can hardly be supposed to have effected such a change by means of mere instruction and persuasion, even with the help of the pious Culdees. It is not said that any kind of coercion was used, and we ought not without evidence to conclude that there was. Christianity was now the religion of the court; and many would embrace it for the honour and advantage of the thing, who were still heathens in heart. But making every reasonable allowance for this, it is evident that Christianity made great progress at this time, and the state of society would assume a new and an improved character.

Christianity had now acquired a sort of civil establishment. It was the religion of the state; but it had not yet obtained any legal endowment, or permanent provision for the support of ministers. They must have been dependent upon the contributions of their respective flocks, agreeably to the divine ordinance; and this will always be found an adequate source of support when pastors and flocks are faithful to one another, and when both are disposed to obey the Christian precept, to be content with what God is pleased to bestow, believing his promise, that he will not leave nor forsake them.

Crathilinth died about the beginning of the fourth century, having persevered to the end in the good work which he had begun: he was followed with zeal by Fincormachus, his immediate successor, who reigned nearly half a century, during which, says David Buchanan, author of the preface already mentioned, "the gospel did flourish in purity and peace." Such a long, and such a peaceful reign, is a rare thing in the ancient history of Scotland; and it was no doubt owing partly at least, to the influence of the gospel so extensively professed,

which not only subdued the ferocious passions of those who embrace it, but tends also to promote the peace and civilization of society at large.

But a different scene soon presented itself. On the death of Fincormachus, there were three competitors for the crown, which occasioned a civil war among the Scots themselves; and then they were attacked by the Picts, whom the Roman general incited to make war upon them. The Romans and the Britons took part with the Picts; and by such an overwhelming force the Scots were entirely subdued, and almost exterminated. Their country was then divided between the Picts and Britons.

"The surviving Scots dispersed themselves wherever chance led them, through the Æbudæ, (the Hebrides) Ireland, Scandinavia, the Cimbric Chersonesus (now Denmark, Sweden and Norway) and were every where humanely received by the inhabitants. Their priests, likewise, and monks, who were then held in the highest honour, were severely treated by the Picts, though they themselves professed the Christian religion, being chased into all the surrounding regions. In the course of their dispersions, several of them happened to land upon the island of Iona, one of the Æbudæ, and being there collected into a monastery, transmitted to posterity the great fame of their sanctity and erudition." (Buchanan, book iv. chap. 52.) Mr Aikman in a note, justly remarks, that the above "affords at least something like a reason for St Columba settling in Iona, and making it the chief seat of the Culdees in after time."*

It is impossible to say what was the state of religion in these circumstances. The Christians would suffer in common with the rest of their countrymen, and such as survived, would be dispersed along with them. The Picts soon found their error in expelling their neighbours the Scots; for the Romans brought them into bondage, which they could never do while they and the Scots were united. This bondage they found so grievous and disgraceful, that they invited the Scots to return from their dis-

* The edition of Buchanan which I use is Mr Aikman's translation. 1827.

person, promising to assist them to recover their country from the Britons. They obeyed the invitation, and brought with them a great number of adventurers from Ireland, the Hebrides, from Denmark, and other northern nations, which mixed multitude became the ancestors of the present Scots. The Romans, from their necessities at home, could afford little aid to their allies the Britons, who after a furious bloody war were finally defeated, and driven back within their old boundary. The land thus recovered was parcelled out among the Scots and their foreign auxiliaries. The Irish got a good portion of that which lay nearest their own country, which they called Galloway after one of the counties in Ireland.

I have introduced a little of our civil history, in order to show the effect which the new state of things had on the church and its ministers. Many of the adventurers who came with the Scots from their dispersion, at least those from Scandinavia, must have been heathens. Fergus, the heir of the Scottish kings, who had taken refuge there, and who was invited back as king of the Scots, was killed in the war; his heir was a child, and the child's maternal grandfather became viceroy. It was under him that the country was recovered, and peace established. He was a noble Briton, but in consequence of the marriage of his daughter to Fergus, and some difference with his own government, he had attached himself to the fortunes of the Scots; and perhaps his ideas of Christianity were derived from what he had seen in south Britain, where religion was always better endowed than in the north part of the island. Be this as it may, he was the first to give it a legal endowment in Scotland. "The viceroy, in order to check by proper institutions, that licentiousness which had spread so widely by the long continuance of war, ordained that the monks and teachers of Christianity should be recalled; and, lest they should be burdensome to the poorer classes, he appointed them annual stipends from the fruits of the earth, which, although small even then, yet to the moderation and temperance of these pious men, appeared sufficiently ample." Buchanan, Book v. chap. 10.

Thus about the middle of the fifth century, Christianity, under that form which we may now call the church of Scotland, obtained a pecuniary endowment along with a legal establishment. The motives of Græme, for such was the name of the viceroy, appear to have been laudable. All the arguments that were ever used on behalf of a legal provision for public teachers will forcibly apply to this case. The Scots had been in exile, and on their return had been engaged in furious warfare for nearly twenty years. The spirit of Christianity must have been almost extinct among them, if so much as the profession of it remained; and there were now incorporated with them a number of heathens from other countries. The gospel was the last thing that such a people would think of seeking for themselves. It was the business of the Culdees and other ministers to have gone among them preaching the word; but they had been scattered through Ireland, the Hebrides, and other places, where perhaps they found themselves comfortable, and they had no inclination to leave their favourite retirements. Be this as it may, the viceroy found it necessary to recall them, which he could not do with a good grace, unless he gave them a promise of provision for their support. The country was in a state of the most wretched poverty, having been laid waste by fire and sword. The fields were uncultivated; and, in short, the people were reduced to the necessity of plundering their neighbours to save themselves from starvation. Supposing Græme to have been a Christian himself, and really desirous of propagating the gospel, he could not have done less than provide for the support of the ministers whom he invited to come and teach his people, at least till the gospel had again got such a footing among them, as to produce the proper effect of teaching Christians to support their teachers as the Lord hath ordained.

But perhaps the viceroy was only a Christian politically, and had no higher object in view, in recalling the monks and other teachers, than to keep the common people in order, which is the only use that statesmen as such have been accustomed to make of religion. His object was to check by

proper institutions the licentiousness of the people. Nothing can so effectually check licentiousness as the gospel, faithfully preached and cordially received, of which we have abundant evidence in the present age from the success of missionaries in Africa, the South Sea Islands, and elsewhere. But statesmen generally do not understand this, and do not believe it. Unacquainted with the spirit of Christianity, and the divine power in the word of truth that converts the soul, and renews men from sin to holiness, they can do no better than set up an image, or external form of the Christian religion, consisting of institutions of various kinds, such as schools, colleges, monasteries, parish churches, and an order of clergy, endowed by the state to instruct and watch over the morals of the community. It must in justice be acknowledged, that such institutions, at least some of them, have been the means of promoting and maintaining the true religion, when really pious Christians have been connected with them. But as the system originated in worldly policy, its tendency is to reduce Christianity to a worldly standard, and such has always been the consequence. That it was so in the church of Scotland we shall see in the sequel.

While they had no public provision made for their support, the Culdees and other preachers were very exemplary in the discharge of their religious functions. Those who were most distinguished for piety and talent were chosen to superintend the administration of divine ordinances; to see that the preachers generally attended to their duty, and that their own conduct was becoming their profession. These superintendents were called *Scotorum Episcopi*, or Bishops of the Scots; from which some modern writers strongly maintain that the church of Scotland was originally episcopal. They might as well give that designation to the church in Philippi, in which there were more bishops than one. Every thing depends upon the meaning which we affix to the word. In the scripture sense, every overseer or pastor of a church is a bishop; and I think our reformers committed a great mistake in not retaining the name

and giving it to every one of their ministers. If they had done this, the prelates would have been driven to assume some other designation than the simple New Testament one, which, applied to them exclusively, gives them an undue advantage in the esteem of all those with whom names have more weight than things. These Scots bishops, however, had no diocese assigned to them; but exercised their functions generally throughout the kingdom. They assumed no lordship over their brethren; but by admonition and example, laboured to excite every one to diligence in the work of the ministry. Dr Jamieson endeavours to make it appear that their church government was substantially Presbyterian; and it does appear to have been more like that than diocesan episcopacy; but I think the distinction which they made in the rank of their ministers not quite consistent with perfect Presbyterian parity.

The overseers, or superintendents, were not at first regarded as a distinct and superior order of clergy; but they were fairly put in the way of becoming so. The word, clergy, itself had not yet come into use among them; but they had raised a part of their teachers above the rest, the evil consequences of which might not appear while they were all equally dependent on the good will of the people; but a foundation was laid for the encouragement and gratification of the ambition of the clergy when they had the wealth of the world at their command. At first, however, they were not elated by the honour conferred upon them, nor did they regard themselves as above the proper duties of their calling. "This way of instructing the people," says David Buchanan, "and governing the church by Culdees, did continue for many years under God's mercy; the ministry of God's church not being yet become a business of gain, and of worldly pomp and pride; so these Culdees and overseers of others, had no other emulation but of well doing; nor striving, but to advance true piety and learning."

The measure of making some of the ministers of the church overseers of others, has no countenance from scripture, ex-

cept in relation to the apostles, or evangelists, such as Timothy and Titus, to whom the apostles gave a special commission for particular purposes. It was an innovation upon the divinely instituted order of evangelical churches. Yet we can easily see how the Christians were led into it, and how, for the time, it would appear expedient, if not absolutely necessary. Knox and his colleagues had recourse to the very same expedient, at the beginning of the Reformation. From the incompetence of a large proportion of the parochial clergy, it was found necessary to appoint a certain number of persons properly qualified as superintendents. The incompetence of the clergy then, was the consequence of the great ignorance in which Popery had held both priests and people for ages; and though that had not been the condition of the early Christians in Scotland, they suffered many disadvantages of another kind. Perhaps few even of the pastors possessed an entire copy of the scriptures, which existed only in manuscript, and the price of a copy would be equal perhaps to hundreds of pounds of our money; and many of the pastors would not be able to read them in the original, or in Jerome's Latin translation which was then coming into use. It is possible that pious Christians might edify one another, and even preach the gospel, from the mere recollection of the word which they had heard and believed; but the ministry of such persons must have been extremely deficient, at least there was great danger of its being so. It is as much as we could expect in these circumstances, that each superintendent possessed a copy of the scriptures, which he could carry round the country, for instructing and confirming the people, and refreshing the memories of the pastors. I make these remarks not to justify the innovation, but to account for it. Many of the converts and churches in different parts of the world, in the first century, must have been as illiterate as the Scots were in the fourth, yet we do not find that they set one class of ministers over the rest. Those indeed who enjoyed the ministry of apostles and evangelists had the advantage of their superintendence. When they were

all become extinct, their writings were left to supply their place; and they are perfectly sufficient for the purpose,—able to make the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished for every good work, which implies being perfectly qualified for the ministry of the gospel. The apostles never contemplated such a state of things in any church, as would make it lawful to depart from the order and government which they appointed, or to have recourse to human expedients on any emergency whatever. The proper measures for supplying what was wanting, would have been to multiply copies of the scriptures, to have the people generally taught to read; that at least every church should have a Bible, and some able to read it distinctly. By such means, with prayer and spiritual conference, our Christian ancestors might have had all their wants supplied. But by this time all the churches near the seat of empire had greatly fallen away both from purity of faith and holiness of life; and Scotland was not exempt from the contagion of their example.

But at the period to which these remarks refer, Scotland was behind both the eastern and western churches in the march of ambition. The preachers were upon the whole faithful, men who laboured with much diligence and success. Those whom the viceroy recalled from exile, after the disasters above mentioned, were of the same character, and, no doubt, many of them, the same persons who had preached to the Scots before the breaking up of the kingdom. They entered on their labours anew with the same zeal and fidelity as before. The provision made for them by the state had not yet operated to secularise their thoughts and pursuits. "And such was the happiness of those days," says David Buchanan, "that a very small proportion did content the churchmen, setting wholly their minds on the conscionable discharge of their calling, which they did, preaching God's word carefully, truly, and simply, instructing the people in the fear of God, and so gaining their souls to their Maker and Redeemer."

Such was the character of the first bishops in Scotland who had a legal provision for their support; but the provision, small as it

was, must have been a temptation to worldly men who became their successors; for we are informed in the same paragraph, what took place in the course of time. "The virtuous civil magistrate was the secondary cause of this good behaviour of churchmen, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his example taught them to discharge their duty faithfully, and live discreetly; but as soon as the civil magistrate left them to themselves, then they neglecting their calling, set their minds on ambition and avarice, and consequently upon all evil, thinking of nothing less than of that they were called to." This must have been a new generation of men, who succeeded to the faithful band formerly mentioned; and they must have been men who got themselves into the priests' office, not that they might win souls to God, but obtain a provision for themselves. This was the unavoidable consequence of the second deviation of the church of Scotland from New Testament order, that of accepting a pecuniary state endowment for their ministers. This was letting the world into the church, and the next step will be having the world set over it. In fact, the king had already become virtually its chief pastor, when he was obliged to superintend the superintendents, and keep them to their duty.

All this time, and down till about the close of the fifth century, the church of Scotland was quite independent of the Bishop of Rome, and of every other diocesan bishop. They had indeed no religious connection with Rome whatever, any more than they had with Jerusalem or Antioch. They professed to have received the gospel from disciples of the apostle John, which, could it be proved, would connect them with the eastern, rather than the western, church; but they acknowledged no relation or subjection to the one or the other. They had indeed an order of monks, and some superstitious observances, which became almost universally prevalent in both the east and the west; but these were most probably derived from their heathen ancestors, and not from Romish Christians. Indeed they suffered such oppression from the Roman soldiers, that they would regard with jeal-

ousy any thing that came from the head of the empire. There is no fact in the ancient history of Scotland better established, than the absolute independence of its church of all foreign jurisdiction, up to at least the middle of the fifth century. This is proved even by popish authors, who labour to show that about this period, the Pope sent a bishop to the Scots, who established a new order in their church; and if he did not subject it to Rome, brought it into some degree of conformity with what was afterwards called the mother and mistress of all churches.

This missionary from Rome was Palladius, the reputed father of prelacy, or diocesan episcopacy, in Scotland, about whom, and whence he came directly into Scotland, there has been much controversy, a summary of which may be seen in Dr Jamieson's History of the Culdees. By one account, he was sent by Pope Celestine into Britain, to oppose the Pelagian heresy; and having been very successful, the king of Scots, whose subjects either had, or were in danger of falling into the same error, invited him to come and put it down among them also. Another account says, he went first into Ireland, and came from thence into Scotland, where he finally remained. In the parish of Fordun in the Mearns, there are said to be the remains of a chapel which bears his name, and a well, which by abbreviation, they call Paldy's well. There is also a fair held there annually, which they call Paldy's or Paddy's fair; hence the familiar designation of Irishmen to this day, from which the popular belief must have been that he came from that island.

Whencesoever he came, he settled himself down, it seems, among the Scots, and so far ingratiated himself with them that they consented to his re-modelling their church, and to receive new governors in the shape of diocesan bishops or prelates. Hector Boece, as quoted by David Buchanan, thus writes;—"Palladius was the first of all that did bear the holy magistrature among the Scots, being made bishop by the great pontiff or bishop; for till then, by the suffrages of the people, the bishops were made of the monks or Culdees." There are a host of

authorities to the same effect, with which I need not encumber this short sketch of our ancient ecclesiastical history.

We are now come to that point of which I said, the church having taken the world into it, would soon have the world set over it. This took place soon after Palladius had got what is above called, "The holy magistrature," that is, lordship over the ordinary bishops or pastors. This was not the state, or civil magistrate, set over the church, for Palladius was a churchman; but by this time, and much more afterwards, churchmen were worldly men in the worst sense. They were active agents of the god of this world, while they gave themselves out as servants of Christ. They did the devil's work in God's name, and thereby prevailed more effectually and extensively in seducing the people, and keeping their souls in ignorance, and in bondage to the devil, than if they had openly appeared as his agents. The Man of sin had now got a footing in Scotland, and his power in it continued to increase for centuries; for it was at least five hundred years after this before he got the whole kingdom entirely under his feet.

I do not mean the above reflections to apply to Palladius personally, but to the system which he established, and the machinery which he set agoing. I find nothing recorded to the prejudice of his personal character. Indeed the pope was too good a politician to send a notoriously wicked man on such a mission. His memory was held in great veneration, and, as Dr Jamieson tells us, there is in the church-yard of Fordun, a house which is still called saint Palladius' chapel, where an image of the saint was kept, and to which pilgrimages were made from the most distant parts of Scotland. This, however, affords no evidence that he was really a holy man. It fell to churchmen almost exclusively to record the lives of their great men; and for the credit of their order, they made them models of sanctity. Some of them at this early period may have been so. Buchanan says, "that under Palladius' instructions, many persons sprung up illustrious alike for the purity of their doctrine, and the

sanctity of their lives, in particular, saint Patrick, Servanus, Ninian, and Kentigern." Book v. chap. 16. With regard to these worthies, Mr Aikman, in a note, gives the following information:—

"St Patrick, the tutelary saint of Ireland, was born at Nenothur, near Alclud, or Dumbarton, now thought to be Old Kilpatrick, near Glasgow. When only thirteen years of age, he was taken prisoner by the Irish, and sold as a slave to Moluc, one of their kings. After four years' captivity, he was ransomed by his parents, and being educated at home, went first to France, and afterwards to Rome, whence he was sent by pope Celestine to Ireland."—"His first and greatest care was to teach the Irish the use of letters, as the prime means of making their conversion permanent." "St Ninian was descended of a noble family in Galloway, and received his education at Rome. He is said by Bede to have converted the southern Picts. He founded a monastery at Whithorn, and erected a church, which being the first that was built of stone, received the significant name of *candida casa*. St Servanus, or St Serf, lived within the hermitage of Culross,* and was afterwards

* The legendary history of this saint is somewhat curious. I shall give a sketch of it, not as historical fact, but as a specimen of the idle tales with which the monks amused themselves and imposed on the world. It is taken from the "Orygnale Cronykil" of Scotland, from Fergus son of Eric, down to his own time, by Andrew Winton, prior of the Inch of Lochleven.

QUEEN the thrid (Pope) John was dede,
 Sanct Serf sevin yer held that stede.
 He was of lif a haly man:
 The kyng's son of Canaan.
 His fader's landes, of heritage,
 Fel til him be clere lynage,
 And lauchful leil, before al other,
 That gaf he til his yonger brother,
 All swyik cumber he forsyuk,
 And til haly lif hym tusek.

I shall translate what follows into English prose, which will be easier for myself, and I suppose more pleasant to the reader. When setting out on his travels, without any fixed destination, so far as appears, God sent an angel to be his companion and counsellor. They came first to Alexandria; then to Constantinople; then to Rome; when the papal chair having become vacant, St Serf was chosen to fill it, which he did for seven years; when the angel told him it was time to go somewhere else. He called the people of Rome together, and preached a farewell sermon (the first, I suppose, and the last of the kind, that ever pope preached.) Having taken leave, with the people's blessing, he and the angel came to France; then to England;

sent by St Palladius to Orkney. St Kentigern, or St Mungo, *i. e.* the kind, or courteous, or according to the Rev. T. Maccurry, in the Statistical Account of Penny-cuik, vol. x. p. 419. dear friend, was the disciple of St Servanus. He laboured chiefly among the inhabitants of Strathclyde, and is considered the founder of the diocese of Glasgow, to whom its cathedral is dedicated." Others derive his name from the familiar address of his master Servanus, who used to call him *Mon ga*, which in old French, signifies, my boy. These we must all take for saints, seeing the pope made them such; and they were no doubt instruments of promoting such Christianity as they had received; that is, a creed tolerably orthodox, for they held the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and were firmly opposed to Pelagianism, the great heresy of the day; and a system of worship and church government in which divine institutions were corrupted by the inventions of men, comparatively few and imperceptible at first, but which, in the course of ages, smothered the truth altogether.

Though the Scots generally submitted to the new state of things, it was by no means universally so. The Culdees retained their old institutions, and observed their former practices, both in educating and setting apart men for the ministry of the gospel; and they acquired a great degree of importance and influence by the arrival of St Columba, about the middle of the sixth cen-

tury, and the establishment of a seminary in Iona, or Icolmkill, whence, as Dr Johnson says, "savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion." Columba was a native of Ireland, and he came from that island with twelve companions, who established themselves in Iona, where, as we have seen, a number of Culdees had taken refuge, on the dispersion of the Scots two centuries before. There was probably still a community of them there, who would gladly receive such an accession as the saint brought them.

This small island now became, and it continued for centuries, famous for learning and piety; and it sent out many, in successive ages, to preach the gospel in Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England. I shall here introduce from Dr Jamieson an account of the doctrines which they held and taught, by which it will appear that the religion of that portion of our ancestors who adhered to them, was substantially protestant, a thousand years before the protestant Reformation. "The doctrine of the Culdees, as far as we may judge from that of Columba, was at least comparatively pure. As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to confirm their doctrines by testimonies brought from this unpolluted fountain; and declared that only to be the divine counsel which he found there. His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive those

where he was joined by a company of a hundred, who took ship with him and came to Scotland. He arrived on the Forth; and after a variety of incidents which the poet relates with great minuteness, he settled at Culross, of which he received a gift from the king of the Picts, together with the Inch or island in Lochleven. As a specimen of his miracles, I give the following, which, lest I should weaken it by a translation, I shall give in the very words of the poet.

This haly man had a ram,
That he had fed up of a lam;
And oysit him til folow ay,
Quherevir he passit in his way.
A theyf this scheppe in *Achren* stal,
And et hym up in peeces small.
Quhen St Serf his ram had myst,
Quha that it stal was few that wist:
On presumpcion nevirtheles,
He that it stal arstyt was.
And till St Serf syne was he brought,
That scheppe he said that he stal noucht;
And tharfor for to swer an athe,
He said that he walde nocht be laythe.
But sone he worthit rede for schame;
The scheppe than bletyt in his weyme!

Swa was he taynctyt schamfully,
And at Sanct Serf askyt mercy.

It seems very wonderful, that a sheep, after being eaten up in small pieces, should be able to bleat in a man's belly; but there is nothing miraculous in the story, if we can believe that St Serf, in his travels, learned the art of ventriloquism, which is a very ancient species of imposture. He that could speak out of the ground and cause his speech to whisper out of the dust, Isa. xxix. 4. could easily cause a sound of bleating to come as out of a man's stomach. A little knowledge of the arts and sciences gave the priests a vast advantage over the ignorant populace; and such advantage they are not ashamed to use at the present day. The Jesuits having learned that a great proportion of the south sea islanders have embraced Christianity, have lately sent missionaries to gain them to popery; and they have taken with them a good supply of electrical machines and galvanic batteries, by which they will make it appear that they can work miracles.

things only, which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles; diligently observing the works of piety and purity. Hence, it has been said, that for several generations, with the errors which at that time prevailed in the church of Rome, they seem not to have been in the least tainted.

“They observed a certain rule in their monasteries, composed, as it is said, by Columba himself, and sometimes denominated *the Rule of Iona*. For a considerable time before this era, many truly pious men, knowing their obligation to separate from the world, had, from human weakness, interpreted the divine precept in a sense which it was never meant to bear; and if they did not retire singly to solitudes and caves, yet viewed it as most subservient to the interests of religion to form regular monastic societies. But their mode of life was very different from that of the generality of those who have been called monks in later ages. According to Bede, after the example of the venerable fathers, they lived by the labours of their hands.’ When giving the account of Aidan, who was one of them, he says, “He neither sought nor regarded any of the things of this world. All the gifts which were conferred on him by kings, or by the rich of this world, he immediately distributed, with the greatest cheerfulness, to the poor who came in his way. So far was his mode of living removed from the indolence of our time, that he required of all his associates, whether clergy or laity, that they should give themselves to meditation, either by reading the Scriptures or by being at pains to learn the psalms.” These are the words of Venerable Bede, who no doubt thought that meditation, and getting psalms by heart, was a sufficiently active life for monks; and, indeed, if the Culdees did no worse, they were much better employed than the generality of monks in later times. But, I think, what they are above praised for, ought to be placed among their errors and corruptions. Monks, in its best form, is a human invention, derived from heathenism; and so far from being subservient to the cause of Christianity, has always tended to corrupt it. Dr Jamieson proceeds:—

“We know, that, although their successors, in later ages, lived together, and had some things in common, their wives and children, or their nearest relations, after the death of any of them, divided their property, and even claimed the offerings which had been made at the altar. This is mentioned with regret by a Romish writer. But it shows that they had not, like the monastic bodies of subsequent ages, formed any idea of aggrandizing their order, or enriching the particular monasteries belonging to it.” Their having altars in their churches, was another deviation from New Testament purity, probably also derived from the Druids, though they would think themselves authorised by the law of Moses to erect altars. They ought then also to have had sacrifices, for by the law of Moses, the altar was nothing without the sacrifice.

“So far were they from reckoning the connubial relation inconsistent with their character, that it seems to have been held in honour. For, even in the later period of their existence as a society, they, in some places at least, like the priests under the law, succeeded by inheritance. From the work last quoted, we learn that, in the church of St Andrews, the Culdees came into office hereditarily. In Ireland, also, where this body had great influence, there was a hereditary succession in the bishopric of Armagh, for fifteen generations. The Culdees at St Andrews, however, were not permitted, after they had entered into this monastic establishment, to keep their wives in their houses. But, perhaps, this ordinance was not framed, till through the increasing influence of that system of superstition which forbids to marry, they were forced to yield to the tide of popular prejudice in favour of celibacy. This is the more probable, as Alexander Myln, prebendary and official of Dunkeld, says, that the Culdees, who, ‘after the usage of the eastern church, had wives, abstained from them when it came to their turn to minister.’ This brings us down to a late period of their history, when they were far gone in conformity to Rome, and not far from their extinction. We can scarcely imagine a greater deviation from the New Testament order

than the hereditary succession of their bishops. This reduced the church to the rank of a mere worldly kingdom, and prepared it for entire submission to the Roman yoke.* The Doctor concludes his view of their doctrine and practice as follows :

“Although it appears that they observed a certain institute, yet, in the accounts given of them, we cannot overlook this remarkable distinction between them and those societies which are properly called monastic, that they were not associated expressly for the purpose of observing this rule. They might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order: but their great design was, by communicating instruction, to train up others for the work of the ministry. Hence it has been justly observed, that they may more properly be viewed as colleges, in which the various branches of useful learning were taught, than monasteries. These societies, therefore, were in fact the seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and Ireland. As the presbyters ministered in holy things to those in their vicinity, they were still training up others, and sending forth missionaries, whenever they had a call, or any prospects of success.” *Hist. Culd. pp. 29—33. with the authorities in the margin.*

In the above account of the doctrine of the Culdees, the reader will be surprised to find so little of that which we commonly understand by Christian doctrine. We have nothing said of their religious belief, farther than that St Columba taught his disciples to take the scriptures alone for their guide; and while they continued to follow his counsel, I think, we ought to infer that they were sound in the faith; and the reason why historians take no notice of this subject, must be, that there were no controversies about articles of faith, after Pelagianism was put down. The hierarchy established by Palladius, and the Culdees, must have been agreed on points of doctrine, however much they differed on the subject of discipline, and the proper time of keeping Easter. The last article makes a great figure in history, because there was a great controversy about it; but as the articles of Christian doctrine are

scarcely, if at all, mentioned in the history of these times, in Scotland, I think, we may safely infer, that, on these points, all parties were agreed, and that upon the whole, they were sound in the faith. The church of Rome herself, during the first five or six centuries, was as orthodox as three creeds* could make her; and had the honour of maintaining the truth of the gospel against both the Arian and Pelagian heresies. Nay, she holds the truth still, though, in some instances, very absurdly expressed, in the said three creeds; but she has neutralized, and in fact condemned it, in a fourth, compiled in the sixteenth century, by Pope Pius IV. and the council of Trent. Before this, she was, in a great measure, canonically orthodox, while her priests, and even popes, held every variety of religious opinion, except the truth of the gospel which the creeds were meant to express.

The establishment by St Columba of a seminary in Iona was highly favourable to the cause of literature both in Scotland and England. How far it tended to promote evangelical religion, does not clearly appear. The form of sound words, and the image of Christian worship, are often long retained after the living spirit of the gospel is gone; and nothing proves more clearly the fact of its departure than an overweening attachment to superstitious practices, and an observance of rites and seasons which God has not ordained. When the apostle Paul found the churches in Galatia observing days, and months, and times, and years, he expressed his fear that he had laboured among them in vain. These things were

* These are, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. The church of England retains all the three as orthodox. The church of Scotland retains only the first, which is appended to the Shorter Catechism. It is undoubtedly a composition of great antiquity; but it cannot be traced to any of the apostles. Indeed it was not ascribed to them till near four hundred years after Christ. See *Lord King's History of it, 4th Ed. p. 27.* He quotes a passage from a sermon falsely ascribed to St Augustine, in which the creed is divided into twelve articles, and the article which each apostle contributed is distinctly mentioned. Thus, Peter said, “I believe in God the Father Almighty;” John, “Maker of heaven and earth;” James, “And in Jesus Christ his only son our Lord,” &c. &c. With such ridiculous fictions idle churchmen amused themselves, and imposed on the world.

an evidence of their declining in their spiritual state, and departing from the faith. Long before this period of our history, we find our Christian ancestors sticking about the proper time of keeping Easter, when they ought to have rejected it altogether as an observance which God had not required. In the time of St Columba, the controversy was revived, and after a keen contest the eloquence of those who favoured the church of Rome prevailed. St Columba yielded, whether from conviction, or from some other cause, we are not told; "and the Pope found in the Abbot of Iona himself, a sedulous and devoted convert to the new lunar cycle." *Russel's Prelim. Diss. to Keith's Scottish Bishops*, p. lxxv.

About the same time the feast of Christmas was introduced to our ancestors. "The vulgar persuasion is," says Buchanan, "that these festivities celebrated the birth of Christ, when, in truth, they refer, as is sufficiently evident, to the lascivious rites of the Bacchanalia, and not to the memory of our Saviour's nativity." It is probable that this was originally the Gothic pagan feast of Yule, or Zul, so called in Scotland to this day; see *Dr Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary on the word, Yule*. We know the Popes instructed their missionaries not to abolish, but rather adopt the heathen rites of the people among whom they introduced Christianity, and adapt them to Christian worship. This was the source of innumerable corruptions; and with regard to this festival, it not only opened a door for all manner of licentiousness, but also bound the churches to the acknowledgment of a thing as true which never has been proved,—that Christ was born on the 25th of December, which rests on no credible authority. Our neighbours in the south condemn our reformers for rejecting this holiday. With much more reason we wonder at their retaining it.

There was another subject, which, if not of equal importance, was far more harmless, and was very keenly controverted. This was nothing less than the manner in which the priests should have their heads shaven. St Austin, who was sent to England by the Pope, to convert the heathen Saxons, who had obtained a settlement there, was deter-

mined that every consecrated head in this island, should be clipped and shaven exactly according to the Roman fashion. "Such was the rage for introducing this more fashionable tonsure into all parts of Britain and Ireland, that learned missionaries were appointed to preach on its importance, and to illustrate by regular argument, and appeals to scripture, its powerful efficacy in furthering the everlasting welfare, as well as the earthly happiness of the whole Christian priesthood. But all the zeal and labours of Austin were in vain when opposed by the firm faith of our northern Presbyters. These worthy sons of our ancient church expressed their utter abhorrence of so gross an innovation—declared boldly that they would continue to shave the crown of their heads agreeably to the exact pattern which they had all along followed, and which, they were satisfied, possessed the high authority of St John the apostle, and of St Polycarp the bishop; and that however compliant the Saxons might be under their Romish metropolitan, and however fickle the Britons might prove in regard to the pernicious novelty with which their steadfastness was thus menaced, the disciples of Ninian, Palladius, and Columba, would be found ready to resist unto death. But the power of fashion is of all things the most seducing and delusive. Even grave divines are not at all times proof against its fascinating advances. The demure monks of Iona, accordingly, were at length prevailed upon to shave like other priests; for we find they adopted the new tonsure much about the same time that they admitted the new calendar as their future guide to the canonical Easter." *Russel's Dissertation as above*, p. lxxvii.

This writer presents the pleadings of both parties in a burlesque form; and, indeed, in the present state of public opinion, it is difficult to speak of such a controversy with gravity; but, I have no doubt, it was to our fathers a very serious matter. They did right to resist foreign authority even in the trifling matter of cutting their hair; and when this was imposed upon them as a part of their religion, they would have done right had they resisted

even to death. Had they done this, and had every one cut his hair according to his own taste, showing the thing to be a matter of indifference, we would have admired their intrepidity. But they sink to the standard of mere children, when they set up a fashion of their own as of indispensable religious obligation. It seems to us impossible that minds which could entertain such a notion, could understand, or be under the influence of the sublime truths of the gospel; just as children who can take pleasure in toys, prove themselves unfit for the higher branches of education.

These were the things which occupied the minds of Christian pastors as early as the sixth century; from which it is evident that the state of genuine Christianity must have been very low, notwithstanding the imposing rites of worship which began to be practised. Indeed the spirit of the gospel always declined in proportion to the increase of such rites; and, as we shall see in the sequel, the church of Scotland, like every other national church in Christendom, added one piece of mummery to another, till her relation to the Christianity of the Bible could scarcely, if at all, be discerned.

While the church of Rome was making encroachments by one superstitious invention after another, the Scots were so often engaged in war with their neighbours, that they could not give proper attention to subjects of religion. They left these things to their priests, and quietly acquiesced in what they were pleased to impose. Yet they sometimes carried their zeal for Christianity with them into the wars, of which there is an instance recorded by Buchanan, in the sixth century. The Saxons, who invaded England, and greatly annoyed the south of Scotland, were heathens. The Scots having obtained a signal victory over them, drove them to their ships. As many as got on board escaped to Germany. "Of those who were left, they who continued pertinaciously to adhere to their errors were put to death; the rest saved their lives by a pretended profession of Christianity." *Buch., book v. chap. 25.* The Scots who were guilty of this must have been Christians only in name. About the same time,

a considerable addition was made to the income of the clergy, by donations from the pious king, Convallus, which Buchanan relates in the following concise, but very expressive terms. "He enriched the priests with donations and other provisions, more with good intention than happy success."

The Scots, however, did not tamely submit to all St Austin's encroachments. His mission from the Pope was only to the heathen Saxons, now masters of England, having driven the Britons into Wales; but he assumed authority over all the Christians in the island. Buchanan thus introduces him to his readers, in his usual concise and pointed style. "In this reign, (that of Aidanus) an ambitious monk named * Augustine came to Britain, sent by Gregory the Roman pontiff, who, while he taught a new religion, greatly deteriorated the old; for he did not so much inculcate the precepts of Christianity, as the Romish ceremonies. The Britons had at first heard the gospel from the disciples of John the evangelist, † and were now instructed by monks who were learned and pious. But the missionary, intent only upon reducing all under the dominion of the bishop of Rome, proclaimed himself sole archbishop of Britain—introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful, about the day of celebrating Easter, by which he mightily disturbed the church, and so loaded her ritual, already degenerating into superstition, with new ceremonies, and lying wonders, that scarcely a vestige of true piety remained." *Book v. chap. 36.*

* He is called Augustine, or Austin the monk, to distinguish him from another saint of the same name, who belongs to a period two centuries earlier, who, as a divine, was distinguished above all the fathers of his age. Luther was a monk of his order; and was happily directed to study his writings, which were partly the means of opening his eyes to the truth of the gospel and the errors of popery. Of Augustine the monk I have nothing so favourable to record. But there is a tradition, that he was so amazingly successful in converting the Saxons to such Christianity as he taught them, that they came in such crowds to baptism, that he could not possibly baptize them individually, but consecrated a whole river at once, and took an instrument such as bleachers use, and sprinkled them *en masse*. I do not give this as a well authenticated fact; but as a tradition which I have read somewhere.

† He has only their own word for this.

Referring to this period Mosheim observes, "The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty, and neither the threats nor the promises of the legates of Rome, could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the Roman pontiff, as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede." The aversion of the ancient Britons and Scots to the rites and doctrine of the Romish church is strongly manifested in an extract of a letter from Laurence, who succeeded Augustine as bishop of Canterbury, A. D. 605, to the Scots who inhabited Ireland, preserved by Bede. In this epistle he says, "When the see apostolic sent us to these western parts, to preach to the pagan nations, and we happened to come into this island, which is called Britain, we held both the Britons and Scots in great esteem for sanctity, before we knew them, believing that they conducted themselves according to the custom of the universal church. But after we became acquainted with the Britons, we still imagined that the Scots had been better. We have, however, learned from bishop Dagan, who came into this aforesaid island, and from the abbot Columban in France, that the Scots no way differ from the Britons, in their behaviour. For bishop Dagan, coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house in which we were entertained." *Bede, lib. 11. cap. 4.* This Dagan came from the monastery of Bangor, in Ireland, to be bishop to the Scots, and evidently treated the votaries of Rome, not excepting the bishop of Canterbury himself, as if they had been actually excommunicated. He viewed them as men with whom he was not so much as to eat, nay, as even communicating pollution to the place where they did eat." *Jamieson's Hist. Culd. p. 221.*

From the fact thus established, of the mutual dislike of one another, and the aversion of the Scots to receive any of the Roman rites, we have another proof of the independence of the Scottish church down to the seventh century. Had they regarded the Pope as head of the universal church, and of course their own ecclesiastical supe-

rior, they must have submitted to his decrees without calling them in question. But they acknowledged no such headship; they were as independent of Rome, as Rome was of them; and they would not recognise the jurisdiction of the bishops who came to England with the Pope's commission. Unhappily, however, they had conceded the tonsure, and the time of keeping Easter, to the persuasion, or importunity of the Romanists. This encouraged farther encroachment, and prepared the way for complete submission to Roman authority.

While thus maintaining the fact of the independence of the church of Scotland, and her extreme aversion to receive any of the Romish rites, it is but fair to admit that the corruptions which by this time prevailed in the Scottish church, ought not to be entirely charged upon the Romanists, but ascribed to the depravity of her own members, not excepting the clergy, who, as we shall see by and by, had become very profligate. Yet, as is often the case, amidst all the corruptions of their church, they manifested great zeal for the truth. Thus Ferchard, one of their kings, who began his reign in 622, proving himself unworthy of the crown, the nobles conspired, and took him by force, in order to bring him to trial for his crimes. "Many heavy charges were preferred against him, particularly, he was accused of the Pelagian heresy, contempt of baptism, and the other sacred ordinances, from which, when he could not clear himself, he was thrown into prison, where, that he might not longer be exposed to contempt, he put himself to death, in the fourteenth year of his reign." *Buch. book v. ch. 39.* At this early period, it seems, heresy was regarded by our ancestors, as a crime punishable by the state, even in the person of their king.

Notwithstanding much prevailing corruption, the Culdee seminaries continued to send out ministers to preach the gospel, or what they took for it, who were instrumental in propagating Christianity, not only in Scotland, but also in the north of England. At the request of Oswald king of Northumberland Donald IV. king of Scotland "sent

him teachers distinguished for their piety and learning, whom he received with great kindness and liberality. Nor did he think it a mean office in a king, to interpret to his people, in their public assemblies, the sermons of the preachers, which, being delivered in the Scottish language, were not sufficiently understood by them. All this is distinctly recorded by Bede." In the next reign but one, "after the Scottish monks had disseminated the knowledge of the Christian religion widely through England, and so instructed the English youth in letters, that they appeared sufficiently capable of preaching the gospel to their countrymen, a spirit of envy towards their instructors arose, in proportion as they imagined themselves their equals in learning; and their disinclination towards the Scots proceeded so far, that they forced them to return to their own country; which affront, though it disturbed the concord of the kingdoms, yet, such was the moderation of those who sustained the wrong, that they restrained both nations from decided hostilities." *Buch. book v. ch. 41, 42.* This shows how much Christianity was regarded as a national affair, when they were ready to go to war to avenge an affront offered to their missionaries.

Eugenius VII. who had a peaceful reign of seventeen years, paid great attention to the affairs of religion. He was the first that ordered the records of the kingdom to be preserved in the monasteries. His successor followed his example, not only in preserving peace, but in endowing monasteries. These measures tended much to increase the importance and wealth of the clergy. Yet after all this the following testimony is born by Buchanan on behalf of the ancient or Culdee bishops. After king Kenneth had subdued the Picts, and reduced both nations to one, "the episcopal see, which the Picts had established at Abernethy, he transferred to the royal fane, which posterity have rather chosen to call St Andrews.* But the ancient Scottish

bishops, elected from the monasteries, where the objects of contention then were not honour and rank, but holiness and learning, exercised their functions every where as opportunity offered, without envy and without strife, for there were as yet no rich benefices attached to the office." *B. vi. chap.*

"All our historians do observe, that some of the relics of the apostle St Andrew, were brought into Scotland, and that in process of time, he became its tutelary saint, as we now speak. How the Picts, as well as the Scots, came to bear so great devotion to St Andrew, will be known by looking into the beginning of the second book of Archbishop Spottiswood, or into the account given of it by Mr Martin, in his *Reliquiæ Divi Andree*, which, however like to a legend it may appear to be, I shall take the liberty here to transcribe, from a copy that lies in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh.

"Regulus, a Greek monk living at Patræ, a city of Achaia, (by whom the relics of St Andrew the apostle were preserved and kept,) about the year 370, was warned by a vision by night, (three nights before the emperor Constantine came to the city, with purpose to translate these relics to Constantinople) to go to the shrine in which the relics were kept, and to take out thereof the arm bone, three fingers of the right hand, a tooth, and one of the lids of the apostle's knees, which he should carefully preserve and carry with him to a region towards the west, situate in the utmost parts of the world. Regulus, at first troubled with the strangeness of the vision, after a little time resolved to obey. So putting the relics in a box, he went to sea, taking copartners with him, Damianus a presbyter, Gelasius and Cubaculus, two deacons, eight hermits, and three devout virgins, whose names are expressed in sundry ancient records, says Fordun, lib. ii. cap. 59, &c.

"After long storms, the ship was at last driven into the bay, near the place where the city of St Andrews now stands, and there split asunder upon the rocks. But Regulus and his company were all brought safe to shore, having nothing left them but the relics, which they were careful above all things to preserve. Herustus, king of the Picts, (in whose dominion the shire of Fife, and all the low country of Scotland then was;) came to visit them in the place where they were settled, (now St Andrews;) it was then a forest for wild boars, and was called in the country language Muckross, *i. e.* a land of boars, from muck, a sow, and ross a promontory of land or island. The king changed the name into Kilrimont (*q. d.* King's mount,) and gave to Regulus and his company all the land of that forest, and erected a church, called to this day St Rule's or Regulus's church. Regulus lived here thirty two years."

I insert the above not as a piece of authentic history, but as a specimen of the silly fictions which were imposed on the world. This was no doubt meant to give the see of St Andrews the honour of a miraculous origin; but I would rather call it a theftous one, if the things which Regulus stole from the church at Patræ were of any value.

* This was an ecclesiastical seat of great note, several centuries before this period. The following account of its origin is given by Keith in his "Introduction to the See of St Andrews."

5. This must relate to the elective Culdee bishops only, who seem to have had but a small, if any share of the endowments; for in the reign of Constantine II. and only a few years after what is above related, we read, that "the king first turned his attention to the correction of the public discipline, and, by severe laws, brought back to their ancient frugality the order of the priests, who, corrupted by their *fat livings*, had left off preaching the gospel, and devoted themselves to hunting, hawking, and courtly pomp." *B. vi. chap. 7.* It is impossible that the two passages I have quoted can refer to the same persons, or the same class or order of ministers. The last quotation must relate to the beneficed clergy and their dependents, and the first, as I have said, to the Culdees, or perhaps only a portion of them, who remained faithful amidst the corruption that surrounded them.

This corruption was greatly increased by the almost constant intercourse, which, sometime before this period, had begun to be kept with Rome. The richly beneficed ecclesiastics possessed the means of traveling to that city. It became the fashion to do so; and their carnal minds were fascinated by the wealth and splendour in which the church appeared there. Though the Scottish church was not yet subject to the Pope, he found means by his influence in Scotland, to effect the preferment of such of the clergy as were, or were expected to be, subservient to his views. Indeed, a journey to Rome became the direct road to ecclesiastical dignity in Scotland; and those who were exalted by this means were of course bound to promote the interest of Rome among their own flocks. The Pope also had agents in Scotland, who laboured with much zeal to bring the Scots into entire conformity, which they would have effected much sooner than they did but for the opposition of the Culdees, who accused them of withdrawing the people from obedience to Christ, and subjecting them to the bishop of Rome; that they forbade the marriage of priests, extolling celibacy as a state of peculiar sanctity; that they taught prayers for the dead, and set up images in churches; and that they had introduced

rites and ceremonies, unknown to the purer times, and contrary to Christ's institutions. For such faithful contending, some of the Culdee divines were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, for which David Buchanan refers to the third volume of the councils. This was an impudent assumption of authoritative jurisdiction, to which the Pope had no title, any more than the Culdees had to excommunicate him. But he knew that having done the thing, it would be established as a precedent, and would afterwards be used as an argument to prove the right of the see of Rome to universal jurisdiction.

I have said, that Constantine, king of Scotland, endeavoured to effect a reform of the abuses which now prevailed. For this purpose he called a convention of the states at Scoone, in which it was ordained, that churchmen should reside within their proper charge; that they should forbear meddling with secular affairs; that they should diligently instruct the people, and set them a good example; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, and horses for pleasure; that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders in civil causes, but content themselves with their own proper emoluments. These enactments show how the clergy had been thrusting themselves forward into all sorts of business, civil as well as religious. There were certain fines imposed on those who should transgress the above regulations; but all this went for nothing; for Gregory who ascended the throne a year or two after Constantine's death, gave the clergy higher immunities than ever; he granted them exemption from all temporal jurisdiction, so that they might do what they pleased without fear of punishment. He exempted them also from all taxes and imposts; and constituted them judges of all matrimonial causes, of all testamentary deeds, and, in short, of every thing that related to conscience and good faith between man and man. He confirmed to them also the right of tithes; gave them power to make laws, to try, at their own instance, without the concurrence of any temporal judge, heretics, blasphemers, and such like; and as they were the sole judges of what was heresy, and what blasphemy, they

would easily affix one or other of these to any person who offended them, and thus they acquired almost absolute dominion over the persons and the property of the people. In addition to all this, it was ordained, that future kings, at their coronation, should swear to maintain to the clergy all these privileges.

We now find ourselves in the middle of the tenth century, which, from the gross ignorance, and besotted superstition that prevailed during it over all Europe, has been called the age of lead. There was still, however, light enough in Scotland to enable some of the priests to maintain the lawfulness of their having wives. There was indeed a bishop of the name of Barnet who publicly pleaded for this in a national council. But ultimately they were all obliged, practically at least, to yield to the prevailing superstition in favour of celibacy. The clergy now engrossed all the honour and esteem of the people. No other class or rank in society was reckoned of any account, not even royalty itself, in comparison of the sacred order; insomuch that king Constantine III. voluntarily resigned his crown, and went to be a monk at St Andrews, where he lived five years. David Buchanan informs us, that notwithstanding the prevailing idolatry and superstition, there were still some godly men who preached that Christ was the only propitiation for sin, and that his blood only could cleanse from the guilt of it. I am sorry this author does not refer to any authority by which the fact might be ascertained. I have looked through whole centuries of history, without finding a single note of a sermon, or any information as to the doctrine which the Culdees preached in these dark ages. I do not however doubt the assertion, that their preaching was evangelical as above stated; for nothing but the vital influence of the truth in their own hearts, could have kept them from the moral contagion of the corrupt atmosphere around them. Teachers of fatal error, or, which is much the same, who give but a heartless assent to the truth, possess no principle that will enable them to withstand the allurements of corruption; so they will sooner or later fall in

with the current. But it is admitted by all our historians, that in the worst times, there were a few faithful men, who kept themselves apart from the corrupt mass, neither accepting nor seeking church preferment, who yet went preaching wherever they had an opportunity. This must have been the effect of the gospel believed by them; and therefore I infer that it was the gospel which they preached.

I shall now introduce an example of the working of the corrupt system which was now established, not only in Scotland, but in all western Europe. Kenneth III. king of the Scots, who had been, upon the whole, one of the best and most prosperous of their kings, when advanced in life, had a son and heir who was too young to succeed to the crown. Hitherto, and for many ages, the crown had been elective, with this limitation, that none were eligible but princes descended from Fergus, the founder of their monarchy. On the death of a king, therefore, his heir did not succeed as a thing of course. If the nobles thought him incapable from infancy or any other cause, they chose some other of the royal line, whom they thought better qualified to govern them. There was at this time an accomplished and popular prince of the name of Malcom, son of Duff, one of their former kings. Kenneth knew that he was likely to be preferred before his son; accordingly he got him taken out of the way privately by poison. The thing was done so secretly that the king was not suspected, and probably would never have been suspected, had he not overdone his affectation of sorrow for the loss of Malcom, and at the same time laboured with all his might to procure an alteration of the law, so that his son might succeed him, under guardians, if he were not come of age. He obtained this change in the constitution of the kingdom, but it occasioned much discontent, and many bad consequences followed.

“The king having thus, by iniquity, secured, as he thought, the throne to his posterity, yet could not obtain for himself peace of mind; for although he behaved towards every person with the utmost courtesy and appearance of benevolence, per-

formed towards a great many acts of peculiar kindness, and so governed the kingdom, that he appeared deficient in no duty of a good king, yet his soul, disturbed by a consciousness of his crime, permitted him to enjoy no solid or sincere pleasure; in retirement the thoughts of this unholy deed rushing upon his recollection, tormented him; and in sleep, visions full of horror, drove repose far from his pillow. At last, whether in truth an audible voice from heaven addressed him, as is reported, or whether it was the suggestion of his own guilty mind, as often happens to the wicked in the silent watches of the night, he seemed thus to be admonished:—‘Dost thou think that the murder of the innocent Malcom, perpetrated secretly by thee with the most consummate villany, is either unknown to me or can remain longer unpunished? Even now, snares are spread for thy life, which thou canst not escape. Nor shalt thou leave, as thou imaginest, a stable and a secure throne for thy posterity. They shall inherit an agitated and tempestuous kingdom.’ Terrified by this dreadful apparition, the king, early in the morning, hastened to the bishops and monks, to whom he unfolded the agitation of his mind, and his repentance. But they, instead of directing him to the true remedy in the gospel of Christ—for they had already much declined from ancient piety and learning—enjoined upon him the absurd and fallacious propitiations invented by designing wretches for the sake of gain, and rashly complied with by the simple and uninstructed—that he should enrich by magnificent gifts churches and monasteries; that he should visit the sepulchres of the saints, kiss their relics, and expiate his sins by masses and alms; and above all, that he should treat the priests and monks with greater reverence than ever he had hitherto done. Nor did the king omit to perform any of these pious fooleries, believing that he would derive from them relief to his wounded conscience.” *Buch. b. vi. chap. 40.*

It is in cases like the above that the malignant poison of popery appears. It teaches sinners to make atonement for the greatest crimes, by gifts to churches, by superstitious and idolatrous rites, such as

worshipping dead men’s bones, and by paying respect to the clergy. Sin must ever appear a small matter to those who are taught to believe that it can be purged by such means; and wicked men will not be restrained from any crime they desire to commit, when they know that they can purchase not only impunity, but pardon at so easy a rate. It turned out, however, that retribution overtook the wretched king in the course of his penances. “In the course of his devotional exercises, having come to Mearns, to worship the body of St Palladius, he turned aside to visit the neighbouring castle of Fettercairn, then, as we are informed, remarkable for its build-ings.” Here, the lady of the castle, from an old grudge, had him assassinated. *Ibid chap. 41.*

From this time wealth beyond measure began to pour into the church. The piety of kings and nobles came to be estimated in proportion to their gifts to the church during their lives, or their bequests at their death. In the eleventh century, king Malcom Canmore, and his queen, Margaret, who has been canonized as the patroness of Scotland, distinguished themselves as friends of the church. Margaret was an Anglo-Saxon princess, but was educated on the continent, and was accustomed to more splendour of ritual than Scotland could yet afford. She was offended by what appeared to her “certain erroneous practices,” which she laboured to correct. She had frequent conferences with the clergy for this purpose, in which the king was her interpreter. The arguments of kings and queens have usually great weight with such persons as the bulk of the Scottish clergy now were; and we cannot be surprised that those of Margaret prevailed, especially as her object was to increase the importance of their order. Her confessor, who wrote an account of her life, says, “In some parts of Scotland there were certain persons who were accustomed to celebrate masses, I know not by what barbarous rite, contrary to the universal practice of the church. The queen, with holy zeal, was at the greatest pains to annihilate this custom, that no one of the Scottish nation might presume to observe it.” The

rites of the church were thus brought to more exact conformity with those of Rome; and bishops who had hitherto had only a general oversight of the church, without particular sees, or any lordly title, were now raised to the dignity of lord bishops, each with a particular diocese, of which at first there were only four, St Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, and Mortlach, or Aberdeen.

It appears from Buchanan, that both Malcom and his queen were persons of exemplary character, notwithstanding their superstition. "He," the king, "lived holily himself, and excited others to temperance and equity, by his example; in which, it is believed, he was much assisted by the advice and admonitions of his inimitable queen, a woman remarkable for her uncommon piety. She indeed omitted no office of kindness towards the poor, or the priests; nor was her mother, Agatha, or her sister, Christian, at all behind her in any religious duty; and seclusion being then esteemed among the principal institutions of piety, both of these ladies, leaving the tormenting cares of the world, shut themselves up in a convent of nuns." Malcom created two additional bishopricks, Moray and Caithness, "procuring for them bishops, who, as the times went, were pious and learned." He built, at great expense, a magnificent cathedral at Durham—for the north of England then belonged to Scotland—and another at Dunfermline, and transferred the abbot of the monks at Durham to the see of St Andrews.

It is pleasant to read of the piety of kings and queens, in such barbarous times as those to which this part of our history relates; but, I fear, however uncharitable it may seem, we ought to make a large abatement from that which is ascribed to Malcom Canmore and Margaret his queen. Buchanan indeed speaks in unqualified language of the queen's piety; but her life was to him a story of four centuries old. He had no record on which he could depend, but what had been composed by some churchman or other; and we know that, in their esteem, almost all piety was made to consist in devotion to the church,—in

bestowing wealth on it, and being obedient to the priests. Margaret's zeal for bringing the church to greater conformity with that of Rome, was quite enough to exalt her fame for piety. Her mother and sister are described as equally pious with herself, and the proof of it is, that they left the tormenting cares of the world, and shut themselves up in a convent of nuns, which, if tried by the scripture standard, will be found no piety at all. Malcom, himself, though a brave and active prince, was utterly illiterate. "Although he could not read, he used often to turn over the leaves, and kiss the prayer books, and books of devotion which he heard his wife say were dear to her." *Fordun, lib. v. chap. 23, as quoted by Aikman, in a note to Buchanan.* Malcom's devotion in kissing the books which he could not read, would be regarded, and celebrated by the monks, as the most exalted piety.

Malcom was succeeded by his brother, Donald Bane, who reigned only a few months; then by his natural son Duncan, who reigned a year and a half; then by his three sons in succession, Edgar, Alexander I. and David. Edgar made only one addition to the splendor of the church: to wit, the monastery of Coldingham, dedicated to St Ebb, the virgin, afterwards changed to St Cuthbert. Alexander rebuilt the church of St Michaels at Scoon, and changed the company of priests there into a monastery of monks. In crossing the firth of Forth, having been driven by a tempest on the island of Inchcolm, where he almost perished for hunger, and for many days, had no food either for himself or companions, except what they received from a devout solitary hermit, he, likewise, founded a church there, in memory of St Columba, to which he added what they call canons, and endowed it with lands to maintain them. He, besides, bestowed large donatives and lands on St Andrews, which was rich enough before. He completed the abbey of Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and greatly increased its revenues.

But in munificence to the church, David, the last of Malcom's sons who reigned, exceeded all who had gone before. "He ex-

ceeded the liberality of his father and relations, in increasing the revenues of the ecclesiastics, a liberality to be pardoned rather than praised. He rebuilt the monasteries that had gone to decay through age, or been destroyed by the ravages of war, besides founding a great number of new ones. To the six bishopricks that previously existed, he added four, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dumblaine; and in order to provide for the annual support of these sees, he reduced the succeeding kings almost to poverty, by consecrating the greater part of the royal lands to the support of monks.* Joannes Major," continues Buchanan, "a man of great name in theology when I was a boy, after having praised this king for his other actions, in a grave, and I wish a less true oration, blamed his profuse donations to the monasteries; and I, too, am the more astonished at such immoderate profusion of the public money, and patrimony, because St Bernard, in these very times, inveighed in the keenest discourses, against the priests and monks, for the immoderate expense of their luxury, who notwithstanding, might have been termed moderate compared with those of our day. But the fruit which followed, showed what was the nature and influence of such donations; for, as in bodies distended by corpulence, the activity of the

* Spotswood controverts this. "The bestowing of six score thousand franks," says he, ("that is the highest estimate of his donations) cannot be called an immoderate profusion. He was certainly a most wise king, and knew well his own work, and could proportion his gifts to his revenues." But Spotswood was archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, a privy counsellor to king Charles I. and chancellor of the kingdom. Large sums bestowed on the church, would have little magnitude in his eyes. But a hundred and twenty thousand franks was a large sum in those days; and it must have been the sum spent in building and repairing churches and monasteries, exclusive of the lands set apart for their permanent endowment; the value of which in coin could not then be properly estimated. The archbishop's statement is however corroborated by the fact, that David's successor did not find the crown so impoverished as to hinder him from following the pious example; for he built three or four monasteries; and his successor added to the number. It may be alleged, indeed, that the passion for building churches, in those days, was like the desire of certain stimulants to the human constitution, in the present day. Those who love them must and will have them, though they cannot afford to purchase any thing else.

members is destroyed, so the sparks of genius, oppressed by luxury, languished in the monasteries, literature was extinguished, piety degenerated into superstition, and, as in an uncultivated field, the seeds of every kind of vice sprung up rankly." *Book vii. chap. 27, 28.* The above was written about the time of the reformation. The author must have been a witness of the wealth and luxury of the clergy in his time, which must have continued to increase till the reformation swept it away.

David was succeeded by his grandson Malcom IV. who, in order, as he thought, to serve God more acceptably made a vow of perpetual celibacy. "He applied himself strenuously to the family practice of building churches and endowing monasteries, in which, had his life been spared, he would far have exceeded his predecessors. He died in the year 1165, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign."

So flattered and so pampered, the clergy, as might have been expected, became intolerable for their pride and insolence. Thus we read in the reign of Alexander III. the next but one to the last mentioned. The king "had his internal tranquillity disturbed by the arrogance of the priests and monks, who, enriched by the former kings, began to grow licentious by long repose, and to exceed, or equal in magnificence the nobility, whom they already surpassed in wealth. At which the young nobles feeling indignant, behaved to them harshly and with contempt, and they, in consequence, complained to the king of the affront. He, however, either believing the injuries not so serious as the priests wished them to appear, or probably, not thinking them unmerited, treated them lightly; on which they instantly, in great wrath, excommunicated the whole land, except the royal family, and threatened to retire to Rome; but, the king recollecting what disturbances Thomas a Becket, the ringleader of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately occasioned in England, recalled them when about to set out on their journey, and ordered the nobility to satisfy, not their ambition only, but even their arrogance." *Ibid. chap. 64.* This

was the fruit of the profuse liberality of the Scottish kings to the clergy. It was to have the clergy set over themselves; for here the king was compelled to yield to the humour of the priests. He might have suffered them to go to Rome, and have thought himself well quit of them; but such was the hold they had of the superstitious minds of the people, that the king knew, that they would rise in a body, and take part with the priests, and destroy him. It is necessary to keep this state of things in remembrance, in order to understand what an arduous undertaking the reformation was.

Matters were now tending rapidly to an entire subjection of the church of Scotland to the pope of Rome. The Scottish kings possessed a good deal of land in England, for which, as English noblemen, they owed subjection, and did homage, to the English king. This, a long time afterwards, suggested the idea, that the kings of Scotland should do homage to the king of England, for Scotland itself, as well as for their English estates, which would have reduced Scotland to the rank of an English province, and her king to a mere viceroy. But an attempt was first made, to have the church of Scotland subjected to that of England. The thing was proposed at a meeting of the two kings, William of Scotland and Henry I. of England, when the latter urged the former, with the Scottish clergy who were with him, to acknowledge the archbishop of York as their metropolitan; which, however, was not conceded. The next year the attempt was renewed; and a cardinal of high rank was sent from Rome in order to promote the claims of the English archbishop. He summoned all the Scottish bishops to appear before him in Northampton; and their obedience to such a summons showed that they were already under some measure of subjection to Rome; at least, willing to become so. "The assembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the cardinal, who had a seat somewhat higher than the rest, made a long speech in commendation of humility and obedience, showing what excellent virtues these were, and how much to be desired of men of spiritual profession; whereof when

he talked a while, he came in the end to persuade the clergy of Scotland to submit themselves to the primate of York: which he said was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their ease and commodity, for having no superior amongst themselves, nor metropolitan to decide controversies that possibly might happen, there could none be fitter than their neighbour the archbishop of York, a prelate of great respect, and one whose credit in the church of Rome might serve them to good use; therefore besought them to lay aside all grudges and emulations, and dispose themselves to live in all times after, as members of one and the same church." *Spotswood, page 38.*

There was not one of the Scottish bishops who had the spirit to reply to such a humiliating proposal; because, it seems, they were afraid to offend the cardinal. But a young canon, or clerk, of the name of Gilbert Murray, made a speech on the occasion. It is given by Petrie, from an old MS. register of Dunkeld, and quoted by Dr Jamieson, from whom I take it. It is worthy of being inserted, as showing how Scotland took precedence of England in both religion and learning. Spotswood gives only an abstract of it, and omits entirely that part that refers to the English nobility coming to Scotland to learn to read.

"It is true, English nation, thou mightest have been noble, and more noble than some other nations, if thou hadst not craftily turned the power of thy nobility, and the strength of thy fearful might, into the presumption of tyranny, and thy knowledge of liberal science into the shifting glosses of sophistry; but thou disposest not thy purposes as if thou wert led with reason, and being puft up with thy strong armies, and trusting in thy great wealth, thou attemptest, in thy wretched ambition and lust of domineering, to bring under thy jurisdiction thy neighbour provinces and nations, more noble, I will not say, in multitude and power, but in lineage and antiquity; unto whom, if thou wilt consider ancient records, thou shouldst rather have been humbly obedient, or at least laying aside thy rancour, have reigned together in perpetual

love; and now with all wickedness of pride that thou showest, without any reason or law, but in thy ambitious power, thou seekest to oppress *thy mother the church of Scotland*, which from the beginning hath been catholic and free, and which brought thee, when thou wast straying in the wilderness of heathenism, into the safeguard of the true faith, and way unto life, even unto Jesus Christ, the Author of eternal rest. She did wash thy kings, and princes, and people, in the laver of holy baptism; she taught thee the commandments of God, and instructed thee in moral duties; she did accept many of thy nobles, and others of meaner rank, when they were desirous to learn to read, and gladly gave them daily entertainment without price, books also to read, and instruction freely; she did also *appoint, ordain, and consecrate thy bishops and priests*; by the space of thirty years and above, she maintained the primacy and pontifical dignity within thee on the north side of the Thames, as Beda witnesseth.

“And now, I pray, what recompense renderest thou now unto her, that hath bestowed so many benefits on thee? Is it bondage? or such as Judea rendered unto Christ, evil for good? It seemeth no other thing. Thou unkind vine, how art thou turned into bitterness? We looked for grapes, and thou bringest forth wild grapes; for judgment, and behold iniquity and crying. If thou couldst do as thou wouldst, thou wouldst draw *thy mother* the church of Scotland, whom thou shouldst honour with all reverence, into the basest and most wretched bondage. Fie for shame! what is more base, when thou wilt do no good, to continue in doing wrong? Even the serpents will not do harm to their own, albeit they cast forth to the hurt of others; the voice of ingratitude hath not so much moderation; an ungrateful man doth wrack and massacre himself, and he despiseth and minceth the benefits for which he ought to be thankful, but multiplieth and enlargeth injuries. It was a true saying of Seneca, (I see) The more some do owe, they hate the more; a small debt maketh a grievous enemy. What sayest thou, David? it is true, They rendered me evil for good, and hatred

for my love. It is a wretched thing, (saith Gregory) to serve a lord that cannot be appeased by whatsoever obeyance.

“Therefore, thou church of England, doest as becomes thee not; thou thinkest to carry what thou cravest, and to take what is not granted. Seek what is just, and thou shalt have pleasure in what thou seekest. And to the end I do not weary others with my words, albeit I have no charge to speak for the liberty of the church of Scotland, and albeit all the clergy of Scotland would think otherwise, yet I dissent from subjecting her, and I do appeal unto the apostolical Lord, unto whom immediately she is subject; and if it were needful for me to die in the cause, here I am ready to lay down my neck unto the sword. Nor do I think it expedient to advise any more with my lords the prelates; nor if they will do otherwise, do I consent unto them; for it is more honest to deny quickly what is demanded unjustly, than to drive off time by delays, seeing he is the less deceived, who is refused betimes.” There are a few sentences in Spotswood’s abstract which are omitted in the above; the most important is the following, for it contains a direct reply to one of the cardinal’s arguments:—“For the controversies which you, my lord cardinal, say may arise among ourselves, we have wise and learned prelates who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious king, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so that we have no necessity for any stranger to be set over us.”

“The appeal made by Murray, to the pope,” says Dr Jamieson, “may perhaps be viewed as a proof, that the church of Scotland acknowledged complete subjection to Rome. But this seems to have been the first instance of an appeal being formally made to the papal see. As it was the act of a single person, it is to be observed, that even he had the highest sense of the liberty and independence of his mother church. He doubtless thought that they were shut up to it, and considered it as the least of two evils.” In short, it was to escape the bondage of England, their ancient enemy, that

the Scots threw themselves into the arms of Rome. The pope soon settled the dispute, by sending a bull to king William, by which he took the Scots under his protection, and declared them free from all foreign jurisdiction, except that of his own see. And the legate, who had shown so much zeal for the archbishop of York, was very well pleased to get the church of Scotland brought under subjection to his own master. Indeed, though the idea does not seem to have occurred to any of the authors whom I have consulted, I cannot help thinking, that the cardinal legate and young Murray understood one another; that in order to ingratiate himself and his master with the church of England, the legate made his speech, recommending the subjection of the Scottish church to the archbishop of York, while Murray, with great show of zeal for the independence of his church, insinuated the necessity of subjecting it to Rome. In his appeal to the pope at the conclusion of his speech, he actually asserts its subjection to the Apostolic Lord; which, so far as appears, was the first time such an assertion was made in an assembly of Scottish clergy; and which he would not have ventured to make unless he had been sure of good support. That the archbishop of York suspected collusion of some kind appears from a sentence of obscure Latin, which he addressed to Murray, when he had finished his speech, which Spotswood translates:—"He was set on to speak by some others of greater note." At any rate Murray was well rewarded for what he did. He was soon made dean of Murray, and great chamberlain of Scotland, and afterwards bishop of Caithness. He died anno 1245, and has been canonized. *Jamieson's Culdees*, p. 245.

Thus at last, without a struggle, the church of Scotland submitted to the yoke of the triple tyrant; she became an integral part of the great mystical Babylon; and became so identified with the church of Rome, in respect of rites, ceremonies, and administration, that it is not necessary to relate the remainder of her history very minutely, seeing it would be almost the same as that of any of the other kingdoms that gave their

power to the beast. The Scots would not have surrendered their independence so tamely, had they not been gradually prepared for it, by the luxury and ambition of the clergy, the natural consequence of the rich endowments of their churches and monasteries, which enabled them to live in idleness, and devolve the duties of the ministry on poor and illiterate mercenaries, by whom the people were rather corrupted than instructed in useful knowledge. There were still witnesses for the truth among the Culdees; but the faithful even among them by this time were few; great efforts were made to have them suppressed altogether; and this was effected not so much by force as by the allurements of rich benefices, which were pressed upon them, and which they at last consented to accept. We know how Charles II. got Leighton, and one or two more godly men, to accept of bishopricks, in order to make episcopacy palatable to the Scots; so in the twelfth century great pains were taken to persuade the leading Culdee pastors to accept of dignities in the church. Some new bishopricks were erected for the very purpose; and many of the parochial ministers of the Culdee order were induced to resign their charges, on being allowed to retain their stipends for life; and their places were filled by persons of true Roman character.

"Various means," says Dr Jamieson, "were employed for suppressing the Culdees, who were viewed with so jealous an eye by the votaries of the papal chair, and who had all along presented so powerful a barrier to its influence. This was first attempted in an artful manner. 'It is observable,' says Sir James Dalrymple, 'that the Romish church did advance very warily, and by slow steps, endeavouring to gain the Culdean abbots to their party, by promoting them to bishopricks to be erected, and by preserving to the Culdees (possessed of parochial churches) their benefices for their lifetime, and making the suppression of these churches in favour of the new erected Roman abbeys, only to take place after the incumbent's death: and frequently these concessions bear the consent of the presbyter or churchman incumbent, with the

reservation of his own right during his lifetime.”

But the great plan devised for the overthrow of the Culdees, was the introduction of the canons regular. These had been erected into a permanent order in the eleventh century. Being patronised by the pope, they were devoted to the interests of the church of Rome, and zealous for the extension of the authority of their ghostly father. They acquired credit with the superstitious, as having more appearance of sanctity than the Culdee presbyters; especially as they lived in celibacy, while the honest Culdees laid no claim to the gift of continence. They affected far greater pomp in their worship. No sooner were these canons introduced at St Andrews, than matters assumed an appearance of what was deemed *religion* in those days, which had been quite unknown before. Their prior at St Andrews ‘wore, in all public meetings, and in solemn services upon festival days, the pontifical ornaments, *viz.* a mitre, gloves, ring, cross, crosier, and sandals or slippers, as the bishops; and in parliament had the precedence of all abbots and priors.’ The very design of their introduction into those places, where the Culdees had formerly had the power, was the establishment of this species of religion.” *Jam. Culd. p. 251.*

Up to the twelfth century, there was no such thing as a papal ambassador or legate received in Scotland. Many states of less note possessed this mark of subjection to the See of Rome, long before this period; but so far as appears, the pope sent none to Scotland till the year 1125; and though the king (St David) and some of the nobles and clergy, paid him respect, and had no objection to receive him in his legantine character, he found the great body of the people so decidedly against him, that he ventured no farther than Roxburgh, not far from the border of the kingdom, whence he thought it prudent to retrace his steps. But now, towards the end of the same century, having acknowledged the pope as head of the church, his legates were received and entertained as a thing of course. They called meetings of the clergy when and where they

pleased, presided in them in the name of the pope, and directed their procedure as was agreeable to themselves, or according to the will of their master. Thus in 1188 we find a cardinal legate calling a convocation in Perth, at which all priests who had taken orders on Sunday were deposed, which was virtually declaring ordination, or taking of orders, to be a profane or worldly business; which was not a step they would have taken for its own sake. There is no reason given by the historian; (Spotswood,) but the church of Rome has a reason for every thing it does; and I have no doubt, their reason for this measure was to get quit of the more godly and unsubmitive of the priesthood, who having regarded their ordination as a religious service, would prefer having it done on the Sabbath. The same convocation out of their great zeal for Sunday added twelve hours to it. “They decreed that every Saturday from 12 o’clock should be kept as a holy day; and that all people at the sound of the bell should address themselves to hear service, and abstain from all handy work until Monday morning.” Hence the practice which continues to this day, of shutting schools and certain public offices, at 12 o’clock on Saturdays. There is no reason given for this enactment any more than for that which made ordination unlawful on Sundays; but no doubt they had a reason for it. In Popish countries, Saturday is specially devoted to the service of the Virgin Mary. The Scots were not yet trained to worship her with proper devotion; and a positive enactment was necessary to make them pay at least external respect to *her* day as well as to the Sabbath.

The following is a proof of the abject bondage to which the kingdom was now reduced. Alexander the Second had sent some supplies to assist his ally, Philip king of France, in a war against John king of England. It was a war which the pope himself had instigated, in order to humble King John, who had quarrelled with him, and whose kingdom was under an interdict; but John having made his submission, and laid his crown at the feet of the pope’s legate, was received into favour, and the other

kings prohibited from invading England, which now belonged to the patrimony of St Peter. Waldo, the pope's legate in Scotland, affected to find the king guilty of making too free with church property in raising his supplies for France, or not sufficiently prompt in withdrawing them, laid the kingdom under an interdict, by which religious rites were suspended, and the whole nation reduced to mourning. After the death of King John, and some political changes, the interdict was removed by two English bishops, who had the legate's commission to that effect. But Waldo pretended that the clergy were not included in the absolution thus granted; wherefore he summoned them to appear before him in Alnwick. Thither, bishops, abbots, and other beneficed clergy, were obliged to appear and pay large sums for absolution, or abide the consequence of being summoned to Rome to answer for their sins there. A few preferred the latter alternative, which must have been a grievous tax upon them; but the greater part chose rather to pay the money down.

But this was not enough to satisfy the avarice of the legate. Professing great condescension to the inferior clergy, and not wishing to put them to the expense of a long journey, he appointed two fit persons to go through the country, to meet them in the chief towns, or other convenient places, to take their confessions, and grant absolution. These inquisitors, for so they may be called, made every priest swear that he would truly and honestly confess his sins to them. We may be sure that most of them had many sins to confess; and these being carefully written down, were turned to evidence against them, that they deserved to be deprived of their livings, and otherwise punished, unless they satisfied the legate by a pecuniary fine. By such means great sums were extorted; besides paying which, the poor priests were obliged to walk barefooted to the principal church of the place, in the most abject manner to beg absolution.

Such oppression was too much for Scotland to bear tamely, degraded as she was. The bishops of Glasgow, Murray, and Caithness, went to Rome, to complain of

Waldo's extortion, for which the pope called him to account; and as he could not clear himself, he was ordained to pay a heavy fine to his holiness, by which he divided the spoil with him, but the Scots got no redress; and the three bishops had to confess their sin in making the complaint, before they got absolution for themselves. See *Spotswood*, pp. 42, 43. from whom I have abridged this narrative. The thing took place in 1218. What oppressions must not our fathers have suffered, during the three hundred years that elapsed from that time to the Reformation! for in proportion as the priests were oppressed by their superiors, they would be obliged to oppress the common people.

Another measure which tended to rivet the yoke of Rome more firmly about the neck of the Scots, and to efface from their minds every thing like genuine Christianity, was the introduction of certain orders of monks, hitherto unknown in Scotland. These were Dominicans, Franciscans, and others, whom the bishop of St Andrews brought from France, and who settled down like locusts upon the country. They differed in some doctrinal points from one another: but they were all agreed in upholding the interest of their common father the pope. They professed extraordinary austerity of manners and sanctity of life; weaned the affections of the people from their former pastors; and even gained so much upon the good graces of the king and nobles, as to get monasteries built and endowed for them in different parts of the kingdom. About the same time the pope found out, that no hands but his own could convey to a bishop the proper spirit of his office. It then became necessary that they should travel to Rome for consecration, which they were obliged to do, at a vast expense to themselves, and greatly to the profit of the holy see.

From this time we may date the total extinction of the light of the gospel in Scotland. It may have continued to shine in some sequestered spots, but there are no visible traces of it. The wars between Bruce and Baliol soon followed. Edward I. King of England, revived the claim of su-

periority over Scotland, and on Baliol's consenting to acknowledge this, and do homage to the crown of England for Scotland, he got himself appointed King of Scots. But finding that his subjects despised him for the concession he had made, he was obliged to rebel against Edward who had made him king. Edward invaded, and after immense bloodshed, subdued Scotland; and carried away all the records and monuments of her independence that he could lay his hands upon; which is one reason why the materials of Scottish history prior to that period are so scanty. Sir William Wallace was almost the only man of note who did not submit to the English yoke; but he was betrayed, carried to London, and executed. Robert Bruce, after an arduous struggle, effected deliverance, expelled the English, and recovered the kingdom to himself and his posterity, who hold it to this day. But from the invasion of Edward to the dawn of the Reformation, Scotland was little better than a great human slaughter-house. Christianity seemed to have no more influence upon the character of the nobles and people generally, than it has upon savages who have never heard of it. Bruce himself was guilty of the murder of his friend Cumin, who indeed had sought to injure him; and he was afterwards very sorry for what he had done; but his compunction was not so much for the murder itself, as for its being perpetrated in a church, for which he had to make confession to the pope; and then as an atonement for his sin he ordered that after his death, his heart should be taken from his body, and buried in Jerusalem; which one of the Douglasses undertook to do; but on his journey, hearing that there was a war in Spain, he, as from a natural instinct, could not deny himself the pleasure of joining in the fray, where he lost his life; and the king's heart found its way back to Scotland. If the wisest and best prince of his age, as Robert was acknowledged to be, had such absurd views of religious and moral obligation, what must have been the condition of the great body of the people, who, instead of being instructed, were blinded and hardened in their sins by a vi-

cious and luxurious priesthood? Indeed we find nothing in Scotland, from this time, that deserves the name of religion, till we come to the period when Knox commences his history, Anno 1422.

The following is a short sketch of the state of the church at that period, which was within a year or two of the commencement of the reign of James I. "Having cleared the other parts of the kingdom of the most obnoxious nuisances, James next endeavoured to reform the ecclesiastical order. But the priests would not be corrected by the magistrate; for seizing the time when the sovereigns were engaged in wars, the priesthood, throughout all Europe, had by degrees withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, professing obedience to the Roman pontiff alone, and he, in return, indulged their vices, and cherished their licentiousness, that by the power of their order, he might have the monarchs more subservient to his will. Wherefore, the king resolved, by the only method remaining, to oppose their tyranny. As he perceived he had not the power to amend what was past, or to expel unworthy men from the honours they already enjoyed, he thought it best to provide for the future, and bent his whole attention to establish schools, supporting them liberally, that they might be seminaries for all ranks, and thence, as from a fountain, might issue whatever was to be great or excellent in any department of the state." "The monks, as they had degenerated from the simplicity and parsimony of their predecessors, so they had wholly withdrawn their attention from the culture of the mind to the care of the body. Nor was learning less despised among the other descriptions of priests, because their livings, in general, were either bestowed upon the most worthless members of noble families, men who were unfit for any other employment in life, or were intercepted by the fraud of the Roman see; and almost all the benefices were considered as sinecures for services, and those frequently not the most honourable.

"To such evils was added another, perhaps the principal source of the corruption

of ecclesiastical discipline—the orders of mendicant friars. They, at the first, by their pretensions to sanctity of life, easily imposed upon the people, who heard them more willingly than their parish priests, or curates, whose minds and bodies were equally gross. The curates, as they grew rich, grew lazy, and turning negligent about their duty, bargained with the friars, i. e. *brethren*, as they chose to be styled, for an annual salary, to deliver a few harangues to the people during the year; while they themselves resorted to cities, where they chanted idle songs, like magical incantations, of the meaning of which they were totally ignorant; nor did one of them ever look near his charge, except when the tithes were to be collected. By degrees they even withdrew from chanting at certain hours in the cathedral, which, although a light, was a daily labour, and hired some poor underlings to perform their functions of singing masses and reading prayers, only officiating in a certain task of psalms, ordered on particular days, when they played together in a kind of hollow murmuring, now contending in alternate verses, and now with a chorus introduced between the acts, and exhibited a sort of tragedy, which closed with a representation of the death of Christ. The hiring friars durst neither offend their employers, on whom their living depended, nor could they bear their insolence and their avarice. Wherefore, they fixed upon a middle course, in order to force them to pay their stipends; they inveighed often sharply against the luxury and licentiousness of the priests, and, after raving sufficiently to terrify them, and conciliate the people, they—prudently recollecting that they also were in sacred orders—concluded by teaching, that whatever abuses there were in the conduct of the priests, the order of priesthood was sacred and inviolable; nor had the civil magistrate any power of punishing them, for they were responsible only to God, and to the pope, who had almost equal power with God. As the avarice of the friars, however, increased with their luxury, and they could not hope for any great revenue from their usual employments, they prepared a new species of tyranny for

themselves, by turning their discourses to the merit of works of supererogation. Thence arose purgatory, and the purification of the souls whom the popes chose to detain there, by the sacrifice of the mass, the sprinkling of holy water, by alms, offerings, indulgences, pilgrimages, and the worshipping of relics. By the exercise of these scandalous corruptions, the friars claimed to themselves the empire of both the living and the dead.” *Buchanan, B. x. chap. 38. 39.*

In order to correct such flagrant abuses, James established schools, and gave great encouragement to learning, with the view of getting learned men promoted to benefices. He was himself one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age; and had he been suffered to live, would have greatly improved the state of his kingdom. But he was barbarously murdered in the prime of life; and his heir being an infant, all things fell again into confusion. By this time, however, the doctrines of Wickliffe had been extensively propagated in England, and had found their way into Scotland, together with copies of his translation of the scriptures, by which were sown the seeds of that reformation, in which the author of the following history bore so prominent a part.

It was at one time a matter of doubt, and even of public controversy, whether Knox had really written a history of the reformation in Scotland. At least it was doubtful whether that which bore his name was really of his writing; for it contained certain anachronisms which threw discredit upon it. If we find in the body of a work, without any note of distinction, a relation of events which are known to have happened after the reputed author's death, we naturally conclude, that the book must be the composition of another person. This was the predicament in which Knox's history stood before the publication of it from the manuscript in the library of Glasgow college. The publication of this edition, says Dr M'Crie, removed all doubts as to Knox's being the author. It was found to have none of the anachronisms which made the former editions suspected.

Crawford, in his life of Knox, prefixed to the edition above mentioned, says, "The first mention I have seen concerning this history, is in a letter from Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Scotland, to Sir William Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, 23d September, 1560, which I copied from the original, in which letter are these words. 'I have tawlked at large with Mr Knox concerning his historie. As mykle as ys wrytten thereof shall be sent to your honour, at the comynge of the lords embassadors by Mr John Woode. He hath wrytten only one booke. If you lyke that, he shall contynue the same, or adde onie more. He sayethe, that he must have farther helpe, then is to be had in thys countrie, for more assured knowledge of thynge passed, then he hathe hymself, or can come bye here; yt is a worke not to be neglected, and greatly to be wysht that yt sholde be well handled.'

From this passage it is put beyond all doubt, that in 1560, Knox had written one book of his history; and this must have been the second, containing an account of matters in which he himself had borne a conspicuous part. We can scarcely suppose that he required information from England with regard to these things. But he informs us in a note preceding his preface to the second book, that he had been induced by the persuasion of friends,—“divers of the godlie,”—who “earnestlie requiret, that such personis as God raisit up in the midst of darkness to oppone themselfis to the same sould not be omitted, we obeyet their request, and have maid a schorte rehersall of all suche matteris as concerne religioun, frome the deyth of that notable servand of God, Mr Patrik Haumiltoun unto the foirsaid yeir,” *i. e.* 1558. We can easily understand why he wished for information from England with regard to many things that occurred during that period. And in the following sentence in the first book, we find that it was written at least six years after the second. He is speaking of his friend “that notable man Mr George Bucquhanan,” who, “be the mercifull providence of God escapit, albeit with grit difficultie, the rage of thaim that socht his

bloode, and remainis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God 1566 yeirs, to the glorie of God, to the grit honour of this natioun,” &c.

If further evidence were wanting, it is to be found in the records of the general assembly; for at their first meeting after Knox's death, his servant Richard Bannatyne, who was his amanuensis, gave in a supplication, in which he stated, that Mr Knox had completed his History of the Reformation up to the year 1564, as was known to their wisdoms. But “of things done sinsyne, nothing by him is put in that form and order that he has put the former. Yet not the less there are certain scrolls and papers, and minutes of things, left to me by him, to use at my pleasure; whereof a part were written and subscribed by his own hand, and another by mine at his command, which, if they were collected and gathered together, would make a sufficient declaration of the principal things that have occurred since the ending of his former history in the year aforesaid.” He states that these papers would be lost, or rendered useless if put into the hands of persons not acquainted with them as he was; that he could not afford to arrange them at his own expense, as it would require long time; but that he would undertake the work if the Assembly would appoint him a suitable pension. They accepted his offer, and appointed him forty pounds a year. But nothing farther on the subject is on record. See Crawford's Life of Knox, as above.

Knox's history was first printed in London, in 1586, as appears by the following, which Crawford quotes from Calderwood's MS. history. “February, 1586, Voultroulier, the printer, took with him a copy of Mr Knox's History to England, and printed twelve hundred of them; the stationers, at the archbishop's command, seized them, the 18th of February; it was thought, that he would get leave to proceed again, because the council perceived, that it would bring the queen of Scots in detestation.” At this period it was no doubt a most desirable thing to queen Elizabeth, to get Mary queen of Scots exposed in as odious a light as possible; but she and her council were willing to forego even this, rather than to have the

free and independent sentiments of Knox published in England. This edition was never finished; but imperfect copies of it got abroad, one of which came into the hands of our indefatigable Wodrow, who compared it, so far as it went, with the Glasgow manuscript, and found an entire agreement between them, as appears by his letter to bishop Nicolson, dated Glasgow, Sept. 1st, 1701, in which he says, "I have now procured the old copy of Knox's History, in a large 12mo; it is marked at the beginning and the end, going no farther than the fourth book; it is probable it never had the fifth. In all things it jumps (agrees) with our manuscript, particularly in those places challenged by the author of the Fundamental Charter, and disagrees with the ordinary editions in the passages excepted against."

The first that professes to be an entire edition was published in London, in Folio, by David Buchanan, A. D. 1644, from which a reprint was made in Edinburgh, in quarto, the same year. Who this David Buchanan was, I do not know; but he appears to have been a man of respectable talents and learning.* He has a very long Preface, rather heavily written, as was the manner of his age. He is quoted, and respectfully mentioned by Dr Jamieson in his History of the Culdees; and I have availed myself of information derived from his preface, as the reader will have seen in the preceding pages of this Introduction. In his edition there are a great many deviations from the original, but whether he used an interpolated copy, or made interpolations himself, cannot now be ascertained. Wodrow was at the pains to compare his edition with the MS. in Glasgow college; and in his letter to bishop Nicolson, above mentioned, he points out the difference between them, in a great number of instances of both

omission and addition: and remarks as follows:—"You see how far the MS. and the old copy jump (*i. e.* the copy of 1586.) How Mr Buchanan has overlooked the old copy, which, no doubt, was to be had in his time, I cannot account for. Howbeit, the agreement of the MS. and the old copy seems to me another strong presumption of Knox's being the author of the History, especially if I add that the old copy was printed a little after Knox's death."

Among Buchanan's omissions is the following very striking passage in the Glasgow manuscript, which must have been also in the old copy, and it sufficiently accounts for the suppression of the book by authority, under such an arbitrary reign as that of Elizabeth. It is probable that Buchanan durst not venture to insert it in his edition, lest it should meet the fate of the former one, for Charles I. was as tenacious of the sacred and inviolable character of princes as Elizabeth was. Speaking of Mary, the queen, p. 74, 75, Knox says, "Lat men patientlie abyid, and turn unto thair God, and then sal he eyther destroy that hure in hir whurdome, or els he sal put in the hairtis of a multitude to tak the same veengeance upoun hir that hes bein tane of Jesabell and Athalia, yea and of utheris of quhome prophane histories mak mentioun, for gritter abhominatioun was nevir in the nature of ony woman than is in hir, quhair of we have but sein onlie the buds, but we will efter taist of the ryip frute of her impietie, if God cutte not hir dayis schort."

The present edition will be printed verbatim from that which was taken from the Glasgow college manuscript, which Dr M'Crie recommends as the only complete one worthy of being consulted. The orthography will be modernized; a translation of the words not now in common use will be given inclosed [] and such of David Buchanan's interpolations as contain useful information shall be inserted as marginal notes. It was at first thought to have made David Buchanan's edition the ground of the present one, corrected according to the Glasgow MS. copy: but on a closer examination, the differences were found so numerous as to exclude all hope of making

* In Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, under the article David Buchanau, we read, "a native of Scotland." His works are, "Historia Humanæ Animæ, Paris, 1636, 8vo. Histoire de la Conscience, 1638, 12mo. A short view of the present condition of Scotland, Lond. 1645, 4to. Relation to some passages wherein the Scots are particularly concerned, Lond. 1646, 12mo." I have no doubt this is the same person.

a correct edition otherwise than by adopting the correct copy.

The manuscript so often mentioned, was as Crawford informs us, presented to Glasgow college by Mr Robert Fleming, minister, first at Rotterdam, and then to the Scots congregation in London, who from his acquaintance with prophecy, was able to point out the era of the French revolution, a hundred years before it happened. He derived the manuscript from his grandfather, Mr James Fleming, who was married to one of Knox's daughters, and was an intimate friend of Mr John Knox, minister of Melross. "It is probable, that this manuscript is written with the hand of this last named Mr John Knox, by a writing upon the beginning of the MS. signed by the said Mr John Knox, which writing cannot be distinguished from that of the history. This seems the oldest and most valuable copy of the history now extant; of it the above named Mr Fleming gives the following account, in the preface to his practical discourse occasioned by the death of king William, printed at London, 1702, page 14. That his grandfather, Mr James Fleming, having married a daughter of Mr John Knox the reformer, came to be possessed of some of his manuscripts; and that especially by the means of Mr John Knox the younger, minister of Melross in the Merse, a relation of the former, though I know not, says he, how near, who was my grandfather's intimate friend; that among other papers, I found a manuscript copy of Mr Knox's History, which I sent to the library of Glasgow, that it might not be lost; that I sent along with it a loose leaf,* being the title page of an imperfect work, which seemed to be written with the same hand as the MS. History was, though I could not posi-

tively assert this; that if it was the same hand that wrote both, it was a plain evidence, that the author, at least the writer of the history, was not the reformer, but the younger Mr Knox, seeing the former died in the year 1572, and the other was alive nine years after. Therefore to unriddle all that was dark in this matter, I told that I could help with something traditional that way, viz., that I understood from my father, that Mr Knox the reformer had begun a history of this kind, and left large materials behind him for completing it; and that the latter Mr Knox had perfected the work, pursuant to the order of the General Assembly in the year 1573 or 1574, so far as it was to be found in this MS." This tradition is not perfectly satisfactory; for Richard Bannatyne states plainly, that Knox had not only begun, but "perfectly ended at the year of God, 1564." It is probable that Mr Knox of Melross assisted Richard in arranging the papers that he spoke of for completing the history, and then took a copy of the whole with his own hand. The minute of the Assembly requires the appointment of "some learned men to support Richard Bannatyne, to put the said history, that is now in scrolls and papers, in good form, with the aid of the said Richard," which implies that he should have literary aid as well as pecuniary provision. The author of *Iconographia Scotica*, gives a portrait and a short account of the life of this Mr Knox, who, he says, was no way related to the reformer; but being of the same name and profession, and being contemporaries, writers have often mistaken the one for the other.

I have only to inform the reader farther, that the fifth book is not in the Glasgow MS. It is probably the production of David Buchanan himself; at least it cannot be traced higher than his edition.

W. M'GAVIN.

March, 1830.

* This loose leaf is dated 1581. I have compared it with the MS. history; and the difference is not greater than that of the same hand at different times or with a different pen.

LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

I SHALL content myself with a very short sketch of the Life of the Author of the following history. His public life is embodied in his own work, from his first appearance as the friend and companion of the martyr Wishart, till within a short period of his death. And for his birth, education, private life, and correspondence, the reader is referred to Dr M'Crie's excellent work, which furnishes the fullest information on the subject.

If those men whom Providence has destined to be instructors and benefactors to their fellow-creatures, had some presage of future eminence in their infant countenance, as Moses seems to have had, there would be no subsequent controversy about the place of their birth, their parentage, or education, as every circumstance of their early life would be observed and carefully recorded. But in this, as in other respects, the future is wisely concealed from human eyes. Persons born in the middle and lower classes of society, are known only within a small circle at first; and before they can distinguish themselves by any great enterprise, they are often placed in situations where no one knows who were their parents, or where they were born. Every one, if he pleased, might leave on record some account of himself; but persons of distinguished merit are the last to think that the world would care for their early history; or, by the time that they have become distinguished, their hands are so full of important business, that they have no time to think, much less to write about their childhood and youth, which they remember to have been vanity.

Knox died in the year 1572, aged sixty-seven; so that he must have been born in 1505. The place of his birth is not certainly known, but it is generally agreed to have been in or near Haddington. There is nothing known with certainty of his an-

cestors, except what he relates in his history as having said to the earl of Bothwell: "My great-grandfather and father," says he, "have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them, (meaning his ancestors) have died under their standards." "These words," says Crawford, "seem to import that Mr Knox's predecessors were in some honourable station under the earls of Bothwell, at that time the most powerful family in East-Lothian." But every man in Scotland must have had honourable ancestors, if that is to be inferred from the simple fact of having died under the standard of some powerful chieftain. David Buchanan, the first editor of Knox's entire history, affirms that his father was a brother's son of the house of Ranferly in Renfrewshire, and the fact of his connexion with that family is admitted by Dr M'Crie, who informs us that his mother's name was Sinclair, which name he sometimes affixed to private letters instead of his own, in times of danger and persecution.

He who has risen by his own merit to the first rank in society, and to a conspicuous place in the history of his country, may give himself little concern about the rank of his parents, provided they have honourably filled the place, however low, which Providence assigned to them. But that Knox's parents were not of the lowest rank, appears from their being able to give him a learned education, which must have incurred considerable expense. He was put to the grammar school of Haddington, and afterwards sent to finish his education at the university of St Andrews. There is a fact not mentioned by any of his biographers, except by the writer of this, in a note to the late edition of the Scots Worthies. "In the records of the university of Glasgow, anno 1520, John Knox appears in the list of matriculated students, when, if it was our Reformer, he must have been

fifteen years of age, a proper enough time for his appearing in that character; and this was probably an intermediate step between his leaving the grammar school, and going to St Andrews, for there is no doubt of his having studied there." It is probable enough that he might spend a part of his youth with his friends in Renfrewshire, and that they would give him the advantage of attending a seminary so near at hand.

At St Andrews, he was the fellow-student of the afterwards celebrated George Buchanan; and it was well for both, that they had for their preceptor John Mair, or Major, a man who was considerably in advance of his neighbours, in useful knowledge and liberal thinking. Knox, while very young, received the degree of Master of Arts, and before he left the university, he became a teacher of scholastic theology, which Melchior Adamus, as quoted by Crawford, says he did with great authority, and was in some things more happy than his master; and David Buchanan adds, that he was advanced to church-orders before the time usually allowed by the canons. At this time he was a mere popish priest; but he had acquired too much light to suffer him to remain in the darkness of the cloister.

He has not recorded particularly the progress of his mind from darkness to light, or what were the means which Providence made use of for the purpose of leading him to embrace the truth. He must have been familiar with the vulgate scriptures, if not with Wickliff's translation into English; and we are informed by Adamus, already cited, that he carefully read over the writings of Augustine and Jerome, and found in them another kind of theology than that which had been long taught by the schoolmen. Both these great authors are still regarded as saints by the church of Rome, though she has long abandoned the doctrines which they taught. It was from Augustine that Luther, who was a monk of his order, learned a purer theology than was taught by the church; and Knox seems to have derived benefit from the same source. But he must have been early and intimately acquainted with

the Holy Scriptures, as appears from the ready extemporaneous use which he made of them, in preaching and in argument; and he yielded the most profound submission to their authority as supreme in all matters of faith and worship. The first sermon he preached, and for which he had little time to make preparation, was from a difficult passage in the book of Daniel, which he handled and applied as any protestant would do at this day. He is said to have profited much from the preaching of some who had embraced the truth before him, such as Thomas Guiliam, John Rough, and George Wishart, whose names and labours are recorded in the history. The progress of his mind to a clear perception of the truth was gradual, and not very rapid. "It was about the year 1535," says Dr M'Crie, "when this favourable change in his sentiments commenced, but, until 1542, it does not appear that he professed himself a Protestant." They must have been seven years of serious and deep reflection; and, perhaps in proportion to the slowness with which his mind yielded to the truth, was the firmness with which he afterwards held it.

After leaving college, we find him employed as tutor to the families of Ormiston and Langniddry, having his residence chiefly with the latter. His sentiments were known to be hostile to the established religion, and he was on that account in danger of suffering death at the stake, as many others had done, particularly his friend and father in the gospel, George Wishart, on whose character and sufferings he dilates with much interest in the history. The rage of his enemies increased on the death of Cardinal Beaton, in which certainly Knox had no hand; but to save his life, he took refuge with those who had effected it, in the castle of St Andrews; from which circumstance a great hue and cry has been raised against him, as becoming the voluntary companion of murderers. That can scarcely be called voluntary which a man is obliged to do to save himself from being burnt to death; but in point of fact, Knox did not look on those men as murderers, but as the executioners

of righteous judgment upon a murderer, and therefore he felt no scruples about making a common cause with them. They kept the castle as long as they could; but were compelled at length to surrender to the French, who broke faith with them, and sent some to prison, and others to the galleys. It was Knox's lot to be confined to the latter, in which he suffered a rigorous captivity of nineteen months; and it is uncertain by what means he obtained deliverance.

Knox never approved of Henry VIII's reformation of the church of England; for though that monarch threw off the authority of the pope, he retained many popish errors in doctrine, worship, and government. Henry died about the time that Knox obtained freedom from the galleys. He then went to England, expecting a more thorough reformation in the reign of Edward VI. under the administration of Cranmer. He was not entirely disappointed; but there was not so much improvement there as he desired and expected. He was appointed to preach in different places, and had a sort of stated residence in Berwick, where he diligently improved his time and talents; and formed an attachment, which, afterwards, issued in a happy marriage. "He spared neither time nor bodily strength," says Dr M'Crie, "in the instruction of those to whom he was sent. Regarding the worship of the popish church as grossly idolatrous, and its doctrine as damnable, he attacked both with the utmost fervour, and exerted himself in drawing his hearers from them, with as much eagerness as in saving their lives from a devouring flame or flood. Nor were his labours fruitless: during the two years that he continued in Berwick, numbers were, by his ministry, converted from error and ignorance, and a general reformation of manners became visible among the soldiers in the garrison, who had formerly been noted for turbulence and licentiousness."

He was afterwards removed to Newcastle, and placed in a sphere of still greater usefulness. He was appointed one of king Edward's chaplains in ordinary. He was consulted about a revival of the Book of Com-

mon prayer; and he had influence to procure some improvement of it. "These alterations," says Dr M'Crie, "gave great offence to the papists. In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the prolocutor, Dr Weston, complained of our countryman's influence in procuring them. "A runagate Scot," said he, "did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. In the following year he was employed in revising the Articles of Religion, previous to their ratification by parliament."

Knox had the honour of preaching before the king, and the much greater honour of refusing, first a city living, and then an English bishoprick, which, together with his reasons for doing so, gave high offence to his majesty's council, in which were several bishops, who, no doubt, regarded his conscientious scrupulousness as a reflection upon themselves. They told him they were sorry that his judgment was contrary to the common order; and, with his usual honest bluntness, he replied, he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. He appears to have perfectly understood the difference between a mere preacher of the gospel, and one who was pastor of a church. The sphere of the former is the world of mankind as sinners; the latter includes the oversight of a company of Christians, professing separation from the world; and one great object of the pastoral office is to watch over them, and take care that separation from the world be strictly maintained. Knox delighted to preach to Englishmen as sinners, whether papist or protestant; but he would not incur the responsibility of a pastoral charge over a congregation of them as Christians, because the law of the land would not suffer him to maintain their separation from the world. This is plainly expressed in his own words. He said, there were many things that needed reformation, without which, in his opinion, ministers could not discharge their office conscientiously in

the sight of God; for no minister, according to the existing laws, had power to prevent the unworthy from participating of the sacraments, which was a chief point of his office.

He remained in England, and even continued to preach for several months after the accession of Mary to the throne. That lady whom, not without good reason, he usually called Jezebel, soon procured the repeal of all the statutes that had been made in favour of the Reformation. Popery was re-established, and all who refused to conform were liable to suffer death as heretics. Still Knox manifested no disposition to leave his post. It was not till after it was known that his enemies were actually in search of him, that he was persuaded to leave the kingdom, by the urgent entreaty of his friends, and contrary to his own mind; for never, said he, could he die in a more honest quarrel, than by suffering as a witness for that truth of which God had made him a messenger. This step, though reluctantly taken, was evidently his duty, though it has been objected against him that he was too ready to take himself out of the way of danger. True courage consists in confessing the truth at all hazards, and suffering for it when that cannot be avoided without committing sin. But when it can be avoided by flight, Christ not only permits but commands it. "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another." Had Knox at that time been brought to trial, he would certainly have been committed to the flames, as many others were. But he was preserved for nearly twenty years longer labour in the service of his Master. It was some time, however, before his own mind was reconciled to his flight. He could scarcely acquit himself of what must have at least had the appearance of cowardice; and he was afraid that it might operate as a discouragement to the faithful few whom he had left behind him. His feelings on this occasion are strongly expressed in some of the private letters which he wrote at the time, from which Dr M'Crie has given very interesting extracts.

He arrived at Dieppe in France in Jan-

uary, 1554, from whence he travelled to Switzerland. "A correspondence," says Dr M'Crie, "had been kept up by some of the English reformers and the most noted divines of the Helvetic church. The latter had already heard, with the sincerest grief, of the overthrow of the reformation in England, and the dispersion of its friends. Upon making himself known, Knox was cordially received by them, and treated with the most Christian hospitality. He spent some time in Switzerland, visiting the particular churches, and conferring with the learned men." He afterwards went to Geneva, where he became acquainted with Calvin, a man of a kindred spirit, whose friendship he enjoyed till the death of that eminent reformer and divine. Here he fixed his residence till Providence found employment for him elsewhere.

During the heat of the persecution in England many protestants fled for their lives, and took refuge in different places on the continent where the reformation had been embraced. Frankfort, an imperial city in Germany, had done so. A number of the exiles had found an asylum there, where there was already a congregation of French protestants. By permission of the magistrates, the English got the joint use of the place of worship which had been allotted to the French, with liberty to conduct the service in their own language; but on condition that their mode of worship should differ as little as possible from that of the French congregation; and that they should avoid the use of certain ceremonies which were practised in England. Some of these ceremonies, and the dresses in which they were performed, were so much akin to popery, that the magistrates dreaded a breach of the peace, if they were again to be exhibited within the walls of their city. "The offer," says Dr M'Crie, "was gratefully accepted by the English, who came to an unanimous agreement, that in using the English liturgy they would omit the litany, the audible responses, the surplice, with other ceremonies, which in those reformed churches, would seem more than strange, or which were superfluous and superstitious." Knox accepted an invita-

tation to be one of the pastors of this church, to which he repaired, and "commenced his ministry with the universal consent and approbation of the congregation."

It might have been expected, that now he would be suffered peaceably to pursue the work of his vocation as a Christian pastor. He could not conscientiously accept that office in the church of England; but his objections did not apply to a congregation of Englishmen, in a foreign country, untrammelled by antichristian statutes. This congregation consisted only of men who were suffering exile for the sake of the truth. It must therefore have been a church as thoroughly Christian as perhaps any since the days of the apostles. Knox must have had upon the whole much satisfaction in their fellowship, and in ministering to them, though at first he found considerable difference of opinion among them, and some strife about the use of the liturgy, which has been England's great idol ever since the Reformation. Knox succeeded in effecting a compromise, by which the most objectionable parts of the liturgy were laid aside, and some things added suitable to their own circumstances. The whole church was thus brought to a happy agreement, they gave public thanks to God for it; and joined in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as a pledge of union, and the burial of all past offences. By effecting a compromise, I do not mean that Knox made any sacrifice of principle. He was not inimical to the use of a liturgy, provided it were purged of error and superstition. Nay, he and John Craig, by appointment of the General Assembly, in 1565, composed a book of prayers, for the use of the church of Scotland, as related by Calderwood. This was printed and prefixed to the metre version of the Psalms; and I suppose it was the original of what I described as Knox's liturgy, in a note to the history, p. 107

But the English church in Frankfort was not suffered long to enjoy peace and the benefit of Knox's ministry. The persecution still raged in England, and other sufferers were driven to seek refuge abroad.

Among those who came to Frankfort was Dr Cox, a very high churchman, who had been preceptor to king Edward VI., and probably had a hand in revising the liturgy as directed by that pious young prince. He could not endure that a word of the *sacred* composition should be omitted in public worship. Accordingly, the first sabbath that he and the other new comers were in church, they began, in the orthodox English fashion, to repeat the words of the prayer after the minister, to the disturbance of the congregation. No remonstrance would prevail on them to forbear. They were determined, they said, "to do as they had done in England; and they *would* have the face of an English church." "The Lord grant," said Knox afterwards, "they may have the face of *Christ's* church." This was the consequence of the half-measures, or compromise, to which Knox had consented, or rather had recommended. He had done so, I believe, in perfect sincerity, and without any sacrifice of principle, as I have just observed; but had he been enough enlightened to discard set forms of prayer altogether, as the church of Scotland did at a subsequent period; and had he and his co-pastors been content to pray as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance, they would not have suffered the unreasonable, nay, the wanton intrusion of such men as Dr Cox, who, seeing so much of the form of "an English church," must of course have regarded it as a monster without having also "the face" of one. Had they exhibited nothing but the divine simplicity of New Testament order and worship, they would have had no attractions at all for such sticklers for ceremonies, who would have formed a church for themselves, or have sought for one elsewhere.

A breach was now made which it was impossible to heal. The intruders found little difficulty in gaining a party to their side, among those who had still a lingering affection for the English forms; but the presence and the influence of Knox formed a mighty obstacle to their carrying all things as they desired. In order therefore to get quit of him, a scheme was devised,

which, for downright diabolical treachery, has scarcely a parallel in the history of any worldly kingdom, and only one in the history of the church, of which our Saviour himself was the victim. Soon after leaving England, Knox wrote a faithful admonition to the people of that kingdom, which will be found in the Appendix to this volume. In this he wrote in very strong terms of condemnation of Mary the English queen, and of her husband's father, the emperor of Germany, calling them enemies of Christ and his church. Frankfort was in the emperor's dominions, and though Knox had committed the crime, such as it was, while not a subject of his, some of his new brethren went to the magistrates of the city, with the book in their hands, pointed out the obnoxious words, and accused Knox of high-treason against the emperor, his son Philip, and Mary queen of England. Happily the Lutheran magistrates had more of the Christian spirit than these English sufferers for the truth. They saw the insidious treachery of the thing; but they could not protect the delinquent, should the emperor demand him, or require him to be delivered up to his enemy the queen of England. They therefore sent a private communication by a friend of his own, informing him of the charge laid against him, and advising him to leave the place; which might have made them liable to a severe reckoning, had their connivance at his escape come to the knowledge of the emperor.

He returned to his favourite retreat at Geneva; and soon afterwards, ventured to take a journey to England. His first object was to visit his wife and friends in Berwick, from whom he had been absent two years; and while with them, he heard such an account of the state of matters in Scotland, that he was encouraged to take a journey thither. He began to preach in Edinburgh in the house where he lodged, and he was heard with intense interest by all who could get access, including some of the nobility and gentry of rank. From this period he was constantly employed in different parts of the country, of which he has given an account in the history. The

clergy became dreadfully alarmed when they heard of his preaching, and at the rapid progress of the reformed doctrines. He was summoned to appear before a convention of them in Edinburgh; and he determined to obey the summons; which, when his enemies understood, they durst not meet him, and the convention was not held. He, however, kept the appointment; and on the very day on which he was to have been put on his trial, he began preaching again in Edinburgh to greater audiences than he had had before.

While thus busily employed at home, he received an invitation from the English church in Geneva to be one of their pastors. This church consisted of some of his former flock, who had left Frankfort the year before, and come to settle in Geneva, where they had liberty to worship God without being subject to the yoke of the ceremonies. It must have been very gratifying to him to receive this public testimony of his integrity from those who were best acquainted with his conduct in Frankfort, and the cause of his leaving it. Perhaps it was on this account that he so readily accepted the invitation. To the friends who had pressed him to remain in Scotland, he said, "Once he must visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave." At the same time he gave them to understand, that if his services were again required at home, he would not be backward to return. He proceeded to Geneva with his wife and her mother, then a widow, in July, 1556.

He was no sooner gone than his enemies, the clergy, renewed their summons, and they had the courage to meet for his trial, when they knew he would not appear. They condemned his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation; but as both were beyond their reach, they had to content themselves with burning his effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. This gave occasion to "The Appellation," one of his most spirited productions, which is in the Appendix.

Knox remained two years in Geneva in great peace and comfort, and had two sons born to him there. But his heart was still

in Scotland. In a letter to some friends in Edinburgh, March 16th, 1557, he says, (I quote from M'Crie), "My own motion and daily prayer is, not only that I may visit you, but also that with joy I may end my battle among you. And assure yourself of that, that whenever a greater number among you shall call upon me than now hath bound me to serve them, by his grace it shall not be fear of punishment, neither yet of the death temporal, that shall impede my coming to you." The same year he received an invitation to return, signed by some of the Scottish nobility. His correspondence on the occasion is recorded by himself in the history; and indeed from this period, the history of the Reformation, is so much the history of Knox himself, that I need add little more here. In little more than a year after his arrival, the Reformation was embraced by persons of all ranks throughout the kingdom; the protestant church was organized and established; and ministers were appointed to all the principal cities. Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where, after great labour and many vicissitudes, he ended his days in peace, and great spiritual comfort, the 24th of November, 1572. As he was laid in the grave, the Regent of the kingdom pronounced his eulogium in these memorable words, "Here lies he who never feared the face of man."

I cannot do better than conclude with the following summary of his labours and sufferings, by his excellent biographer, Dr M'Crie. No man of the age has done more important service to the cause of literature and historical truth than he has done, by presenting to the world the true character of one to whom, above every other, we are indebted for both the civil and religious privileges which we have so long enjoyed.

"He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind. Few men ever were exposed to more dangers, or underwent such hardships. From the time that he embraced the reformed religion, till he breathed his last, seldom did he enjoy a respite from

these, and he emerged from one scene of difficulties only to be involved in another, and a more distressing one. Obligated to flee from St Andrews to escape the fury of Cardinal Beaton, he found a retreat in East Lothian, from which he was hunted by Archbishop Hamilton. He lived for several years as an outlaw, in daily apprehension of falling a prey to those who eagerly sought his life. The few months during which he enjoyed protection in the castle of St Andrews were succeeded by a long and rigorous captivity. After enjoying some repose in England, he was again driven into banishment, and for five years wandered as an exile on the continent. When he returned to his native country, it was to engage in a struggle of the most perilous and arduous kind. After the Reformation was established, and he was settled in the capital, he was involved in a continual contest with the court. When he had retired from warfare, and thought only of ending his days in peace, he was again called into the field, and, although scarcely able to walk, was obliged to remove from his flock, and to avoid the hatred of his enemies by submitting to a new banishment. Often had his life been threatened; a price was publicly set upon his head, and persons were not wanting who were disposed to attempt his destruction. No wonder that he was weary of the world, and anxious to depart. With great propriety it might be said, at his decease, that *he rested from his labours.*"

The people of Scotland were very tardy in doing justice to the memory of our Reformer. Indeed his character was not properly appreciated till the appearance of Dr M'Crie's book. He had suffered so much from the false representations of popish and high church writers on the one hand, and from admirers of queen Mary on the other, that he was generally regarded as a sort of religious Mohawk, who was to be remembered only for the mischief he had done to our ancient cathedrals, the ruins of which were looked upon, and pointed out to travellers, as so many monuments of his ruthless fury. I well recollect the astonishment that was express-

ed by many persons, well informed on other points, when they read Dr M'Crie's narrative of his life, and the exhibition of his real character, to find that he was a gentleman, a scholar, and a warm hearted benevolent Christian, distinguished above any man of his age for the union of two things, which are but too rarely, in any age, united in the same mind, the love of his Saviour, and the love of his country, in relation to both her religious and civil interests. The current of public opinion was now turned in his favour; and people began to talk of some public testimony of respect for his memory. But this would probably have terminated in mere talk, but for the well directed zeal of the reverend Dr M'Gill, professor of divinity in Glasgow university, to whom this city is

indebted for the honour it has acquired by Knox's monument. He was the first to bring the subject before the public; and by most persevering activity, aided by the good offices of some of the most influential citizens, and of many friends to the cause at a distance, a sufficient sum was obtained for erecting the column and statue, which surmount the fir park to the north of the city. The ceremonial of laying the foundation, and circumstances connected with it, were published at the time, in a fugitive form. I think it worth while to put them into a more permanent shape, by making them a supplement to this short sketch of the Reformer's Life.

W. M'GAVIN.

Glasgow, Jan. 1831.



MONUMENT TO JOHN KNOX

ERECTED AT GLASGOW 1825.

Published by Blackie Fullarton & Co Glasgow.

CEREMONIAL
AT LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE
OF
KNOX'S MONUMENT.

DRAWN UP

BY JAMES CLELAND, ESQ., LL.D.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC WORKS IN GLASGOW,

AND DEDICATED AS FOLLOWS.

TO

THE REV. THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

THE LEARNED BIOGRAPHER OF JOHN KNOX,

THIS ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIAL

WHICH TOOK PLACE

AT LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE

OF A

MONUMENT

TO THE

GREAT SCOTTISH REFORMER,

IS, IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT FOR WORTH AND GREAT TALENTS,

INSCRIBED

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

ACCOUNT OF CEREMONIAL, &c.

It having occurred to the Rev. Dr MacGill, Professor of Theology in the university of Glasgow, that a monument should be erected in some prominent part of the city, to the memory of John Knox, the great Scottish Reformer, he communicated the idea to a few friends, who highly approved of it. After the number of subscribers had become considerable, a general meeting was held, resolutions were passed for carrying on the design, and a committee of management was appointed. And as the undertaking was, even to the most remote degree, unconnected with party feeling, its friends consisted of all parties, religious and political, who revered the great principles of the Reformation.

Mr Thomas Hamilton, an eminent architect in Edinburgh, with that liberality for which he is distinguished, presented a plan for the acceptance of the subscribers. The design, a Doric column, surmounted by a colossal statue, requiring a prominent site, the merchants' house, in the handsomest manner, gave permission to erect the monument in their park, which adjoins and overlooks the cathedral.

That the erection of the first monument in Scotland to the memory of its great Reformer, should be held in remembrance, it was thought advisable to lay the foundation stone with appropriate solemnity, in presence of the subscribers, and that the Rev. Dr MacGill, the pious, learned, and intrepid defender of the principles of the Reformation, and the projector of the monument, should be requested to lay the foundation stone; and farther, that the celebrated Dr Chalmers, formerly of St John's church, in this city, should be requested to preach a sermon on the occasion, and the venerable Dr Burns, the highly respected minister of the Barony parish, to offer up prayers for the success of the undertaking. These gentlemen having politely complied with the request of the committee; the following may be considered as an outline of the ceremonial.

* Professor Jardine has been uniformly attached to the principles of the Reformation. When that learned, distinguished, and highly respected character, had entered on his fiftieth year as Professor of Logic in this university, a very flattering compliment was paid to him by a number of gentlemen who had been his students. A jubilee dinner was given him in the Town Hall, on the 5th of May, 1824. William Mure, Esq.

MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

At half past twelve, on Thursday, the 22d of September, 1825, upwards of 300 of the subscribers met in the Trades' Hall, from whence they went in procession to St George's church. Dr MacGill, who headed the procession, was supported by Mr Monteith of Carstairs, M.P., and the venerable Professor Jardine.* These gentlemen were followed by a great number of town and country clergymen belonging to the established church, and to the secession and dissenting churches—then followed the architect, the committee, and the subscribers.

SERMON.

Having arrived in the church, which was crowded to excess, the Rev. Dr Chalmers preached from Jeremiah vi. 16. "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

The sermon † was brilliant, nervous, and powerful—learned in historical research—elegant in style—and delivered with all the impressiveness of the most impassioned eloquence.—The collection in aid of the subscription fund amounted to L.83 12s. 10d.

When divine service was ended, the procession moved along George's street, Duke street, and Ladywell street, to the merchants' park, in the same order that it came from the Trades' Hall, preceded by three operatives, carrying an inscription plate, bottles, &c. and by the office-bearers of St John's lodge, in their new clothing and jewels, prepared for the purpose. This ancient lodge, instituted in the year 1051, consisting of the freemen master masons in the city, very handsomely made offer of their services to do honour to the occasion.

The interest shown at this ceremonial was of no ordinary nature—the streets through

of Caldwell, chairman, and Viscount Glenorchy, croupier. The meeting consisted of 208 gentlemen, many of whom came from a great distance to do honour on the occasion. The chairman was a student in the professor's first class.

† The committee respectfully requested Dr Chalmers to print the sermon.

which the procession passed, were so crowded, that it was with difficulty the subscribers could move along, every window was filled with spectators, and the house tops were in full requisition. When the procession had reached the merchants' park, and commenced its progress to the summit through the winding walks, skirted with young planting, the scene was truly magnificent. In looking down to the church-yard, in front of the cathedral, the eye beheld probably ten thousand persons, whose continued shouts of approbation rent the air. To the most uninformed spectator, the sight must have been interesting; but to him who could bring into recollection, the many important transactions which had taken place in that venerable edifice, previous to the Reformation, and since that ever memorable period, the scene was grand beyond description.

On arrival at the site of the monument, the committee of management, the masons, Dr Chalmers, &c. ascended a platform, and as soon as the subscribers had occupied the places assigned them, silence was proclaimed, when Dr Burns, offered up a very suitable and impressive prayer as follows:—

PRAYER.

We worship and adore thee, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the One only the living and the true God. We come unto thee in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Mediator between God and man, and our advocate with the Father. We thank thee for thy distinguished goodness to the human race, in sending thy well-beloved Son into the world to seek and to save that which was lost. We thank thee for his condescending to assume our nature, for the depth of his abasement, the perfection of his obedience, the merit of his death, his triumphant resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he ever reigns at thy right hand, having all power in heaven and earth committed unto him. We thank thee that when he ascended up on high, he received gifts for men, that the Lord God might again dwell amongst us. We thank thee that he commanded his gospel to be preached in the world, and that it has been published in our land. We thank thee that when our forefathers were sunk in paganism and savage barbarity—and, afterwards, under the Christian name, were almost wholly overwhelmed with idolatry, superstition, and tyranny, that thou, O Lord, hadst mercy upon us, and didst visit us with the pure light of evangelical truth. We thank thee that the gospel has been long faithfully preached in our land, visibly accompanied with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. We thank thee that we have the Bible put into our hands,

translated into a language which we all understand; that we are permitted and encouraged, and by the means of education afforded us, are enabled to read it: and we thank thee that we are permitted to worship thee according to the dictates of thy word and of our own consciences, none disturbing us or making us afraid. Truly the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have received a goodly heritage of the Lord our God.

We thank thee for the happy constitution of civil government under which we live, by which the rights of the crown and the liberty of the subjects are equally secured. We pray that the choicest blessings of heaven may descend upon the head of our beloved sovereign King George. Long may he sway the sceptre over a free, a united, a religious, and a grateful people. Bless all the members of the royal family: may they be endowed with every gracious and princely virtue; and may one of that illustrious house never be wanting to support and to defend the Protestant constitution in church and state in these happy lands. Do thou bless all inferior rulers and magistrates under our king and over us; may they be a terror to evil-doers, but a praise and protection to them that do good. May the high court of parliament, always when assembled, be under the guidance of thy good Spirit, in enacting wise and salutary laws for advancing thy glory, securing and perpetuating the blessings of pure and undefiled religion among us, and for maintaining the rights, the liberties, and the religion of our country. May we ever remember, that to whom much is given much will be required; and may we all be careful, lest by abusing our privileges, we provoke thee to throw us back under the dominion of ignorance, superstition, and tyranny. Bless the magistrates of this city, and those who sit in council with them; may they enjoy the respect, the support, and the gratitude of the whole community over which they are placed. Bless the church which thou hast established amongst us. Bless all the ministers of the different denominations who faithfully preach Christ and him crucified; may it be their study to strengthen each other's hands, striving together for the faith of the gospel,—seeking only who shall love God most and serve him best; and bless the whole of our fellow-subjects of every rank and in every situation.

And now, Lord, we pray for a blessing on our present undertaking, in erecting an honourable monument to the memory of our great Reformer, John Knox; a man raised up by thee, and endowed with those qualities which peculiarly fitted him for being a distinguished instrument in the arduous work of delivering

this nation from spiritual thralldom and civil tyranny. Every time that we and our posterity look to this patriotic monument, may our hearts rise in gratitude to thee for the blessings we enjoy. May we be duly sensible of our inestimable privileges, both civil and sacred, and carefully improve them. May our liberty never degenerate into licentiousness, nor our gratitude abate; but may we be as eminent for the holiness of our lives, as we are distinguished by our national blessings.—Hear these our prayers, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, and to thy name be the praise now and for evermore. Amen.

At the conclusion of the prayer, Mr Rodger, a member of the committee of management, deposited in the foundation stone, a glass bottle, hermetically sealed, containing specimens of the gold, silver, and copper coins of the reign of George IV., and another glass bottle, containing six Glasgow newspapers, viz. Journal, Herald, Courier, Chronicle, Free Press, and Scots Times; a Scottish Almanack, and a Glasgow Directory.

The following extracts from Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, and statistical tables, were also inclosed in glass bottles, viz. Population tables for Glasgow, progressive from the days of Knox to the present time. Periodical division of the city into parishes, from the year 1592, when it was formed into two parishes, till the year 1820, when it was divided into ten parishes. A list of the names of all the presbyterian parochial clergymen who had been settled in Glasgow, from the Reformation to this time, with the dates of induction. An outline of the famous General Assembly, held in the cathedral of Glasgow, on 21st November, 1638. Declination and protestation by the dignitaries of the church of Scotland, against the sentence of the assembly. Comparative state of society in Glasgow, at various periods from the Reformation to this time. Excerpts from M'Crie's

Life of Knox, and a list of the subscribers to the monument.

Mr Cleland, a member of the committee of management, then read the inscription which was on a metal plate, as follows:—

To testify gratitude for inestimable Services
In the cause of Religion, Education, and Civil Liberty,
To awaken Admiration
Of that Integrity, Disinterestedness, and Courage,
Which stood unshaken in the midst of Trials,
And in the Maintenance of the highest objects,

FINALLY,

To Cherish unceasing Reverence for the Principles and
Blessings of that Great Reformation,
By the influence of which our Country, through the
Midst of Difficulties,
Has risen to Honour, Prosperity, and Happiness,
This Monument is Erected by Voluntary Contribution,
To the Memory of
JOHN KNOX;
The Chief Instrument, under God,
Of the Reformation of Scotland.

By the Favour of Almighty God,
The Foundation Stone was laid by
STEVENSON MACGILL, D.D.
Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow,
On the 22d day of September, MDCCCXXV,
And Sixth year of the Reign of our Most Gracious Sovereign,
GEORGE THE FOURTH,

In Presence of the Committee of Management, viz

Henry Monteith, Esq. M.P.	Walter Ferguson, Esq.
James Ewing, Esq.*	William McGavin, Esq. Treasurer.
Robert Dalglissh, Esq.	Benjamin Mathie, Esq. Secretary.
James Cleland, Esq. ²	Thomas Hamilton, Esq. Architect.
William Rodger, Esq.	William Warren, Esq. Designer of the Statue.
Thomas Hopkirk, Esq.	Robert Forrest, Esq. Statuary.
Andrew Mitchell, Esq.	John Herbertson, Esq. Resident Architect and Superintendent.
John May, Esq.	Mr James Carmichael, Contractor.
William M'Tyer, Esq.	
Robert Hood, Esq.	

Which undertaking may the Supreme God bless and prosper.

SUPERINTENDING COMMITTEE.

REV. DR. MACGILL, Convener.

James Ewing, Esq.	William Rodger, Esq.
James Cleland, Esq.	Thomas Hopkirk, Esq.

* The university of Glasgow has conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on Mr Ewing and Mr Cleland.

INSCRIPTION ON THE MONUMENT.

(NORTH SIDE.)

To testify Gratitude for inestimable Services
 In the Cause of Religion, Education, and Civil Liberty,
 To awaken Admiration
 Of that Integrity, Disinterestedness, and Courage,
 which stood unshaken in the midst of Trials,
 And in the Maintenance of the highest Objects.

FINALLY,

To Cherish unceasing Reverence for the Principles and
 Blessings of that Great Reformation,
 By the influence of which our Country, through the
 Midst of Difficulties,
 Has risen to Honour, Prosperity and Happiness,
 This Monument is erected by Voluntary Contribution,
 To the Memory of
 JOHN KNOX,
 The Chief Instrument, under God,
 of the Reformation of Scotland,
 On the xxii day of September, MDCCCXXV.

He died, rejoicing in the faith of the Gospel,

At Edinburgh on the xxiv of November A. D. MDLXXII, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

(EAST SIDE.)

Patrick Hamilton, a youth of high rank and distinguished attainments, was the first Martyr in Scotland for the cause of the Reformation. He was condemned to the flames at St Andrews in 1528, and the twenty-fourth year of his age.

From 1530 to 1540, persecution raged in every quarter; many suffered the most cruel deaths; and many fled to England and the Continent. Among these early Martyrs were Jerome Russell and Alexander Kennedy, two young men of great piety and Talents, who suffered at Glasgow, in 1538.

In 1544, George Wishart returned to Scotland, from which he had been banished, and preached the gospel in various quarters. In 1546, this heavenly-minded man, the friend and Instructor of Knox, was also committed to the flames at St Andrews.

(SOUTH SIDE.)

Among the early and distinguished friends of the Reformation should be especially remembered Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Archibald earl of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, afterwards known by the name of "the Good Regent."—

John Erskine of Dun, and John Row, who were distinguished among the reformed Ministers, for their cultivation of ancient and modern literature—

Christopher Goodman and John Willock, who came from England to preach the gospel in Scotland—

And, John Winram, John Spottiswood, and John Douglas, who with John Row, and John Knox, compiled the first Confession of Faith, which was presented to the Parliament of Scotland: And also the first Book of Discipline.

(WEST SIDE.)

“The Reformation produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest, as well as the most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity.”

In 1547, and in the city where his friend George Wishart had suffered, John Knox, surrounded with dangers, first preached the doctrines of the Reformation. In 1559, on the 24th of August, the Parliament of Scotland adopted the Confession of Faith presented by the Reformed Ministers, and declared Popery to be no longer the religion of this kingdom.

John Knox became then a Minister of Edinburgh where he continued to his death the incorruptible guardian of our best interests. “I can take God to witness,” he declared, “that I never preached in contempt of any man; and wise men will consider, that a true friend cannot flatter; especially in a case that involves the salvation of the bodies and souls, not of a few persons, but of a whole realm.” When laid in the grave, the Regent said, “There lieth He who never feared the face of man; who was often threatened with dag and dagger, yet hath ended his days in peace and honour.”*

The plate having been deposited over the bottles, and the operative and master masons having completed their part of the ceremony, the Rev. Dr MacGill laid the foundation stone with all the honours usual on such occasions, pronouncing the masonic benediction. “May the grand Architect of the universe, enable us successfully to carry on and finish the work, of which we have now laid the foundation stone, and every other undertaking which may tend to the advantage of the city of Glasgow and its inhabitants, and may this monument be long preserved from peril and decay.”

The foundation stone having thus been laid, the subscribers and surrounding multitude gave three cheers. Dr MacGill then advanced to a table in front of the platform, and addressed the subscribers with great eloquence and energy, as follows:—

Mr Ewing, and Gentlemen Subscribers,—We have now the happiness of witnessing the commencement of a monument, to the memory of that great man, who was the chief instrument under God, of the Reformation in Scotland. When we united for this purpose, we had objects in view of no small importance, as we

conceived, to the interests of our country. We proposed to pay honour to one of its greatest benefactors; and, in paying to him this debt of justice, to cherish admiration of those high qualities for which he was distinguished, and to keep alive the remembrance of those great events and principles, with which his name is associated.—Cheers.

At the period of the Reformation, Scotland, like the other nations of Europe, was not only involved in all the evils of feudalism and general ignorance, but was borne down by a system of debasing superstition, imposture, and spiritual tyranny. I shall not enlarge, gentlemen, on the absurd and degrading doctrines and practices which were taught and enforced under the pretended authority of God—on the frauds, exactions, and domination of a corrupt priesthood—nor on the burdens and evils of subjection to a distant and foreign jurisdiction. I observe only that the great doctrines of the gospel were unknown or perverted—that wretched mummeries and observances, and the worship of innumerable saints, came with deadening power betwixt the soul and its God and Saviour, corrupted the first principles of holiness,

* The total amount subscribed for the monument, including L.80 from Mr May for the statue, was L.1377 17s. 9d. which being L.71 more than the expenditure, this sum was consigned to the magistrates for the purpose of keeping the monument in repair, and

the following functionaries are authorised to superintend the same, the professor of divinity of Glasgow college, the Dean of Guild of the merchants, and the Deacon Convener of the trades connected with the city.—Ed.

and assumed the place of the most important duties—that the clergy were ignorant, idle, and licentious—that the word of God was prohibited to the people—that religious services were performed in an unknown tongue—that the mind was wholly subjected to the dictations of men—that the avenues to truth were closed—and, while the people were perishing for lack of knowledge, every declaration of better principles was punished with imprisonment and death.

And ought not deliverance from a state like this to be remembered with gratitude to God? And should not he who was the chief instrument in effecting it, receive the honours of a grateful country? (Loud cheers.) And, gentlemen, how many blessings accompanied our deliverance from this state of spiritual debasement! Then were the treasures of heavenly wisdom laid open, and we became acquainted with those Holy Scriptures, which are able to make us wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Jesus Christ. Then were we enabled with the understanding and the heart, to offer up a reasonable and acceptable service through the only Mediator. Then was the mind freed from the tyranny of interested men, enabled not only to search the scriptures, but to dwell in meditation over its precious truths, and to feel all their ennobling and renovating influence. Then were all his duties, and principles, and hopes, presented in fulness and purity to the simplest Christian, for the guidance of his purposes and his life. Then did the consolations of heavenly truth, come forward in all their native power, to heal the broken-hearted. The acceptable year of the Lord was again preached to mankind; and the day of the Sun of Righteousness, began again to illuminate and bless a benighted world! (Cheers.) Well might a celebrated historian say of the Reformation, “That it rescued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a Revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest, as well as the most beneficial, that has happened since the publication of Christianity.”

But if this may be said of the Reformation generally, much more may it be said of the Reformation in Scotland. The evils from which it delivered us were peculiarly great, and the change it effected more thorough, scriptural, and perfect, than in most other nations. (Cheers.) Far be it from me to detract from the character of the great men of other kingdoms, from the views by which they were guided, or the general excellence of the work which they achieved. But if others are allowed their preferences, so we also may be allowed ours. And I would conceive myself

unworthy the place which I now occupy, if I did not openly and unequivocally declare my conviction, that the Reformation in Scotland—which some men have attempted to disparage—introduced a system superior to that of most other nations; fitted in a higher degree to promote the interests of practical religion, and the general welfare of men; and that the peculiarities which distinguish it should be hailed as blessings of the first order, celebrated with gratitude, and sacredly preserved. (Very great cheering.)

And while such were the inestimable services rendered by our great Reformer in the cause of religion, we find him with the same enlightened zeal supporting the interests of education and of learning. So far from being fearful of the progress of knowledge, he considered it as one of the most powerful auxiliaries in the great cause to which he was devoted. He was not the man who considered ignorance to be the mother of devotion. (Cheers.) And as he was the great mean of rescuing the Bible from the power of an interested priesthood, of laying open its treasures to men of every description, so, with his great coadjutors, he united to carry into effect the same desire, which was expressed by our late venerable sovereign, that every man in this kingdom should have a Bible, and should be able to read it. (Cheers.)—Well directed learning, they also knew, would only serve to establish the cause of the sacred scriptures—to illustrate more fully the certainty of the facts which they record—the excellence of the truths which they reveal—and the strength of the rock on which their authority is founded. While, therefore, the very nature of the Reformation accelerated the progress of knowledge, the Reformers in Scotland sought to encourage and confirm the spirit which it awakened; to extend the blessing of education to men of every order; and to direct and insure its aid to the best interests of men. With these views, they required that schools should be erected in every parish for instruction in reading, grammar, Latin, and the principles of religion: they laid down salutary regulations for the universities: and they farther recommended, that institutions should be formed in every considerable city for instruction in the higher branches of a learned and useful education. For these great objects they also pointed out the means of a suitable provision: and, with a noble disinterestedness, they proposed, that from those funds which the clergy of other nations have considered as their own, a large portion should be taken for universities, colleges, and parish schools. (Great cheering.) In the noise of selfish factions, their voice for a time was not

heard; yet in one particular, at least, their call was at last regarded; and the establishment of parish schools has added another claim to the gratitude of their country.—(Loud and continued cheering.)

“With the prosecution of these high objects, gentlemen, it is impossible for me to omit stating, that the distinguished man to whom this monument is devoted, maintained strenuously the principles, and endeavoured anxiously to obtain for his country the blessings of civil liberty.—(Loud cheers.)—I am sensible that expressions and sentiments have occasionally been uttered by great and good men, in times of violence and oppression, which ought to be received with modification, and considered in connection with the circumstances to which they were applied. There are points also, connected with the general subject, on which enlightened men have differed, and which ought to be approached at all times with delicacy and caution. But with all these allowances, it is never to be forgotten that the blessings of civil liberty are of the first class in human life; and that the great men who contributed to obtain and secure them, are to be regarded amongst the first of our national benefactors.—(Cheers.)—It is not for the free men of a free country to speak with indifference of the blessings of a well regulated freedom. And to shrink from the expression of our love of it, would be to act unjustly to ourselves and our country, and, in my estimation, most injuriously to the constitutional monarchy, under which we have the happiness to live; which is one of the greatest safeguards of liberty, protecting us most effectually from the dominion of foreign foes, while it guards us from the disorders of the ambitious, the excesses of the violent, and the oppressions of the powerful.—(Loud cheering.) Maintaining the principles which were afterwards proclaimed and established at the great revolution, Knox was the enemy of despotism, both in the church and the state. (Hear, hear, hear.)—He enforced strongly the duties of obedience to lawful authority, and that mutual respect which men of every rank owe to one another. But he also maintained, when the occasion demanded, in the presence of princes and nobles, of ministers and people, that rulers must rule in the fear of God, that the highest authority must rule according to the laws, (cheers)—and that the laws must respect equally the interests of men of every condition. Nay, he maintained that there were occasions, extraordinary occasions, and which he defined—when oppressors must be resisted, and sensibly taught that power was intended for good, and not for destruction. Imbued with these principles, there arose, in successive generations, and

in that church which he assisted to form, those men of lofty bearing, of firm countenance, and of stern integrity, who withstood the storms of persecution, and finally contributed to repair the walls, and build up those towers of strength and beauty, under the shade of which our country now rests in security and honour. (Loud cheers.)

“And now, gentlemen, let me ask you to consider the circumstances in which these great services were done by our illustrious Reformers. It was when the highest powers of the state, as well as those of the church, had armed themselves to oppose every approach to the principles of the Reformation—it was after the amiable and youthful Hamilton, whose appearance and character would have softened the hearts of savages, had finished his short but glorious course, by the hands of remorseless churchmen—it was only a few days after the meek and heavenly-minded Wishart had been committed also to the flames—it was then, and on the same spot, where his friend had suffered, that Knox first publicly denounced the errors and impostures of popery, and with a boldness of eloquence which never before had sounded in Scotland, made the bulwarks of Antichrist to shake from their foundation. Nor was this noble and fearless zeal the effect of temporary and high-wrought feelings, or of rash and hasty determination. It was the deliberate preference of duty to worldly interest. It was the determination of a superior mind, devoting itself to God, and the highest interests of his fellow-creatures. (Loud and continued cheering.) Founded on principle, his zeal was constant and persevering. The high pitch of his soul was sustained throughout the whole of his life; and his resolution stood firm in the midst of the severest trials. Compare his conduct with that of the greatest men of other nations, and say how few can be produced who have trodden the path of rectitude with a step so firm, resolute, and undeviating. (Cheers.)

“Hence his influence in the councils of the church and the state. And hence it was that his eloquence came with such resistless power on the minds of his countrymen. It was not merely that his cause was great, that the truths which he delivered were infinitely important, and attended with convincing evidence; nor was it only that his judgment was vigorous and discriminating, his statements clear, and his conception lofty—it was more than all this—it was the open sincerity of his character, the integrity of his life, the disinterestedness as well as the wisdom which distinguished his conduct. (Loud and continued cheering.) His sentiments were enforced, not only with all the pathos of immediate feeling, but with the

stronger expression of determined principle. His vehemence was accompanied with all the strength of self-command, and power of a great and upright mind; nor was the effect of his words ever lessened for a moment, by the suspicion that unworthy feelings mingled with the urgency of his persuasion. Seldom, accordingly, has there appeared in any country, a man, who, unaided by adventitious circumstances, produced greater effects on those whom he addressed. And hence it was said of him by the English ambassador, when writing to the great minister of Elizabeth—'where your honour exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you, the voice of one man is able to put more life in us in an hour, than 600 trumpets blustering in our ears.' (Loud cheers.)

"I am not unacquainted with the objections which have been made to some parts of the conduct of our great Reformer—that he is accused of undue severity of speech—of impropriety in the topics which he sometimes introduced into the pulpit—of interference with concerns which belonged to statesmen more than to him—and that the beauty of the buildings devoted to popish superstition could not save them from the effects of his indignation. On the last of these accusations, I observe, that he opposed the irruptions of popular violence, and called upon Protestants to avoid 'all associations with the ambitious, the factious, and the turbulent.' That the destruction of popish buildings which he approved, was the decree of public authority—that this was not extended to churches, and was only applied to monasteries, which had been the seats of idleness, vice, and debauchery. It is true that he addressed Mary, his queen, with plainness on subjects connected with the public weal and her own best interests—but it is denied that in so doing he behaved towards her with rudeness or disrespect. His topics in the pulpit, and his interference with matters of public policy, are to be judged by times and by circumstances. He did nothing in these respects which was not common in that age, not only in Scotland, but England, France, and other kingdoms of Europe. Yet this forms but a small part of his defence. What he did was the duty of necessity, dictated by foresight, well-founded jealousy, and a just estimate of the public interest. The public conduct which he reprobated, was connected with the very existence of that religion which his country had but lately and with the hardest struggles obtained—it was the conduct of those who were conspiring to overturn by nefarious means this religion so dear to him and to his country—it was the conduct of those who even signed that bloody deed which devoted Protestants to mas-

sacre and extermination—nay, dared to express their triumphs in its commencing atrocities!

Who will say that such extraordinary times and circumstances did not require and justify extraordinary means? Or who will venture to blame the man who, in such circumstances, sounded to his country, lulled asleep by artifice, the note of warning and alarm; and at the hazard of life and comfort, saved religion and its friends from destruction, though it should have been by a martial deviation from professional propriety? Knox, too, it is to be remembered, was no common character. Though not distinguished by external rank, he possessed a rank of a higher order—that which arises from worth and talents, and benefits rendered to his country. By his personal excellence he had risen to influence among men of every order. He was capable of forming a judgment of events and of times, better than most men of his age. He had also been personally concerned in establishing that religion which was now threatened to be overthrown; and he had himself witnessed and passed through, those bloody scenes which were about to be renewed.—(Cheers.) If indignation at times burst forth in language too strong, let us not condemn with severity the tincture of alloy which mixes with so much that is great and noble. Let us not defend every expression and sentiment, which either from misapprehension, or high excitement, he sometimes delivered—but let us look to the palliations which accompany the error; and remember, that, with every exception, which the most scrupulous and prying jealousy can discover—a higher character, or greater benefactor to his country, will hardly be found, than that distinguished man to whom is erecting the monument before us.—The learned and eloquent professor concluded amid rapturous and long continued cheering.—I have now only to offer my thanks to you, Sir, and the other gentlemen to whom was intrusted the duty of carrying forward our design, for your invaluable services—and to all the subscribers generally, for their uniform and friendly support: at the same time, I beg leave to express my warmest acknowledgments for many kind attentions which I have personally received; and humbly to assure you, gentlemen, of my best wishes for your happiness."

Mr Ewing, one of the members of the committee of management, delivered the following reply with that eloquence and energy for which he is so very conspicuous.—

"Dr M'Gill: On the part of the committee, whom I have now the honour to represent, I beg to express the pleasure I have received from

the sentiments contained in your address,—sentiments which have proceeded with great propriety from you, by whom the doctrines of the Reformation have been so long and so faithfully maintained. (Loud cheering.)—Sir, the mind that can be insensible to the blessings which the country has derived from that magnificent event in our history, must be either blinded by ignorance, or perverted by prejudice. It was at the Reformation that light dawned on the human intellect, and dispelled the shades of bigotry and superstition. It was the Reformation, accompanied with the discovery of printing and the revival of letters, which unlocked the boundless stores of science and philosophy. It is to the Reformation we owe that system of popular education—which has contributed so much to the intelligence, the industry, and the morals of Scotland. It is to the Reformation we are indebted for the right of private judgment, and that free and happy constitution, which is the best birthright—the noblest inheritance of Britons. It is the Reformation we have to thank for the wealth of the nation, which had previously been drained by the rapacity of a foreign priesthood. It is to the Reformation we must trace the sources of our commercial prosperity, for it was in Britain that the arts found an asylum, when expelled from other lands by the horrors of persecution.—(Cheers.) In place of convents, we now behold manufactories; in place of dissolute and ignorant monks, we behold a virtuous and enlightened clergy; in place of idle mendicants, dependent on monasteries, we behold industrious artisans, who would scorn subsistence but from their own labour. And shall we not hold dear the memory of the man who was the instrument, under Providence, of achieving such a victory for Scotland? (Cheers.)—Shall we wreath the laurel, and raise the trophy to the military hero, and shall we neglect him who fought against the powers of darkness? Shall we forget him who despised every fear, braved every danger, stormed the stronghold of papal tyranny, and levelled its bulwarks in the dust? Forbid it gratitude! Forbid it justice!—(Loud and continued cheering.) Sir, I am aware that the character of such a man requires no memorial from us. It needs not the classic column to record its excellence: it needs not the graceful statue to recall the form in which it dwelt: it lives on the page of history: nay, it is registered in the hearts of posterity. Still, it is a debt which we justly, though tardily pay, it is a tribute due from the city where our forefathers were among the first to suffer in the cause,—and the moral influence of such a monument, in such a scene, and in such a commu-

nity as this, may be felt by generations yet unborn.—(Great cheering.) You have alluded, Sir, to the charge which has been brought against the authors of the Reformation, as to encouraging the dilapidation of religious edifices. Permit me to go a little farther than you have done:—and, deprecating, as I must do, all such acts of vandalism—to say, that the original order in 1560, was simply to pull down the images and altars, but to be particular in doing no farther injury; so that the mischief must be traced to the ebullitions of popular tumult. It has even been alleged, that the cathedral, which now stands before us in all the beauty of youth—amidst all the venerableness of age—was devoted to destruction by the preaching of Knox, and saved by the public spirit of our craftsmen: but, it is sufficient to state, in refutation, that the event alluded to did not occur till seven years after his death.—It now remains for me, Sir, to discharge a very pleasing part of my duty. To yourself, in the first place, I have to express the obligations we must all feel, as the original projector and the ardent promoter of this undertaking. Of the resistless eloquence which has this day been displayed, as usual, by Dr Chalmers, in the cause, any thing which I could say would only enfeeble the force. To Mr Hamilton of Edinburgh, who volunteered his professional skill, we are indebted, not only for the architectural design, but for much valuable and gratuitous advice; nor can we omit the less prominent, but not less useful co-operation of Mr Herbertson, architect of this city. Another gentleman, Mr Warren, who holds a family claim to distinction in the arts, has afforded us the benefit of his taste in drawings. The self-taught and retiring genius of Mr Forrest, who is executing the statue, only requires opportunity for developement,—and the generosity of Mr May, who is to defray the expense, stands in no need of encomium. Of the committee, it would not become me to speak, but it is impossible not to particularize two gentlemen, Mr M'Gavin the treasurer, of whom it is sufficient to say, that he bears the title of “the Protestant,” and Mr Cleland, whose services have been invaluable, and whose name stands associated, not only with the history, but the improvements of the city.—(Loud cheering.) To the subscribers, who all came forward with an alacrity that conferred additional credit on their liberality, I am sure I may add, that they will long feel a satisfaction in the good work which they have enabled us to accomplish.” Mr Ewing having concluded, the subscribers and the surrounding multitude gave three hearty cheers.

The ceremonial having been finished, the subscribers left the ground. The procession

was guarded from the Trades' Hall to the church, and thence to the site of the monument, by a strong posse of police officers, patrol and substitutes, under the able direction of Captain Graham, superintendent of police. The arrangements of the police were such, that notwithstanding the innumerable crowd of spectators assembled to witness the interesting spectacle, not the slightest accident occurred. The weather was very propitious, which added greatly to the interest of the scene.

DINNER.

HENRY MONTEITH, Esq. M. P. Chairman.
JAMES EWING, Esq. Croupier.

STEWARDS.

Robert Dalgligh, Esq.
James Dennistoun, Esq.
Willia M'Tyre, Esq.
James M'Kenzie, Esq.
James Cleland, Esq.
William M'Gavin, Esq.
William Rodger, Esq.
Alexander M'Gregor, Esq.
William Dunn, Esq.
Robert Grahame, Esq.
Andrew Mitchell, Esq.
Robert Hood, Esq.
Henry Paul, Esq.
David Todd, Esq.
James Playfair, Esq.

John May, Esq.
Gabriel Walker, Esq.
Patrick Falconer, Esq.
John Wilson, Esq.
Walter Ferguson, Esq.
William Liddell, Esq.
James Hutcheson, Esq.
William Craig, Esq.
John Alston, Esq.
William Kippen, Esq.
Benjamin Mathie, Esq.
George Burns, Esq.
John Sommerville, Esq.
Allan Buchanan, Esq.
David Stow, Esq.

The chair was supported by the Rev. Dr MacGill, and the Rev. Dr Chalmers, and the croupier by John May and William M'Gavin, Esquires.

When the cloth had been removed, the chairman introduced the following toasts, with appropriate speeches:—

- The King.
- The Royal Family.
- The British Constitution.
- The Imperial Parliament.
- His Majesty's Government.
- The Duke of York and the Army.
- Lord Melville and the Navy.

These toasts were drunk with all the honours,—the king with enthusiasm.

The chairman then said, were he more capable than he was, it would be presumption in him to attempt to draw the character of the distinguished individual who formed the subject of his next toast, and, indeed, of the business during the whole day, (cheers) his talents, his intrepidity, his very faults, if he might be allowed the expression, were all calculated for the times in which he lived, and the great work which he carried on to a successful conclusion. What could he say, nay, what needed he to say, to make every one in that house receive with pleasure as a toast, "the great apostle of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox." This toast was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

The chairman said, in rising to propose the health of Dr MacGill, a gentleman to whom we lay under so many obligations, he should not find it necessary to say much. He was well known to the meeting, and highly regarded by the community as a man of piety, learn-

ing, and public spirit, and one who delighted "to walk in the good old paths." The chairman said, we owe this meeting to the Reverend gentleman, for without his valuable and unceasing exertions, we should have had no monument at this time to the memory of Knox. The toast was received with rapturous and long continued applause.

Dr MacGill, after returning thanks for the honour which had been paid him, spoke in substance as follows:—"It was very little that I could have done to promote the good object which I had the fortune to suggest, had not the public received it with approbation, and many men of generous minds and public spirit, come forward to give it their support. Among these, permit me to begin with mentioning yourself, Mr Chairman, as the gentleman who commenced the subscription, and with that liberality and good will by which your conduct has long been distinguished. (Cheers).—Nor is it only the direct advantage which the cause thus received which we have to acknowledge, but the benefit of your example in removing any lurking prejudices or fears which some good men might be in danger of entertaining—presenting the object as one of general interest, in which men of all parties, who valued the principles of their religion, and their country, might unite, as men possessing common interests and a common cause, and sustaining the great common character of Protestants and Scotsmen. The liberal conduct of the merchants' house, tended also greatly to promote our design, by granting us a site upon their grounds, so suitable and so striking, and connected with a scene so sacred and affecting. Nor can I help noticing, with feelings of gratitude, the warm and affectionate reception given to our object, by the trades' house of this city, who, with that attachment to our great Reformers, for which they are distinguished, were ready to have granted a much higher aid than that which was solicited. A similar spirit, I must add, pervaded the various incorporations. But who were to take charge of subscription papers, and submit to the irksome task of application to their fellow-citizens? Money, it is said, is the sinews of war, and it was equally essential for our object: the same good spirit removed also this difficulty. We had only to furnish the subscription papers. The gentlemen asked to take charge of them, gave a cheerful assent; and with a zeal and activity, which I can never forget, fulfilled their important but laborious undertaking. And I rejoice to think, their task was often lightened by voluntary proffers of service, in the course of their duty. Their names, though too numerous to be specified, will always be

remembered with honour by those who take an interest in the monument to Knox. In the committee of management, appointed by the subscribers, the same interest and zeal for the cause, seemed to animate every member. Mr Mathie being chosen secretary, fulfilled the duties of that office, with that attention and kindness, which, on many such occasions he displays; and I need scarcely mention, that the duties of treasurer, with all their labour and trouble, were performed in a manner peculiarly calculated to promote our design, when I remind you, that they were undertaken by him, who is so honourably distinguished, as has been observed, by the name of "the Protestant." Of the members of the superintending committee, I can scarcely say too much. When I mention the names of Mr Ewing, Mr Cleland, Mr Rodger, and Mr Hopkirk, gentlemen so well known for their knowledge and good judgment in matters of this nature, and for the diligence and ability with which they perform every office which they undertake; I do enough to give confidence to the subscribers, both in regard to what has been done, and in regard to what remains to be accomplished. But I may farther venture to say, that their attention on this occasion, has never been surpassed, seldom equalled, even by themselves. Never did men unite to the furtherance of any undertaking, who acted with more zeal and unanimity. I mean not unanimity always in opinion; but what was far better, unanimity of spirit. We gave openly and candidly, our different sentiments on every subject, and cheerfully acquiesced in the same measure, which, after deliberation, seemed to be the best. On the precise spot in the park, for the site of the monument, there were three different opinions; and we agreed to refer the decision to Mr Hamilton, the architect.* He, with that friendliness which has marked all his conduct, travelled from Edinburgh for the purpose; and decided for that noble situation on which the monument is now erecting—and I must acknowledge, that though it requires some time to break up the associations which our imaginations connect with a particular idea, I am now convinced that he decided justly, and that he and a member of the committee was right, and I was wrong.—(Hear, hear.)

I would act unjustly to Mr Cleland, did I not add, that besides discharging with his accustomed zeal and attention, his duties in common with the other members of the sub-committee, he rendered other most important services of a peculiar kind; and services which

led to a degree of labour and trouble, which would have been counted singular in any person but himself to have undergone—and all this performed with such ungrudging readiness, as doubly enhanced the value of the favour. Indeed, it seems almost peculiar to that gentleman, that the more you ask him to do for the benefit, either of the public, or of individuals, the more pleasure you seem to give him. (Hear, hear.) With the obligations which we owe to Mr Hamilton, the architect, who gratuitously presented to us the design of the monument, you are already acquainted—and I have only to add, that the same spirit has animated him to the present moment, and led him not only to come to Glasgow formerly, as I have noticed, but also this day to favour us with his presence. (Hear, hear, hear.) The ability also, with which Mr Herbertson executed the working plans, and his liberality in giving these gratuitously, with his valuable services in superintending the building, deserve our particular acknowledgments. I have still to call your attention to a very difficult part of our design, the designing and modelling the statue. And I am sure all this company will join with me in thinking, that Mr Warren, some of whose works are now before you,* has done himself much honour in the manner in which he has copied the face, and conceived and executed the figure and expression of the great Reformer. Indeed, it is but justice to him, to mention, that on every occasion he has displayed not only great talents as an artist, but the ardour and the earnestness of a friend deeply interested in the object, and zealous to promote its success. I have the pleasure to add, that Mr Forrest has, on every occasion, displayed the same excellent feeling. He is already well known to the public, as a statuary, in works of great merit, and we have the fullest confidence, that the work which he has now undertaken, and to which he has liberally subscribed, will add to his growing reputation. With the contractor also, we have the highest reason to be satisfied, and every circumstance seems to combine in assuring us, that the work will meet with the public approbation.

Mr Chairman, let me not be thought tedious in this particularity of statements—this is a day for pleasing recollections and expressions of satisfaction. In all undertakings of this nature, occurrences must be expected not agreeable to our feelings; but as few of these on this occasion have taken place, so, many of the most pleasing kind, have in every quarter appeared. Among these, I should be wanting in every

*Mr Hamilton confirmed Mr Rodger's opinion.

* A portrait of Knox and design of the monument were hung up in the hall.

good feeling, if I omitted to mention, and with sentiments of no ordinary pleasure, the generous offer of my friend and townsman, Mr May, who asked to be permitted to defray the whole expense of modelling and erecting the statue. (Loud cheering.)

I proceed no farther in the enumeration of services. There are services which this day all must have felt, and which can never be effaced from our minds, but which belong not to me to particularize.† Yet, in alluding to the events of this day, I may be permitted just to notice the excellent spirit which everywhere seemed to pervade the vast multitudes who were assembled. Seldom has such a numerous assemblage been seen in this city: yet throughout the whole, such order and regularity prevailed, as seemed to declare that every heart sympathized with our undertaking, and partook of that pleasing, yet reverential feeling, which belonged to the occasion. The whole scene, with all its accompaniments and recollections, lead us to indulge the idea, that the citizens of Glasgow still retain much of the principles and spirit of our pious forefathers—that attachment to them, deeply seated, lies near to the heart of the people of Scotland, and requires only to be fostered and encouraged, to manifest itself in all the life and vigour of former days. (Cheers.) Mr Chairman, it is to foster this spirit with all that piety and noble integrity of character which has distinguished our country, that the foundation stone of a monument to Knox has been laid. Past events, with all their associations, are by such means, indelibly impressed on the mind, kept present to the imagination, affect our hearts, and draw forth our feelings. They become the subject of our thoughts, our discourses, and our associations from the earliest years, awaken kindred emotions, and powerfully tend to influence and form the character of every people.

But, Mr Chairman, it has been said that Glasgow has no particular concern in this object, that it belonged more to other places, where the erection of a monument would have been more appropriate. It may be so: but a long time had elapsed, and in these places nothing had been proposed. Knox, too, it is to be remembered, is the common property of the people of Scotland: and what we are doing, need not interfere with the intentions of others who desire to show their respect and gratitude to our great Reformer. We shall be happy to see Perth and Edinburgh raising monuments to his honour—and it would give us particular pleasure if my friend, Dr Chalmers, would also

get one erected in St Andrews. (Much laughter.) But in truth, Glasgow has also its peculiar claims as well as they. From the matriculation books of the college of Glasgow, the name of John Knox is registered in the year 1520, a year corresponding to the time when Knox would be commencing his university education. His relations also belonged to the neighbourhood; and in a parish not far distant, is the property from which the family name of Knox is taken. The west of Scotland, of which Glasgow is the capital, has long been distinguished for its attachment to the principles of the Reformation. So early as the reign of James the IV. thirty persons, under the name of Lollards, belonging to Kyle, a district in Ayrshire, were accused of holding principles similar to those of Protestants. And hence Kyle was denominated by Knox, “an old receptacle of the servants of God.” When Knox, after his banishment, returned to Scotland, this part of the country was a principal scene of his labours. He dispensed the Lord’s supper at several times in this part of the country, and amongst other places in Finlayston, the seat of the celebrated Glencairn—and to this day, in the parish to which it belongs, the silver cups which he used on that sacred occasion, are still preserved, and are employed in the celebration of that solemn ordinance. Nor is it necessary to remind any person acquainted with the history of their country of the prominent part which was taken by the citizens of Glasgow, in those great events, on which depended the success of the Reformation.

Mr Chairman, the names of our great Reformers have been too long clouded by ignorance and calumny. Men who were honoured in their day, and revered by the greatest men in Europe—the friends of Calvin and of the first reformers of England—have, from circumstances connected with the history of this nation, been thrown into the shade; and often from the base subserviency, ignorance, and irreligion of authors who had succeeded to those of former days, been basely misrepresented. And is it not to be feared, that in every age also there is some insensibility, some deficiency in the estimate even on worldly principles, of the high worth and importance of those great benefactors, not only of their country, but of their race, who at the expense of life and comfort, maintained the cause of religion, and have wrought a moral and spiritual change on the principles and character of men?

“Patriots have toil’d, and in their country’s cause
Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,
Receive proud recompense. We give in charge
Their names to the sweet lyre. Th’ historic muse

† Dr Chalmers’ sermon, &c.

Proud of the treasure, marches with it down
 To latest times ; and sculpture, in her turn,
 Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass
 To guard them, and t' immortalize her trust :
 But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
 To those who, posted at the shrine of truth,
 Have fallen in her defence. A patriot's blood
 Well spent in such a strife may earn indeed,
 And for a time ensure, to his loved land
 The sweets of liberty and equal laws ;
 But martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
 And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
 In confirmation of the noblest claim,
 Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
 To walk with God, to be divinely free,
 To soar, and to anticipate the skies.
 Yet few remember them. They liv'd unknown
 Till persecution dragg'd them into fame,
 And chased them up to Heaven. Their ashes flew
 —No marble tells us whither. With their names
 No bard embalms and sanctifies his song :
 And history, so warm on meaner themes,
 Is cold on this. She execrates, indeed,
 The tyranny that doomed them to the fire,
 But gives the glorious sufferers little praise."

But better days are beginning to arise ; and poets and historians begin to manifest a nobler spirit. And among these, must it not delight us to remember a native of our own beloved city, and the friend of some of us in early life, who in his Sabbath and Birds of Scotland,* has in strains of feeling, honourable to himself and worthy of his subject, celebrated the names of our great and suffering forefathers. Nor can I omit mentioning with respect and regard, the author of the Poor Man's Sabbath, and the Peasant's Death,† also a citizen of Glasgow, who with sympathetic feelings, has affectingly described those venerable customs which long characterised our country, and amongst all our changes still linger round the heart and home of many a Scotsman. And among the historians of our day, need I mention more than one distinguished name—himself a host—with him I conclude : nor can I leave on your minds a subject of thought more pleasing or more appropriate. You have already, I am persuaded, anticipated my intention—and therefore, without enlarging on the merits of a name which carries with it its own eulogium,—

I beg leave to give the health of Dr Thomas Mc'Crie,‡ the celebrated author of the Life of Knox. This toast was received with rapturous approbation.

The chairman then said, that he was confident the toast he was about to give, would be received with the utmost pleasure and satisfac-

tion by the company. The gentleman to whom he alluded, had, unfortunately for us, left this city as a residence, but he continued to pay us a visit occasionally, and thereby afford us an additional reason to love and respect him. He had that day given us a great additional excitement to admire his great talents.

He begged to give the health of Dr Chalmers, and thanks for his excellent and eloquent sermon. This toast was also received with rapturous applause.

Dr Chalmers then rose amid the applause of the meeting. He was inaudible for some time. He said when the spirit of commercial enterprise is awakened, it takes the direction of either foreign or domestic, according to circumstances. If the demand at home was extensive, the foreign trade was less arduously pursued, and if the domestic markets were glutted, the produce sought vent in those quarters which were less abundantly supplied. It was the same with regard to religious matters. It had been objected to the Scottish Reformers, that they did less than others for the spread of religion abroad, but the reason appeared to him sufficiently obvious ; they had enough to do at home. (Cheers.) These reflections were suggested by the toast which had been put into his hands ; viz :—the prevalence of true religion over all the world. One peculiarity of our religion was this, that it was equally fitted for the enlightened and free, and the dark and desolate places of the globe. He had the greatest difficulty on his own mind to account for the repugnance to missions which existed in some intelligent minds. (Loud cheering.) He that had an antipathy at missions, had an antipathy at motion ; for the establishment of missionaries was only setting religion in motion. They spread abroad the word of God, and made the Bible the school-book in their seminaries. This was the same apparatus which had been brought to bear upon the people of Scotland, by our early Reformers, and would produce the same salutary effects in foreign lands. He thought it peculiarly appropriate, while met in honour of a man who had done so much for the christianization of Scotland, to wish prosperity to those who were performing this necessary service in other parts of the world. Missionaries had caused the moral creation to flourish, and have spread reason and religion in many a heathen land. Christian villages were now to be seen springing up in pagan countries ; and children, whose parents were uncultivated savages prowling in the desert, are now taught all the education of christian countries, and are enjoying all the comforts and decencies of civilized life. (Loud and continued cheering.) The warfare of mis-

* The late James Grahame, Esq.—Ed.

† Mr John Struthers.—Ed.

‡ It was with sincere regret that the committee received information from Dr Mc'Crie, that he was prevented by severe indisposition from attending the meeting.

sionaries was perhaps not so severe as that in which Knox was engaged; but they fought in the same glorious cause. He was sorry he had a complaint to make against his dear and excellent friend, Mr Cleland: he had saddled him with two toasts, and probably expected that he would make two speeches. (Loud laughter.) He appealed from him to the good nature of the company. He had certainly not made a very long speech after dinner, but perhaps he had made rather a long one before it. The learned Professor then took occasion to pronounce a well merited eulogium on the character of Mr Cleland. He observed, that among the whole range of his acquaintances, he did not know an individual who contributed so much to the pleasure and happiness of those around him, or one gentleman who was possessed of such varied and useful accomplishments. (Loud and continued cheering.) After a few remarks, Dr Chalmers gave as a toast—

“The prevalence of true religion in every quarter of the world.” This toast was received with the greatest approbation. The Rev. Dr sat down amid thundering applause.

The chairman then gave the health of the venerable Dr Burns, who had been more than half a century minister of the parish in which he—the chairman—was born and brought up, and was now what is technically termed the father of the synod of Glasgow and Ayr. He need not tell this company, that the popularity of that excellent man has kept pace with his years—that notwithstanding his great age, he has been enabled regularly and faithfully to do his duty. We have this day witnessed the vigour of his body and mind, in the performance of the important duties assigned to him. This toast was received with great approbation.

Dr Burns rose and said—Mr Chairman, I return my most grateful thanks to you and to this highly respectable company, for the honour you have done me in drinking my health. (Cheers.) Since I was first able to attend to the history of our country, and could estimate the value of civil and religious liberty, I have contemplated with admiration the character of John Knox, to whom this country is deeply indebted for a great part of our civil and religious privileges. (Loud cheers.) He was a man raised up by Divine Providence, and singularly qualified for the lot assigned him. Animated by sincere love to God, zeal for pure and undefiled religion, and generous concern for the present and eternal welfare of men, his strong and vigorous mind steadily and successfully pursued these great objects through life. While he lived, however, he had constantly to struggle with ignorance, irreligion, and tyranny—and

after his death his memory was partially overwhelmed for a time, with obloquy and misrepresentation, by the slaves of superstition and tyranny. It is now better known and more justly appreciated. I rejoice that an honourable monument is now to be erected to the memory of that great and good man, and that, in the evening of my days, I have the happiness to see this patriotic undertaking begun. I rejoice that this city has the honour to be the first to erect such a monument—and, Sir, it is no small gratification to me, as, I dare say, it is also to you, that it is erected in the full view of our cathedral. (Loud cheering.) It is also in a most conspicuous place of the Barony parish of Glasgow, in which you first drew your breath, and with which I have been officially connected for about fifty-five years. The Rev. Dr sat down amid loud cheers.

The next toast was—“Our venerable establishment, the church of Scotland.”

The Rev. Patrick M'Farlane, minister of St John's church, rose and spoke as follows:—

I wish it had fallen into abler hands to return thanks to you and to this meeting, for the honour now done to the church of which I am a member, in proposing it as a toast, and for the cordial and enthusiastic reception which that toast has obtained. I am sure it can be no affectation of humility in me to say, that there are individuals present, who are far better qualified to return thanks on such an occasion, than I can profess to be; but sure I am, that there is not one in this company, who entertains a more sincere and devoted attachment to the church of Scotland, and the institutions connected with it, than do I, nor one who appreciates more highly the honour which you have now conferred upon them. (Cheers.)

I have heard, Sir, that the gentlemen engaged in soliciting subscriptions for the monument to Knox, received for answer, from some persons whose names I know not, that they saw no necessity for erecting a monument to our great Reformer, because he had already a sufficient memorial in the state of the country, and in the gratitude and affection of the people of Scotland. I do not intend to disturb the harmony and good humour of this meeting, by entering into controversy with the individuals referred to—none of them, of course, are present, and though they were, it is not probable that they would be much influenced by any arguments which I might be inclined to employ upon this subject. I cannot, however, abstain from remarking, that the feeling which leads to the erection of such a monument as that which has been this day so auspiciously commenced, is the same in kind, with that which has led to the erection of statues, obelisks, or

other memorials to Pitt, and Moore, and Nelson, and James Watt. It is because Knox has a monument in the condition of the country, and in the gratitude and veneration of his countrymen, that we began this day to rear the stately column, which is to lend its aid in perpetuating his memory—we wish to make it visible to the world, that he yet lives in the hearts of this people, and to express towards him when dead, that respect and affection which he so justly received when alive. But I have mentioned the circumstance which has now been adverted to for expressing my hearty acquiescence in the sentiment, that John Knox has his best, and, I would fondly hope, his most imperishable monument in the present condition of Scotland, and in the respect and gratitude of its inhabitants, above all, in the church of Scotland, that religious establishment to which, without overweening pride or extravagant pretensions, I may say with truth, this country is chiefly indebted, under providence, for its prosperity and distinguished pre-eminence in every respect. (Cheers.) It was founded by the great man whose name we are engaged in commemorating—it was fostered by his care; and, by the blessing of the Almighty, on the vigilance and unremitting exertions of his successors in the ministerial office, it has grown up amidst many storms and dangers, to be the goodly edifice which we now behold, and to which we may justly express our attachment. (Hear, hear, hear.) If the church of Scotland shall adhere to the principles of its founder—if she shall continue to hold the principle, that the sacred scriptures are the only infallible rule of faith and manners—if her clergy in their public and private ministrations draw all their instructions, whether relating to doctrine or moral precepts, from that pure and uncontaminated source—if our discipline and form of worship be preserved inviolate, and continue to experience the protection of our ecclesiastical judicatories, and if the several office-bearers in the church devote themselves with singleness of heart to their respective duties, the church will deserve to receive those expressions of attachment which have this day been given, and will continue to receive them. (Loud cheering.) But if ever the period should arrive, when it shall be deprived of its glory in these respects—if our standards shall cease to be the pure scriptural standards, which they now are—if ecclesiastical discipline shall be neglected, and our forms of worship shall lose their ancient simplicity—if the ministers of the church of Scotland cease to preach, and earnestly to enforce the doctrines of the Reformation—if they cast away the sanctity of their character, and permit themselves to be secularized, and abstracted

from their proper duties, by the occupations of other professions—if they do not watch with unwearied solicitude over the interests of religion, and especially, over the education of the young—if their character and conduct be such that they cannot look at the monument to Knox, without blushing or having cause to blush, then the church will fall, and will deserve to fall, in the estimation of Scotland, and of the world. (Loud and continued cheering.) I trust, however, that the period is very far distant, when this shall be the state of our religious establishment, and that it may continue to exist for many generations, one of heaven's best blessings to our land.—(Loud and continued cheering.)

I have to propose a toast intimately connected with the business of this day; but I feel myself incapable of doing justice to it, in consequence of having been prevented by particular circumstances, from reviving any historical recollections of the individual to whom the toast refers. You are aware that the cause of the Reformation in this country, was greatly promoted by the zealous and successful efforts of many great and learned men on the continent, for the accomplishment of the same interesting object. The contemporaries and successors of Luther, whilst they fed the lamp of truth in their own lands, and made it burn there with a brighter flame, were unconsciously the means of encouraging their protestant brethren, in countries far distant from the sphere of their enlightened and ardent exertions. Calvin was surpassed by none as a useful and efficient labourer in this great cause. In the early part of his life he was engaged in the study of law; but, having been brought to the knowledge and belief of divine truth, and entertaining an eager desire to promote the interests of the Reformation, he renounced the profession to which he at first intended to devote himself, and some time thereafter, became minister and professor of theology in Geneva. He studied so hard, and with so much success, that at the age of twenty-two, he was esteemed by some of his contemporaries as the most learned man in Europe. (Hear, hear.) His great aim in his writings, was to expose the absurd and pernicious fooleries of the popish religion, and to demonstrate from the scriptures what true Christianity is—he made scripture to be the interpreter of scripture, and was one of those great men who rescued the minds and consciences of their fellow-creatures from the fetters of papal tyranny and priestly domination, and, whilst they encouraged them to judge for themselves on all matters connected with religion, convinced them, by the force of argument and scripture authority, of the truth and importance of the doc-

trine which it was their endeavour to inculcate. (Loud cheering.) Calvin's Institutes is a work which alone will render him immortal; it is distinguished for the purity of its Latin, and not less so for the profound and comprehensive views which it gives of the Christian system, and for the distinctness and simplicity with which it is written. Commentaries on scripture, were a species of composition to which the Reformers attached much importance, as the means of expelling the errors of popery, and diffusing the knowledge of divine truth. Calvin's labours in this department are very numerous, and do equal credit to his acuteness and penetration, the soundness of his judgment, and his talent for a clear and lucid exposition of the writings of the sacred penmen.

The personal character of Calvin was irreproachable; his piety was ardent and sincere; and his dispositions were amiable and affectionate. His errors were the errors of the times in which he lived; he had not come down to the antiquity of Protestantism; and on the subject of toleration, he improperly applied the principles of the Jewish theocracy, as the other reformers did, to the times of the Christian dispensation. John Knox was driven by the persecuting violence of his countrymen to take refuge in Geneva. He had previously imbibed the sentiments of the reformers, and from the study of the scriptures, and what we conceive to be a just apprehension of the genius of Christianity, had become attached to the presbyterian forms of worship and church government. We need not be surprised that Calvin, whose sentiments on these subjects so nearly coincided with his own, received him with open arms, and that these great and learned men contracted for one another a strong mutual attachment, and maintained a friendly correspondence which terminated only with their lives. Knox officiated for about two years as pastor to a congregation of English protestants at Geneva, and after his return to Scotland, had frequent communications with Calvin on subjects connected with the cause of protestantism in general, and more especially with the prosperity of the church of Scotland; and, although Knox did not derive his plan of the constitution of that church from the Genevese reformer, as has been erroneously supposed, we can have no doubt that his co-operation and advice were of no small advantage to him in the prosecution of the work in which he was engaged. When I have stated these facts, when I have reminded you of the piety, and zeal, and talents, and learning of Calvin, of his co-operation with Knox in the cause of the Reformation, and of their mutual and steady friendship, I have, I

trust, made good my claim on this company, to drink—

To the memory of Calvin the friend of Knox. Mr M'Farlane sat down amid loud and continued cheering.

The chairman then gave as a toast—"The secession and dissenting churches of Scotland."

Dr Dick—professor of theology in Glasgow, for the secession church,—returned thanks to the chairman, and the gentlemen present, for the honour which they had done to the church of which he is a member, and to the other bodies of dissenters in Scotland; and remarked that the toast was a proof of the liberality of the present times, when men look upon one another with a friendly eye, although they do not assemble in the same places of worship. The people of this country entertain different sentiments respecting some points of religion, and this is the consequence of a difference in the constitution of their minds, their modes of education, and their early associations, and of other causes which insensibly influence our intellectual operations; so that it is as vain to expect that there shall be a perfect uniformity of opinion, about matters which do not admit of strict demonstration, as that all faces shall exhibit the same form and disposition of the features. (Loud cheers.)—But if we agree in the great articles of the Christian Faith, we ought to bear with one another, not ceasing to avow what we conceive to be true, but maintaining it in the spirit of charity, without any feeling of contempt or hatred towards those who dissent from us: for why should I despise the man who has not, as it appears to me, been equally successful as myself in the investigation of truth!—or why should I become his enemy, because he claims the right which I also claim, to obey the dictates of conscience! (Cheers.)—With regard even to those who have adopted the grossest errors, and may be pronounced to be corrupters of the truth, the strong disapprobation which their conduct justifies, should be mingled with pity; and pity, we all know, is allied to love, and is a modification of benevolence. (Great cheering.)—But although we differ in some points, there are others of greater importance in which we are agreed; and, on this occasion, we have met, without the usual distinction of churchmen and dissenters, to profess our common attachment to the principles of the Reformation, and our veneration for the illustrious man, who acted so conspicuous a part in the great religious revolution of our country. We regard him as the enlightened, zealous, and intrepid champion of the truth: we look up to him as one of the best benefactors of his country, who has not only left an imperishable

name among men, but is now enjoying the reward of his labours, in that blessed region, where the storms of persecution never blow, and the voice of calumny is never heard. (Loud cheers.)—But we shall not honour him as we ought, and as he, if he were permitted to look down upon our assembly, should wish to be honoured, unless we consider him merely as the instrument of Providence, in delivering us from a worse bondage than that of Egypt; for our saints do not, like those of the Roman calendar, stand between us and the most high God to intercept our homage, but say with one voice, like the angel in the Revelation, when John had fallen down at his feet to worship him,—“See ye do it not; give glory to God.” (Great cheering.)—And let me add, that in vain do we celebrate the memory of Knox, if we do not duly appreciate, and firmly maintain the religious principles, which, through the divine blessing, he established in our country; not because they were taught by him, but because they are consonant to the scriptures of truth, and exhibit the only foundation of human hope, the only source of consolation, and the only rule to regulate our conduct towards God and towards man.—The religion of Protestants is the religion of the Bible. (Loud and continued cheers.)—The transactions of this day, Sir, will, I trust, have the effect to revive our zeal, to make us more deeply sensible of the blessings of the Reformation, and to excite us to watch over them with jealous care, as a sacred trust, to be handed down to succeeding generations. It is to be feared, that not a few Protestants do not feel that cordial affection for their religion, and give it that decided preference to which it is entitled. What can we think when we hear some of them telling us, that all religions are equally good,—that popery is merely a modification of our common religion,—that papists differ from us only in some idle ceremonies, which might well be dispensed with—and that popery is gradually losing its worst features, and is approximating nearer to the truth? Is this the language of sincere and enlightened Protestants? Popery is an infallible religion, and cannot be improved; the moment it should admit of improvement, it would become *felo de se*, (laughter and cheers)—it would drop its lofty claims to implicit submission; its decrees would no longer be oracles; and every man would be at liberty to appeal from its decisions to the standard of scripture. But this, we are all aware, would be a death-blow to popery. Let Protestants plead, if they will, for the toleration of papists; let them plead for the concession of political power to them, if they deem it consistent with the public safety; but let them not, with a view to strengthen their argu-

ment, proceed to palliate the evils of their religion, and to conceal its hideous deformities with the varnish of a spurious liberality. (Loud cheering.) The church of Rome is, at this moment, the same in principle and spirit that she always was, and if any man should doubt this assertion, I would refer him to the disgusting scenes of bigotry and violence lately exhibited in Ireland, to say nothing of Catholic countries abroad; and what the church of Rome now is, she will continue to be, till the awful hour, when the voice shall be heard, “Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and shall arise no more.” Let us pity the blinded followers of Antichrist, and pray that their eyes may be opened; but let us not forget, that the scriptures make use of every term of detestation and abhorrence in describing their religion; let us be alive to the evils of a system, which, at once, dishonours God and ruins the best interests of man; and let us, whether churchmen or dissenters, unite in the defence of our own religion, for which our fathers nobly contended.—(Cheers.) When they came forward to vindicate our Christian liberty, they had to encounter a domineering and intolerant priesthood, and a government which was too ready to lend its aid to uphold the reigning superstition. They suffered in the cause, and some of them sealed their testimony with their blood. Their relics have not been preserved: when persecution chased their spirits up to heaven, their ashes were scattered by the wind. But we feel how deeply we are indebted to them, and their names awaken in our bosoms sentiments of admiration and gratitude. May the memory of their Christian heroism excite us to tread in their steps. The learned doctor concluded, amid great cheering, by proposing—

The memory of Hamilton and Wishart, the early martyrs of Scotland.

The chairman gave—

The duke of Hamilton, lord lieutenant of the county.

The lord provost and magistrates of the city.

Baillie Hood, in absence of the lord provost, said, I beg leave to return thanks to this very respectable meeting, for the honour they have done the magistrates in drinking their health. For myself I feel proud in having my name associated with the contributors to the monument of the great Scottish Reformer, John Knox, and shall have great pleasure in giving every assistance in my power, to forward such a praiseworthy undertaking. (Loud cheering.) Surrounded as I am by so many learned friends, I shall not waste the time of the meeting in a formal speech, (hear, hear,) and therefore beg leave to propose as a toast—

The subscribers to the monument of John Knox.

The chairman gave—

Lord Archibald Hamilton, member for the county.

Mr Campbell of Blythswood, member for the city.

Mr Robinson, sheriff of the county.

The Reverend the clergy of Glasgow.

The Rev. Dr Dewar, minister of St Mary's, returned thanks, and said,—It does not become me to say any thing concerning the present ministers of this city; but I may be allowed to remark, that the clergy of Glasgow have generally been, in point of talents, piety, and learning, worthy of ministering in that church of which the great Scottish Reformer is the founder.

The toast which I am about to propose, relates to the interests of the northern part of the island, to which the influence of that great man, whose name every Scotsman must ever pronounce with feelings of gratitude and admiration, extended, soon after it was felt in the southern districts. That influence, it is true, was not sufficiently powerful to prevent the Highland host descending from the hills to the support of a despotic and profligate government; but it gradually, though somewhat circuitously, reached, impressed, and improved the clans. (Cheers.)

Yet, it cannot be denied, that the Reformation in the Highlands of Scotland was accompanied with circumstances unfavourable to the religious improvement of the inhabitants. In consequence of the nobles appropriating to their own use, the lands and revenues of the church, the ministers of the Reformation were left in great poverty; and in order to procure even a slender maintenance, it was found necessary to unite several parishes into one. Thus, in many cases, was committed to the pastoral care of one individual, a population which had formerly enjoyed the services of five or six clergymen; and an evil of great magnitude, which had its origin in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, has been continued till the present time. (Hear, hear.) In numerous districts in the Highlands have the people for ages been almost entirely secluded from the means of grace and of religious improvement; and are still allowed to remain in circumstances, the existence of which every real Christian must deplore, and which is highly discreditable to this great, wealthy, and Protestant empire. I trust the day is at hand when this evil shall be removed; when in those regions in which there has not been seen for centuries an edifice for the worship of Almighty God, the inhabitants will be amply supplied with the means of religious instruc-

tion and consolation; and when the light of the glorious gospel will shine with all its warmth and brightness, not on the summits of the mountains merely, but into the deepest glens of the north. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, the Reformation from popery conferred, at an early period, the greatest blessings on the Highlands. To be satisfied of this, we have only to compare the decency, order, and morality of its inhabitants, with the circumstances and character of the Irish. There is within the view of some of our mountains, and within a few miles of our dwelling places, a country still finer than our own, whose people are probably our kinsmen, and certainly our neighbours, richly gifted with every mental endowment, and yet have been left in the grossest ignorance, subjugated by papal and antichristian imposture, and in the great majority of cases, without even the power of reading the word of God. (Hear, hear, hear.) That unfortunate country is, at the present day, nearly in the same condition in which our own Reformers, Hamilton, Knox, and Melville, found Scotland. The same superstition which had spread its ignorance and delusion over our land,—which had so inveterate a hold on the affections of the people, as to render the task of making them free, so apparently hopeless,—and which required, to root it out, the labour and the blood of multitudes of whom the world was not worthy;—this superstition is luxuriating over the fair fields of our sister isle, and laying prostrate its generous and warm hearted inhabitants.

Of the instruments that have conveyed the blessings of the Reformation to the Highlands of Scotland, the society for propagating Christian knowledge is the chief. The field of their labour is naturally and deeply interesting to the poet, the philosopher, and the Christian philanthropist. The people whom it has been their unwearied endeavour to benefit, peculiar in their language, in their habits, in their mountain scenery, and in the liveliness of their feelings, present much to the eye of contemplation, calculated to interest a mind of sensibility and benevolence in their favour. To lead this people to the knowledge and enjoyment of their highest good, by diffusing the light of heavenly truth, is the great object which this society, during nearly a hundred and twenty years, has laboured to promote. (Loud cheering.)

Since the first promulgation of Christianity, there has not been an institution in any land, founded upon purer principles, embracing objects of deeper interest, both in regard to this world and the next, and conducted with greater wisdom, or, in proportion to its means, with greater actual usefulness, than the society in

Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands. If we give our praise and admiration to the Bible society, we cannot withhold it from an institution which was the first Bible society in our native land. If we are delighted with the Missionary societies that are emulating each other in the work of evangelizing the heathen, we cannot but contemplate with feelings of the purest satisfaction, the Missionary society which was formed first, which for many years continued alone in this part of the island, and whose laborious and faithful missionaries, were publishing salvation to our own countrymen, and in foreign lands. The most distinguished for their piety and worth in the metropolis of our country, ranged themselves under its banners, and cherished the spirit of missionary enterprise, and gave scope to this spirit, in their unwearied efforts to extend the kingdom of Christ at home and abroad. Their missionary Brainerd, eminently possessed it; and the memorial of his devotedness and labours infused it into others, till it rested on Henry Martyn, whom it animated to endure sufferings and death in the same glorious cause. (Cheers.)

This society, by its numerous and meritorious teachers, has instructed successive generations of the young and the old in the Highlands and islands. Its schoolmasters have generally added, to their ordinary duties, those of catechists and instructors, on the evening of the Lord's day. They annually educate, in the principles of pure and undefiled religion, nearly twenty thousand children. Many are the individuals, some of whom are far away from the glens of their youth, who now occupy honourable and useful stations in society, and who, but for the instructions they received from these faithful men, would have been lost to the community, and have probably remained in ignorance of all that man should be most deeply concerned to know. (Loud and continued cheering.) I now beg leave to propose as a toast—

“The society for propagating Christian knowledge.” This toast was received with the greatest approbation.

The chairman gave the health of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart., one of the most distinguished and venerable names of the church of Scotland. This toast was received with great applause.

Mr James Moncrieff, advocate, said, I confess that, in the course of this day, I have enjoyed so much, and such unmixed, pleasure as a listener, a pleasure which does not very often fall to my lot, except in those happy places where one gentleman alone speaks, that I was in hopes I would have got through it in a state of agreeable dumbness. However, the toast

calls on me for an acknowledgment. (Loud cheers.)—I consider it a very high honour indeed, in a company such as this, met for such a purpose, to propose the name of a person to whom I am so closely allied. I am proud of this honour, and justly proud of the venerable name he holds in the church of Scotland: I am also deeply sensible of the manner in which your feeling towards him has been expressed on the present occasion. (Loud cheering.)—Since I must speak, I trust you will forgive me for venturing to propose a toast, which I hope will not derange the order of your intended toasts. It was observed by my friend Dr M'Gill, that some might object to the monument of which the foundation stone was this day laid, that there was no peculiar call on the citizens of Glasgow to make that expression of their sentiments. I am not one of those. My feeling is altogether different. I feel in the strongest manner that the citizens of Glasgow, have, in this measure, distinguished themselves in a very high degree, as persons who know how to reverence a name to which the country are so much indebted. They have done that, which has been too long omitted to be done. And none were better qualified to appreciate his merits, or better entitled to have the name of Knox associated with their city. It is a blot on the nation that so very long a period should have been suffered to elapse without something being done to the honour of so great a man. (Hear, hear.) A delusion had for a long time prevailed respecting his character. The effect of the malignant spirit of party, had extended, in a great degree, even to Scotland. Although the people generally revered the name of Knox, and from the older books in their hands, better understood his character: yet the prejudice against him seemed to become more general and strong; and it was beginning to be considered as allowed, that he was a coarse, illiterate, and barbarous kind of man. Indeed it was astonishing to see the ignorance that prevailed among persons otherwise well informed; and the vulgar stories which they retailed. Dr M'Crie has, with all who will read and think, removed these gross delusions. He has shown Knox to be what he was: a man of an enlarged and cultivated mind, skilled in all the philosophy and learning of his time, not only deeply acquainted with the great truths which it was his chief business and delight to teach and make known, but extensively acquainted with mankind, revered and consulted by the first men of his country and age, and possessing all the high feelings of a great and virtuous mind. We are much indebted to Dr M'Crie; and his book will be a lasting monument which will do honour to his own

name, as well as to the great man of whom he writes. (Loud and continued cheering.) But still there was wanting a public extension of reverence and gratitude, and one which should sensibly interest the public mind. The honour of doing this,—and I consider it to be a high honour,—belongs to the citizens of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, and therefore I hope you will permit me to give as a toast—

The city and the citizens of Glasgow, with all the honours. Mr Moncrieff sat down amid the cheering of the company.

The Dean of Guild and the merchants' house, and thanks for their handsome site for the monument.

Dean of Guild Dalglish rose and said,—I thank you, Sir, for the honour you have just done to the merchants' house, and assure you that I feel much pleasure, that so splendid a monument has this day been commenced in the merchants' park, in commemoration of an event so important in the history of our country. When the pillar is completed, the merchants of Glasgow will be its natural guardians. (Cheers.) I hope they will also ever continue to be the zealous supporters of the principles established at the Reformation. (Hear, hear.)

I beg to propose the health of a gentleman to whom we are under great obligations on this, as we have been on many former occasions. That individual has gone the round of civic duties in our city, and at a period of much anxiety to all good men, discharged the office of chief magistrate, with a firmness that gave protection, and a mildness that disarmed the disaffected.—(Loud cheering.) If improvements in our city, or aid to our benevolent institutions is required, or distress to be relieved, it is not with him matter of calculation how little he should give, but how much do you require; indeed he appears to consider his fortune as held by him in trust for the public good. (Cheers.) Arrived at a period of life when most men would take their ease, he chooses to leave his splendid residence, and attend to the interests of his country in parliament; where, in addition to the business of his constituents, the public and private interests of the citizens of Glasgow have his unwearied attention. Without further comment, I beg leave to propose as a toast,—

The health of the chairman, Mr Monteith of Carstairs. This toast was received with thundering applause.

Mr Monteith said, that if ever he had it in his power to express his feelings, most certainly he was at that moment deprived of that power. But he felt what could not be expressed. The partiality of his excellent and good friend had

led him to say a great deal more in his favour than he deserved. Mr Monteith sat down amid great cheering.

The convener and the trades' house, and thanks for their very liberal subscription.

Convener M^r Tyer, said—Permit me, Mr Chairman, to express my gratitude to you and to this company, for the honour you have done the trades' house. I do most cordially join in all that has been said regarding the benefits conferred on this country by the Reformation, and do sincerely believe, that our trade and commerce would not have attained their present height but for that event. But, Sir, let us recollect, that a work so great, could not be achieved by the single arm of the greatest patriot, and while we are about to do justice to the great leader, let us not forget the stout and manly hearts who performed their part in the arduous struggle. (Loud cheering.)

I trust I shall not be considered selfish, in turning your attention to that part of Ayrshire in which I have a patrimonial interest. In that district are to be found the fast holds of Fenwick Moor; and Carrick still presents to the casual traveller, the haunts, the coverts, and the caves, that sheltered the Reformers of Ayrshire in the day of trial. (Hear, hear.) I am proud to say, that these events are not forgotten by the present generation. In the town of Maybole, a John Knox club has lately been instituted, consisting of a number of the most respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood. The club dines together on the anniversary of the first disputation between John Knox and Quentin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguell, in the identical room where the disputation took place. (Great cheering.) I now take the liberty of proposing as a toast,—

Mr William Niven of Kirkbride, and prosperity to the John Knox club of Maybole. This toast was drunk with great approbation.

Mr John May, and thanks for his munificent gift of the statue.

Mr May said,—Permit me, Mr Chairman, to return you and the other gentlemen of this highly respectable meeting, my most grateful thanks for the very kind and flattering manner in which you have been pleased to notice my offering towards the monument of that illustrious and disinterested patriot, John Knox. However much I respect his memory, and deeply feel the great and invaluable benefits he conferred on his country—yet I might not have exceeded the general subscription of contributors, had I not, in some degree, felt myself particularly called upon to assist in promoting that object to the utmost; my sister being married to Mr Robert Welsh, solicitor, Edinburgh,

who is a direct descendant of that great man. (Loud cheering.)

Let me fondly hope, Sir, that our gratitude will not rest satisfied with a monument to only one benefactor of our country, but extend itself to those immortal heroes—Wallace, and Bruce, (hear, hear, hear,) and in doing so, we would only be paying a feeble tribute to their high patriotism, and never-dying fame. Such monuments might in ages yet to come, tend to warm the heart and nerve the arm of succeeding generations, if ever again assailed by tyranny or oppression. (Loud and continued cheering.) Allow me, Sir, to give as a toast,—

The memory of Wallace and Bruce.

The chairman then gave Mr Trotter of Bal-lindean,* a lineal descendant of Knox, and thanks to him for his liberal subscription.

Mr Cleland addressed the chair, and said,—On the part of Mr Trotter I beg leave to return thanks for the distinguished manner in which this highly respectable company have been pleased to drink his health, and I am sure it will afford him great pleasure when informed of the honour which has this day been done to the memory of his great ancestor. I am now to mention a circumstance which will, no doubt, insure the approbation of the toast I am about to propose. Mrs Trotter, whose maiden name is Knox, is also, in her own person, a lineal descendant of the great Scottish Reformer. Without farther preface, I therefore propose as a toast,—

Mrs Trotter, and may the family connexion with the great Reformer never be broken. This toast was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

The Chairman then gave,—May gratitude for the blessings we enjoy, increase our veneration for our great forefathers.

The Rev. Mr Willis, minister of Renfield street associate congregation, said,—It has, it seems, devolved on me, surely not because I am more entitled than many around me, to follow up a toast, very nearly connected indeed with the object of our meeting. But if you have committed it to my charge, as belonging to a part of the secession generally allowed—I say this with all deference to the other branches of the secession body—to entertain a high veneration for our Reforming ancestors, I feel myself called on to urge, in a few words, the sentiment which the toast involves. While we are doing honour to Knox, it is fair that we should call

to our grateful recollection, the men who were associated with him. He raised the banner, but we owe much to the men who rallied round him. (Cheers.) It is doing Knox no injustice to say, that his efforts would have been unavailing if not seconded by others of kindred minds and kindred principle. Many of these men, worthy of being remembered, are now forgotten. Some are familiar to us by name, but at least the achievements of all are embalmed in the gratitude of their country. I can say, for that part of the church with which I am more acquainted, that the remembrance of those champions of the truth—the whole band of the Reformers—is hallowed by them. I hope they do not worship them. (Cheers.) I agree in the sentiment expressed in the eloquent sermon we have heard to day, that our veneration for our forefathers should not be accompanied with an implicit subjection of our minds and consciences to their authority. The people of this country would, indeed, pay a sorry compliment in such worship, to men whose very distinction and glory it had been to search the scriptures for themselves, and disowning the power of time to sanction error or to proscribe truth; to follow truth when they found it, because it was truth; and to renounce error in whatever circumstances, and surrounded by whatever charms, because it was error. (Long and loud cheering.) Many might think that these men were too frequently spoken of, and with too much veneration. Much has already been said to-day about the Reformers; and some might be inclined to ask,—after all, do they deserve so much? Yes, I would reply, our error lies not in speaking of them too frequently, but too seldom. (Cheers.) At this distance from the period of contest, we are apt to feel slightly our obligations to their noble efforts, because we know not by experience the evils from which they rescued us. It is a happy feature of the times, that there is a greater disposition to do them justice; and the present honourable tribute I conceive to be not only due, but rendered in an appropriate place, a town which contains the graves of some of those upright and intrepid men who counted not their lives dear to them, that they might secure to themselves, and transmit to their children, the blessings of a pure faith, and liberty to profess it. (Loud cheering.) Some of these belonged to a later period than the early Reformation, but still the cause was one. The struggles of the people of this country, at different periods of its religious history, involved the same great question. The question was whether God or man should dictate to the conscience. They had decided the question for themselves, and they had decided it for us. They lived in

* Mr Trotter was elected lord provost of Edinburgh, on 4th October, 1825. His lordship is in possession of a portrait of the Reformer, which has been in his family ever since the last interview which Knox had with Mary Queen of Scots.

dark times, but they saw the light—they sought their way to it—they found, they forced their way to it! Popery is a monster which loves the darkness, because there only it can reign, and in its foul haunts it revels in the spoils of whatever is noble in man, and valuable to him. It not only holds in chains the thinking principle, but it does violence to all the best affections of our nature. We know not whether political society, or religious, or domestic society, owes most to our deliverance from it. We know not whether man or woman has derived the greatest benefit. If popery had its dens and its prisons for the man who dared to be upright—it had its monasteries too, where female beauty might wither and decay. (Great cheering.) Knox had been accused of standing unmoved by the tears of royal beauty. The Reformers in general had been called rude, stern, uncourteous men. Yes, they were stern in defence of truth, even in despite of ceremony; but we ought not to forget, that in that very courtesy and refinement which now imparts such charms to domestic intercourse, we see the influence of the Reformation—the fruits of the stern unbending integrity of these men. In truth, the beauty of our country owes almost as much to Knox and his associates, as its literature and its piety. How is it, Mr Chairman—how is it, gentlemen, that while you have sat here, your wives and your daughters may have been elegantly or usefully occupied in rational conversation, in reading, in the quiet and cheerful discharge of domestic duties, instead of dragging out a melancholy existence—some of them—in convents and nunneries? Why, it is these men that have done it—these rude men, as they have been called. In chasing away the demon of superstition, they have allowed your daughters to learn, that in keeping at home—in enjoying life—in actively discharging domestic duties—even while preparing for another world—they are serving God better than by assuming the veil and going into seclusion. We feel the happy change in all circumstances. We feel it at this moment. We feel it in the power of thus meeting together frankly to utter our sentiments—differing, yet agreeing, and agreeing to differ. We durst not have done this during the days of intolerance, at least we should have spoken every word as if spies were among us, and as in the sight of the fires of the inquisition. (Loud cheers.) Living in a Protestant land, the very air we breathe seems changed. We are in the atmosphere of liberty. The toast committed to me, and which I shall conclude with giving, leads us to reflect, not only on the zeal of the Reformers and their worth, but their sufferings for the truth; and at this distance of time, it seems not indelicate to

propose, that it shall be with all the honours, we drink—

To the memory of our forefathers, who fought and suffered in the cause of religion. (Loud and continued cheering.)

The chairman then gave the Gaelic schools, and success to education in the Highlands and islands.

The Rev. Mr M'Leod, minister of the parish of Campsie, formerly of Campbelton, replied, I hope, Mr Chairman, you will give me full credit when I say, that not all my fond attachment to the land of the mountain and of the flood, nor the very peculiar satisfaction with which I received your last toast, could induce me to obtrude myself upon your notice, in presence of the most numerous company with whom ever I had the honour to sit, to thank you in name of my countrymen, for your generous and kind wishes towards them; if I had not been called upon, an honour very unexpected on my part, to propose one of the toasts of the day—a toast, nearly connected with the last, and highly appropriate on the present occasion. This, Sir, is an occasion sacred to the memory of a man, whose name no friend of truth, no well-wisher to the freedom or happiness of his country can ever mention but with respect; for his, Sir, is a name, which in the short catalogue of the real benefactors of the human race must, by us at least, be placed in the foremost lines. His first and great principle in the work of Reformation, was to teach and instruct the people through the medium of their own language, and to put into their hands the sacred volume in the vernacular tongue. In nothing, as you know, Sir, was the Protestant Reformation more strikingly distinguished than by the zeal with which its leaders disseminated the scriptures in the vernacular languages of Europe—it is impossible fully to calculate the moral effects produced on the minds of men, by the operation of that simple and admirable principle. The torch of truth soon dispelled and put to flight the cloud of superstition and ignorance, under which Christianity was hid—and how rapid was the alteration? Who can think of it without gratitude? (Loud cheering.) And is it possible to join in the occasion of this day's meeting, or to witness the expression of respect paid to the memory of that great man whom God raised up for such a work, and to whom he gave boldness and fortitude for undertaking it, without feelings of no ordinary emotion, without high satisfaction and delight. Fortunate, Sir, had it not been for the Highlands and isles of Scotland, if human policy in respect to them, had not interfered to counteract the first great principle of the early Reformers,—viz. that of giving the scriptures to

the people in their own language, and teaching them to read them. But so it was, that the existence of the Gaelic language was deemed unfavourable to the process of what was called, the improvement of the Highlands. It was considered necessary to have that language destroyed. And what were the means used? The people must be instructed in an unknown tongue. English schools, like the English garrisons, were stationed at about fifty miles distance from each other. No Bible was given to the Highlander to read—but such a Bible as he understood not.—Acts of Parliament were passed to civilize them—experience has shown the absurdity of such measures—we have lived to see a wiser and happier policy adopted. (Hear, hear, hear.) The leading principle of the Protestant Reformation has at length been resorted to, the scriptures have been translated into the language of the country, the people are taught to read them, and the progress of education upon this simple principle, has effected more during the last few years, in improving the moral and intellectual condition of the people, than worldly policy had accomplished for centuries before them. Sir, the Reformation only dawned upon the summit of our mountains in the days of our fathers. It was in our own days only that it has burst forth upon our glens, and solitudes, and lonely isles in its full effulgence. We have seen whole districts of country in the interesting attitude of receiving for the first time the word of God, in their own language. We have seen the minds of the people, if I may so speak, awakened out of the slumber of ages; a spirit of religious inquiry has been excited, the darkness of ignorance is flying before the light of heaven, the Highlander has now better sources of information during the nights of his long and boisterous winter, than the romantic tales of years that are gone; the songs of Zion resound in his cottage; the doctrines of the Bible are effectually raising his mind above the weakness and insanity of his wild, though sublime, superstition. His enthusiasm is not destroyed, who would wish that it were? but it is now receiving a new and more noble direction. (Loud and continued cheering.) As a person intimately acquainted with the state of the Highlands, and whose affections shall ever cling to that land of his early days, I rejoice in having this opportunity of bearing my humble testimony to the advantage of the Gaelic school system, before so many of its most generous supporters. I now request the honour of proposing a toast, with which I am intrusted. I observed that the first principle of the Reformation has at length been acted upon in the Highlands: the scriptures have been translated, and are in circulation; that translation has

been executed in a manner which reflects honour on the literature, fidelity, and zeal, of the first translators. These were Mr Stewart of Killin; Dr Stewart of Luss; Dr Stewart of the Canongate, and Dr Smith of Campbeltown; these beams of light have passed away, their memories are blessed. I am charged to call them to your remembrance. I now beg to give you as a toast,—

The memories of the original translators of the Gaelic scriptures. This toast was received with the highest mark of approbation.

Mr Ewing, the croupier, having requested permission to give a toast, spoke nearly as follows:—

Before I proceed to propose the toast which has been assigned to my charge, permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on the highly respectable appearance of this numerous and interesting meeting. I see around me clergy and laity—the established and the dissenting interests—men of all ranks, politics, and persuasions, assembled to do honour to a common cause—the great cause of the Reformation. It is refreshing, Sir, amidst the little turmoils and collisions of life, thus to join in harmony—animated by the same spirit, maintaining the same principles, and pursuing the same object. I may surely be allowed to add, that there never was a standard round which we may unite and rally, with more safety, honour, loyalty, and patriotism. (Loud cheers.) The characters of two great men, Sir, have this day been depicted in colours which any touch from my pencil, I fear, can only tend to injure. One of them is the apostle of the Scottish Reformation, in celebration of whose deeds we are now assembled, and to whose memory honour has already been done from the chair. It becomes my duty to draw your attention to the other—a name still more distinguished in the records of history—a star which rose at an earlier period, which moved in a wider orbit, and which set with a still more extended and brilliant effulgence. Need I say that I allude to Martin Luther—a man who was raised from the humblest origin, to be the instrument of the mightiest revolution; who had the acuteness to detect the errors, and the boldness to attack the authority of papal assumption, in all the plenitude of its power; who tore the veil which covered the established prejudices of the time, and exposed them to public gaze in all their native naked deformity? (Loud and continued cheering.) In the character of these two eminent Reformers there were many striking points of resemblance. They both received an academical education, and soon entered into priest's orders; both discovered a great precocity of intellect; they were both endowed with an ardent, pene-

trating, and independent mind; both soon perceived the subtleties of scholastic theology, and left the polluted stream for the pure fountain of truth; both were possessed of a popular, impressive, and powerful eloquence; both were animated by zeal approaching to enthusiasm, and by vehemence allied with acrimony; and both were distinguished by a courage which no fear could appal, and no danger could daunt. (Great cheering.)—Who does not recollect the boldness with which Luther inveighed against the prevailing vices of the clergy in the great church of Wurtemberg?—Who does not recollect the scorn with which Luther rejected the demand for recantation by the legate, the fearless appeal which he made from the Pope's bull in favour of indulgences, to a general council; the severity with which he attacked the treatise by Henry VIII., thence styled defender of the faith, and whom it was so much his interest to conciliate; and the heroism with which he publicly burnt the bull that excommunicated him as an obstinate heretic, and delivered him over to the stake?—Above all—who does not recollect the fortitude with which Luther resisted the dissuasions of his friends from attending the diet at Worms, reminding him of the fate of Huss, and the reply which he made, that he was called to appear in the name of the Lord, and thither he would go, though there were as many devils combined against him as there were tiles on the houses? (Loud cheering.) In this feature of character Luther was no doubt exceeded by Knox, for whose personal courage there was more call, and at whose grave it was said by Morton, “There lies He, who never feared the face of man.” I am fully aware, Sir, that long prior to the era of both these great men, the doctrines of the reformed faith were promulgated. In the 12th century, Waldus; in the 14th Wickliffe; and in the 15th Huss and Jerome, all denied the papal supremacy, and inveighed against the existing heresies—but the proselytes of these excellent men were few, and their success was fleeting—their light was feeble and evanescent, and it was soon quenched in blood. A mightier than they arose in the person of Luther, and under happier auspices: preceded by the revival of learning and the discovery of printing: accompanied with popular preparation, and aided by political support. The sale of indulgences was the original object of attack, but the doctrines of popery, as my worthy friend “the Protestant” can much better explain, are so firmly and closely united; every error is so completely amalgamated with and dove-tailed into another, that, if one stone be removed, the edifice is shaken to the base. (Loud cheers.) It was thus that Luther pro-

ceeded, from one step to another, till he arrived at an eminence from which he himself would have trembled to look down, and till he saw the proud pontificate humbled at his feet. It was thus, that by his single, and at first unassisted arm, it pleased Providence to achieve the conquest, and, by a stone from the sling of a simple priest, to lay the great Goliath of Europe rolling in the dust. It was thus that the minds of men, which had been so long spell-bound by the charm of a potent superstition, were emancipated from their fetters, and that the touch of truth from the mighty wand of Luther dissolved the enchantment and set the people free. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Mr Ewing then gave as a toast, “The memory of Martin Luther, the great German Reformer.” This toast was drunk with unbounded applause.

Mr Thomas Hamilton, architect, and thanks for his valuable and gratuitous services.

This toast was received with great approbation. Mr Hamilton had left the hall before his health was given.

Professor M'Gill said they had already drunk the health of that venerable minister Sir Henry Moncrieff, and a reply had been made by his son, a gentleman of the highest attainments in the profession to which he belonged. He observed other gentlemen present who were connected with the bar: he begged to propose—

Mr Monteith, and the rising bar of Scotland.

Mr Alexander E. Monteith, advocate, expressed his thanks for the honour which had been done him, an honour which was greatly enhanced by having his name coupled with his friend Mr Moncrieff, whose example he should always endeavour to imitate. Although it might be interfering with the chairman's toasts, he should take the liberty of proposing—

The university of Glasgow.

Professor M'Gill said, it would be extremely ill-timed in him were he to detain them long. He would merely observe, that he trusted the university of Glasgow would never forget that learning was only the means to the attainment of a higher end, namely, morals and religion; and he hoped they would never forget the advantage they had derived from the Reformation.

The chairman then gave—Mr M'Gavin the treasurer, and may the principles of the Reformation always be dear to the hearts of Scotsmen.

Mr M'Gavin rose, amid loud cheers, and said—Mr Chairman, I thank you and the company for the honour you have done me. I esteem it no small matter to have my name associated with that of our great Reformer, and to be treasurer of a fund subscribed by so many Protestants for erecting a monument to his memory.

(Cheers.) But in proceeding farther to address the meeting, I feel somewhat like the modern author who complained that the ancients had stolen all his fine thoughts. I have been anticipated in many things by gentlemen who have spoken, and I shall not detain the meeting by going over ground already occupied. But Knox and the Reformation being the text of the day, the subject is ample enough for a few words more. Standing at the distance of nearly three centuries from the events which we celebrate, and enjoying the privileges which Knox was one main instrument, under Providence, in procuring for us, we are able in some measure to appreciate the value of his labours; but his contemporaries were much better judges of the labours themselves. They were witnesses of what he did and suffered for the sake of true religion, and for civil liberty; and both his labours and sufferings were greater than any thing which the present age has witnessed. A contemporary who survived him, called him

“John Knox, that mighty conqueror,
Who stood in many a stalwart stour.”

Yes, he stood in many a stalwart stour indeed; and the words make us think of a Wallace and a Bruce, who fought for their country, and ultimately achieved its deliverance; and their merits have been acknowledged by all men at all times. But Knox suffered more and achieved more than they, though this was not for ages adequately acknowledged. The wounds received in their warfare were only wounds of the flesh. They entered not into the soul as did those which Knox endured, when he suffered the mental anguish of being obliged, as he often was, to contend with his dearest friends—men who agreed with him in principle, who assisted him in many steps of Reformation; but who, being seduced by the blandishments of a court, abandoned the cause, and even took part against it. The defection of some of his early friends was matter of painful reflection to him during life, and even in his last moments. These were the wounds which he suffered in the conflict, and he felt the pain of them most acutely; for though we have been accustomed to consider him as a rude, strong, immovable sort of a man, it is evident from his correspondence that he was a man of very tender feelings. (Loud cheering.)

The leading feature in Knox's character, was a preference of the truth to every thing else. He never suffered his own paltry interests to interfere with this, or with those of the church, or of his country; and he could not endure those who did, but opposed them with all his might. Not long after his death there were certain pro-

ceedings in the church, not of a very disinterested character. The author I have already quoted, alludes to these, and to what Knox would have done had he been alive, in the following terms:—

Had gude John Knox not yit been deid,
It had not come vnto this heid:
Had they myntit till sic ane steir,*
He had made heuin and earth to heir.

Happily for the ages which followed, particularly for us of the present day, Knox's principles carried the Reformation farther than he himself was disposed to go. He did not understand the subject of liberty of conscience; and no man of his day understood it. He thought the precept of the Mosaic law respecting the punishment of idolatry still binding, but I never read or heard of his having been accessory or consenting to the death of any on that account. He maintained the principle that every man has a right to possess and to read the Holy Scriptures, to examine and judge of their contents for himself. (Hear, hear, hear.) This is the fundamental principle of the Reformation, which I hope will be ever dear to the heart of every Scotsman. This principle is inconsistent with intolerance, or persecution for conscience' sake; and though it did not appear so to Knox and the first Reformers, it made itself manifest by degrees to their successors. Maintaining the principle, though not aware of all its extent and bearing, Knox gave an impulse to the cause of Reformation that did not terminate with his life, but continued through successive ages, and issued in the firm establishment of civil and religious liberty at the Revolution of 1688. (Cheers.) He was followed by a host of worthies, who took up the cause of truth and liberty, and were honoured also to suffer for it. Among the most eminent of these was Andrew Melville, whom Glasgow had the honour to enjoy as head of the college, a man of equal firmness, and more varied learning than Knox, who long and successfully resisted the encroachments of arbitrary power upon the liberties of the church, for which he suffered many years' imprisonment, and then banishment to a foreign land, where he died. He, too, is worthy of being held in grateful remembrance by every Scotsman. I beg leave, therefore, to propose for a toast,—

The memory of Andrew Melville. Mr M'Gavin sat down amid continued cheering.

The chairman then gave the health of Mr Cleland, and thanks to him for his eminent services in promoting the present undertaking, as well as the general interests of the city.

* i. e. Had they attempted such a movement.

Mr Cleland said,—I beg to return thanks for the very kind and flattering manner in which you have been pleased to drink my health. I should indeed be destitute of good feeling, if I did not acknowledge how highly I am gratified by this mark of your regard. At the same time I am well aware that the partiality of private friendship has gone far to overrate my services. (Cheers, and cries of no, no.)—In proposing a toast to the memory of the great improver of the steam engine, I shall not attempt any description of the great powers which have rendered his name immortal.—This has lately been done in London and Glasgow, by men of science and high consideration in the country. I may, however, be allowed to mention, that I have had great pleasure in collecting these honourable memorials, and circulating them among a valuable class of society, more extensively than might otherwise have been done; and having had the honour of being known to that great man, I have been enabled to publish, along with these memorials, an account of the first experiments he made on the steam engine in this city; and now, without farther preface, I beg to propose—

The memory of James Watt.—This toast was received with the greatest approbation.

The chairman then gave the committee of management.

Mr Andrew Mitchell said,—For my colleagues and myself, I have to express our gratitude to this highly respectable meeting for the honour done us. To have the high satisfaction of seeing the deep interest which such a meeting takes in the good cause in which they have been engaged—to be assured by the transactions of this day, that now at length, although tardily, and after the lapse of 300 years, a national disgrace will in some measure be wiped off, and a monument erected to the memory of the founder of our parochial system of education, and the reviver of primitive Christianity among us, are of themselves far more than a compensation for any labours they have undergone, and even—for what is worse to bear—the refusals of the indifferent, and the scowl of those averse to contribute to the measure. And indeed, although they had no other reward than to have this day been permitted to hear another specimen of the heart-stirring eloquence of one upon whom, perhaps more than any other now alive, the mantle of Knox had fallen. This alone had been a sufficient recompense. (Great cheering.)

To a reflecting mind, Sir, there is something in the circumstances in which we are this day placed, and in the general aspects of society, which are solemnly interesting. Every where throughout the Roman Catholic kingdoms on

the continent, there is at this moment, while we are employed in rearing a monument to our Reformer, a combined effort making to rebuild the altars of the Romish worship, and to restore the influence of the Romish priesthood. (Hear, hear, hear.) We look back through the vista of three hundred years to the grounds of our faith, as then restored from the corruptions of the middle ages by the light of the Bible, and the promulgation of the gospel—they, that they may restore the empire and the control over the minds of men in all the rigour with which it was then exercised.

It has always appeared to me as a striking part of the providence of God, that the invention of printing—which is the sentiment which I shall conclude by calling your particular attention—should have been exactly coeval with the beginning of the Reformation. Of this, as a powerful weapon in the cause of truth, Luther and Knox, and the great men who achieved the restoration of religion which then took place, knew well how to avail themselves. In the first age of the church, God communicated by a miracle the gift of tongues. When the church required to be restored from the superstitions and errors of popery, the art of printing was discovered, which is an instrument of the same character, and in some respects more efficacious, because more permanent in its effects. And in their hands this instrument was wielded with power and success. (Cheers.) If the doctrines they taught could only have been heard by those to whom their living voice reached, or even by the men of their own generation, and if all the fruit of their labours had been buried in the same grave with themselves, their labours would have been comparatively unimportant. It is to the permanency and wide circulation which, through the medium of the press, has been given to the scriptures they translated, and to their admirable commentaries on these scriptures, that the principles of the Reformation have obtained so deep a root in protestant Europe; that all the storms of persecution with which the Reformation has been assailed in many a form since that period, have not been able to shake, much less to overturn it. (Loud and continued cheering.)

In our day, through the same medium of the press, knowledge is making strides unprecedentedly rapid. In the wide dissemination of the scriptures, in the vast variety of books, many of them calculated to give the benefits of scientific tuition itself, even to the mechanic, and in the various institutions every where springing up, contrived and calculated to give him the benefit of an education, which a few years ago was exclusively confined to men of wealth and rank, —we see a new and interesting feature of the

times in which we live. Many a peasant has now a library more valuable than those monasteries possessed, which were overturned at the date of the Reformation, while his mind is infinitely better stored with knowledge, than the lazy inhabitants of the cells. Wealth and rank will not now secure to their possessors the portion of respect which was formerly implicitly given to them. In order to secure this, the wealthy and the great must themselves rise in the scale of intellectual improvement, and every man from the highest to the lowest now feels, that he does not act, and cannot act in a corner under the shelter of concealment, but upon an open arena, where his conduct is seen by all, and judged of all. (Loud cheering.)

I could enlarge, Sir, at much greater length on the mighty influence which the invention of printing has produced, and is likely to produce on society. But at this late hour of the evening, it would be equally unseasonable and improper. I shall therefore conclude with one single remark. The cause of truth can never suffer from discussion. It is error and evil alone that shuns the light, and refuses to come to it, lest its deeds should be made manifest and reprov'd. With this observation I beg to recommend to the particular notice of yourself and this meeting, the important sentiment which I have been requested to propose,—

The invention of printing.

The croupier begged leave to propose the health of Mr Warren, that celebrated artist, to whom we were so much indebted.

Mr Warren, in returning thanks, regretted his inability to express what he felt, being so unexpectedly called up to address the chair. In acknowledging the handsome manner his name had been introduced by the croupier, and the flattering reception it had met with from so learned and respectable an assemblage, at the late hour he then addressed them, it would be presumption in him to occupy much of their valuable time. He could not, however, sit down without taking advantage of the opportunity their kindness had afforded him, of acknowledging the obligations he felt to the gentlemen under whose superintendence he had acted, and, in particular, to the Rev. Doctor M^cGill, to whose suggestion he was much indebted for the conception on which he had founded the design of the statue; and he owed much to the able and judicious observations of those gentlemen associated with the Rev. Doctor. (Cheers.) Therefore, should public approval reward his exertions, in justice he must share with them the honour, although it became him to acknowledge himself chargeable with any errors, as in every thing which he conceived calculated to attain his object, or benefit the general design,

they, with the kindest feeling, indulged him with their confidence. (Cheers.)—He hoped, however, the monument would be as creditable to the artists employed, and to the gentlemen who superintended its erection, as it must be gratifying to the Reverend gentleman who first suggested, and to this city which has carried into effect the raising a memorial to that man whose efforts laid the foundation of our present prosperity, and secured inestimable blessings, such as our forefathers did not enjoy. At this very late hour he would not take up more of their time, and would therefore propose as a toast,—

The revival of learning in the dark ages. (Loud cheering.)

Mr M^cGavin gave the health of Mr Alexander Buchanan, and thanks to him for his valuable and gratuitous services in realizing the subscriptions.—This toast was drank with great approbation.

At public dinner parties, something frequently happens which causes regret, and in this there has been no exception from the general rule. Although the stewards did every thing in their power to provide accommodation, such was the demand for tickets on the day of the dinner, that the Highland society hall, with the assistance of an additional room, could not accommodate the applicants. As there was no time to remove to the Assembly Rooms, a number of gentlemen were consequently disappointed.

From the time the cloth was removed to a late hour in the evening, the company enjoyed an intellectual banquet of no ordinary nature. The charms of music, which are often resorted to to enliven public dinner parties, were here unnecessary. The enjoyment was of a different nature. When the midnight hour had passed away, it was found that a number of speeches had not been delivered, and several of the toasts had not been given. This, under ordinary circumstances, would have caused regret, but that regret was greatly heightened, when it was known that the company was thereby deprived of the speeches of several highly gifted gentlemen, remarkable for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation, who had come to do honour to the occasion. Among these may be ranked the Rev. Mr Muir of St James'; the Rev. Dr Hodgson of Blantyre; the Rev. Dr Stewart of Erskine; the Rev. Mr Dempster of Denny; the Rev. Mr French of East Kilbride; the Rev. Mr Beith of Hope street Gaelic chapel; the Rev. Mr Turbull of the Associate congregation, Campbell street; the Rev. Mr Struthers, of the Relief congregation, Anderston; the Rev. Mr Stewart of the Associate congregation, Stirling; and Benjamin Mathie, Henry Paul, William Rodger, Walter

Ferguson, Patrick Falconer, and William Craig, Esquires. The party consisted of one hundred and fifty-three gentlemen. The dinner and wines did great credit to Mr Fleck.

ADDENDA.

Although it would be improper to give detached portions of the eloquent sermon which Dr Chalmers delivered on this occasion, the congregation will never forget the manner in which he recommended M'Crie's Life of Knox. Having read several portions of it to his audience, he said with great emphasis, that it was a book which should be in every private library in the country, as he had no doubt it was in every public one.

During divine service, the appearance of the congregation was uncommonly interesting. Dr Chalmers in the pulpit,—Dr Burns in the desk,—and Dr MacGill in the front gallery opposite to them, surrounded by a greater number of learned and respectable men of every denomination than is often to be met with. In this assembly the churchman,—the seceder,—the dissenter,—and the Whig and Tory met together, to do honour to the memory of the man, who, in the providence of God, had been raised up to rescue their country from papal superstition and all its attendant evils.

RESPECTING THE DEMOLITION OF ECCLESIASTICAL
EDIFICES.*

The following is the order issued by the Protestant lords Argyle, Ruthven, and Steuart, to provost Lindsay and the other magistrates of Glasgow, in the year 1560, respecting the destruction of images and monasteries.—“We pray you will fail not to pass to your kirks in Glasgow, and take down the whole images thereof, and bring them forth to the kirk yards and burn them openly. And likewise cast down the altars and purify the kirks of all kinds of monuments of idolatry; but take great care that neither the desks, windows, nor doors be hurt or broken, and that the glass and iron work be not injured. And this fail not to do as you value our displeasure, and so we commit you to the protection of God.”

When Dr M'Crie was preparing materials for his Life of Melville, he became anxious to know if there were any thing in the college or town council records, corroboratory of what bishop Spottiswood says respecting the demolition of the cathedral of Glasgow. Professor M'Turk,

having examined the college records, and Mr Cleland those of the town council, nothing was found respecting the cathedral during the time of Melville's residence here; excepting a minute of council, 20th August, 1574, the year in which he became principal of this university, two years after the death of Knox. The following is the substance of the minute:—“The which day, the provost, baillies, and council, with the deacons of the crafts, and divers other honest men of the town, convened in the council house, and having respect and consideration to the great decay and ruin the hie kirk of Glasgow has come to, through taking away the lead, slates, and other materials thereof in the troublesome time by gone, so that such a great monument will utterly fall down and decay, unless it be remedied. Although we are not indebted to uphold and repair it by law, yet of our own will uncompelled, and for the zeal we have for the kirk, we all in one voice, consent to tax ourselves two hundred pounds money, to be paid by the township and freemen thereof, for helping to repair the said kirk, and holding it waterfast, and appoints the following persons to see this put in execution, viz.—The deacons of every craft, Matthew Watson, flesher, Patrick Howie, litster, Robert Muir, merchant, Master Adam Wallace, and John Lindsay, &c. &c.”

The following is taken from M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 84.—“We must not omit to notice a charge brought against Melville. It is said that he was accessory to a little disturbance which took place in Glasgow.” “By the earnest dealing of Mr Andrew Melville and other ministers, the magistrates agreed to demolish the cathedral, as a monument of idolatry, and to build a number of small churches with the materials. But the trades of the city resenting this, rose in a tumult and forcibly prevented the workmen from proceeding. The ringleaders of the riot were summoned before the privy council, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, took their part, and told the ministers engaged in the prosecution, ‘that too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind.’ This statement rests solely upon the authority of bishop Spottiswood. I never met with any thing in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idol-

* Dr Cleland adds upwards of twenty pages of notes and illustrations, chiefly taken from Knox's history, and M'Crie's Life of Knox; also some statistical tables relative to Glasgow, its churches and ministers. They are all very interesting; but it would extend this vo-

lume too far to insert the whole. The following is, however, too important to be omitted, as it relates to a subject on which the memory of Knox has suffered much reproach.—Ed.

atry, or that they would have advised their demolition to the ground. The records of the privy council are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot, a circumstance which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents, that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgow, so far from wishing to pull down the cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it, that they made repeated representations to the king and privy council on this

head, and that, though the burden of the work did not legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously contributed for carrying it into execution. I think it highly probable, that any disturbance which may have furnished the ground-work of the statement under examination, was occasioned by an order not for demolishing, but for repairing the cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment on their rights, real or supposed, in the mode of reparation."



KNOX'S

GENERAL PREFACE.*

To the gentle reader,

Grace and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

It is not unknown, christian reader, that the same cloud of ignorance, that long has darkened many realms under this accursed kingdom of that Roman antichrist, had also so overcovered this poor realm, that idolatry had been maintained, the blood of innocents hath been shed, and Christ Jesus his eternal truth hath been abhorred, detested, and blasphemed. But that same God that causeth light to shine out of darkness, in the multitude of his mercies, hath of long time opened the eyes of some even within this realm, to see the vanity of that which then was universally embraced for true religion, and has given unto them strength to oppone themselves unto the same: and now, into these our last and most corrupt days, has made his truth so to triumph amongst us, that in despite of Satan, hypocrisy is disclosed, and the true worshipping of God is manifested to all the inhabitants of this realm, whose eyes Satan blinds not, either by their filthy lusts, or else by ambition and insatiable covetousness, which make them repugn to [oppose stiffly] the power of God working by his word. And because we are not ignorant what diverse bruits [reports] were dispersed of us the professors of Jesus Christ within this realm in the beginning of our enterprise:

order was taken, that all our proceedings should be committed to register, as that they were by such as then painfully travailed both by tongue and pen; and so was collected a just volume (as after will appear) containing things done from the 58th [*i. e.* 1558] year of God till the arrival of the queen's majesty forth of France, with the which the collector and writer for that time was content, and never minded [intended] farther to have travailed in that kind of writing. But after invocation of the name of God, and after consultation with some faithful what by them was thought expedient to advance God's glory, and to edify this present generation, and the posterity to come, it was concluded, that faithful rehearsal should be made of such personages as God had made instruments of his glory, by opponing of themselves to manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatry. And albeit there be no great number, yet are they more than the collector would have looked for at the beginning, and therefore is the volume somewhat enlarged above his expectation: and yet in the beginning must we crave of all the gentle readers, not to look of us for such a history as shall express all things that have occurred within this realm, during the time of this terrible conflict that has been betwixt the saints of God and these bloody wolves who claim to themselves the title of clergy, and to have authority over the souls of men: for with the [civil] policy mind we to meddle no farther than it has religion mixed with it. And therefore albeit that many things which were done be

* This is wanting in David Buchanan's edition.—*Ed.*

omitted, yet if we invent no lies, we think ourselves blameless in that behalf. Of one other [thing]* we must forewarn the discreet readers, which is, that they be not offended that the simple truth be spoken without partiality, for seeing that of men we neither hunt for reward, nor yet for vain glory, we little pass by the approbation of such as seldom judge well of God and of his works. Let not therefore the reader wonder albeit that our style vary

* The supplement here is necessary to the sense. Wherever the like freedom is used, it will be marked in the same way.—*Ed.*

and speak diversely of men, according as they have declared themselves sometimes enemies and sometimes friends, sometimes fervent, sometimes cold, sometimes constant, sometimes changeable in the cause of God and of his holy religion, for in this our simplicity we suppose that the godly shall espy our purpose, which is, that God may be praised for his mercy shewn, this present age may be admonished to be thankful for God's benefits offered, and the posterity to come may be instructed how wondrously hath the light of Christ Jesus prevailed against darkness in this last and most corrupt age.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN
THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CONTAINING THE MANNER AND BY WHAT PERSONS THE LIGHT OF CHRIST'S EVANGEL HAS BEEN
MANIFESTED UNTO THIS REALM, AFTER THAT HORRIBLE AND UNIVERSAL
DEFECTION FROM THE TRUTH, WHICH HAS COME BY MEANS OF THAT ROMAN ANTICHRIST.

IN the scrolls of Glasgow, is found mention of one whose name is not expressed, that in the year of God 1422, was burned for heresy; but what were his opinions, or by what order he was condemned, it appears not evidently; * but our chronicles make mention, that in the days of king James the First, about the year of God 1431, was deprehended [taken up] † in the university of Saint Andrews, one named Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who was accused of heresy, before such as then were called doctors of theology. His accusation consisted principally, that he followed John Huss and Wickliffe, in the opinion of the

sacrament, who deny that the substance of bread and wine was changed by virtue of any words, or that confession should be made to priests, or yet prayers to saints departed. While that God gave him grace to resist them, and not to consent to their impiety, he was committed to the secular judge, (for our bishops follow Pilate, who both did condemn, and also wash his hands) who condemned him to the fire, in the which he was consumed in the said city of Saint Andrews, about the time before written. And to declare themselves to be the generation of Satan, who, from the beginning, had been enemy to the truth, and he

* David Buchanan's edition commences thus: "In the records of Glasgow is found mention of one whose name was James Resby, an Englishman by birth, scholar of Wickliffe, he was accused as a heretic by one Lawrence Lindors, and burnt for having said, that the pope was not the vicar of Christ; and that a man of a wicked life was not to be acknowledged for pope." Spotswood gives the name of the person, which perhaps both he and Buchanan had derived, together with the particulars of his heresy, from some other source. But Spotswood makes the date of his martyrdom 1407, the year following the death of Robert III, so that this must have happened during the regency, while James I, Robert's successor, was a prisoner in England, from which he was not restored to his kingdom till 1423. Resby, so far as appears, was the first in Scotland who suffered death on account of religion; at least, I find nothing of

the kind in the previous twelve hundred years of her church history. The Culdees and other faithful pastors, if there were any other, must have been a great eye-sore to the luxurious dignified clergy, but they did not venture to murder them on that account. This was a custom imported from Italy, where it had been practised for more than two centuries, in a ferocious persecution of the Waldenses. It was, it seems, twenty-four years before the Scottish prelates found another victim; and he was a Bohemian, who had learned the truth from John Huss, who, like Resby, had learned it from Wickliffe, with whom he corresponded. Our first two martyrs, therefore, were foreigners. There was not at that period so much religion among the Scots themselves as to furnish a subject for the stake.—*Ed.*

† Deprehended is rather an English word than a Scottish, but is seldom used now.—*Ed.*

that desired the same to be hid from the knowledge of men, they put a ball of brass in his mouth, to the end that he should not give confession of his faith to the people, neither yet that they should understand the defence which he had against their unjust accusation and condemnation. But that their sires' practice did not greatly advance their kingdom of darkness, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguish the truth: For albeit, that in the days of king James the Second and Third, we find small question of religion moved within this realm, yet in the time of king James the Fourth, in the sixth year of his reign, and in the 22d year of his age, which was the year of 1494, were summoned before the king and his great council, by Robert Blackader, called archbishop of Glasgow; the number of thirty persons remaining, some in Kyle-stewart, some in King's-Kyle, and some in Cunningham: among whom were George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Bar-skimming, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemat, Helen Chalmer lady Pokely, [Isobel] Chalmer lady Stairs. These were called the Lollards of Kyle.* They were accused of the articles following, as we have received them forth of the register of Glasgow.

* A more ample account of the Lollards will be found in the Histories of England; where probably they had their origin from persons who fled from persecution on the Continent in the twelfth century. "In the year 1160, some foreign Christians sought in Britain an asylum from the persecutions of Germany; but, alas! they found only a premature grave." "A council was called by the king, to meet at Oxford, to try these heretics, whose number, it seems, amounted to no more than thirty. They were not likely to meet with either mercy or justice from an assembly of haughty prelates. They were condemned, branded on the forehead, publicly whipt out of the town, and being turned into the fields in the depth of winter, when all were forbidden to relieve them, they perished. Even their enemies allow that they behaved with great calmness and moderation; and when the inhuman sentence was executed upon them, they sang, Blessed are ye when men shall hate you and persecute you. WARNER justly observes, that their conduct was worthy of the best and most righteous cause, and would incline one to think favourably of their doctrine." See more to the same purpose in *The Protestant*, volume i. pages 107—109.—*Ed.*

I. First, *That images are not to be had, nor yet to be worshipped.*

II. *That the relics of saints are not to be worshipped.*

III. *That laws and ordinances of men vary from time to time, and that by the pope.*

IV. *That it is not lawful to fight, or to defend the faith.* We translate according to the barbarousness of their Latin and ditement.

V. *That Christ gave power to Peter only, and not to his successors, to bind and loose within the kirk.*

VI. *That Christ ordained no priests to consecrate.*

VII. *That after the consecration in the mass, there remains bread, and that there is not there the natural body of Christ.*

VIII. *That tithes ought not to be given to ecclesiastical men, (as they were then called.)*

IX. *That Christ at his coming has taken away power from kings to judge.* † This article we doubt not to be the venomous accusation of the enemies, whose practice has ever been to make the doctrine of Jesus Christ suspect to kings and rulers; as that God thereby would depose them of their royal seats, whereby, the contrary, nothing confirms the power of magistrates

† "That Christ, at his coming, hath taken away power from kings to judge,"—*in matters of divine worship*, must have been their meaning, for it was for this they were called to account. They meant, that Christ had abolished the state of things in which kings were required to take cognizance of, and punish deviations from divinely instituted worship. The words which follow, are in a different character in all the editions I have seen; and they are no part of the article, but only Knox's comment upon it; and, I think, it must be admitted, that the poor Lollards understood the subject better than their commentator; but as their doctrines were written down by their enemies, whose record of them only is extant, we might expect to find them garbled, so as to make them appear hostile to civil government. The other parts of sentences in the Roman character, are also comments or explanations. Spotswood gives twenty of the articles without any of these additions; but Wodrow, who is usually so correct, has fallen into a mistake here. He says, the words in italics only are in the Glasgow MS. But on inspection of the manuscript itself, I find, that the addition on which I am remarking, is in it verbatim, and also those in No. 4, 8, 19, 31, though some that Buchanan has made are not.—*Ed.*

more than does God's word. But to the articles.

X. *That every faithful man or woman is a priest.*

XI. *That the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ.*

XII. *That the pope is not the successor of Peter, but where he said, Go behind me, Satan.*

XIII. *That the pope deceives the people by his bulls and his indulgences.*

XIV. *That the mass profits not the souls that are in purgatory.*

XV. *That the pope and the bishops deceive the people by their pardons.*

XVI. *That indulgences ought not to be granted to fight against the Saracens.*

XVII. *That the pope exalts himself against God and above God.*

XVIII. *That the pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory.*

XIX. *That the blessings of the bishops (dumb dogs they should have been styled) are of no value.*

XX. *That the excommunication of the kirk is not to be feared.*

XXI. *That into [in] no case it is lawful to swear.*

XXII. *That priests might have wives, according to the constitution of the law.*

XXIII. *That true Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ every day.*

XXIV. *That after matrimony contracted, the kirk may make no divorcement.*

XXV. *That excommunication binds not.*

XXVI. *That the pope forgives not sin, but only God.*

XXVII. *That faith should not be given to miracles.*

XXVIII. *That we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only.*

XXIX. *That we are no more bound to pray in the kirk, than in other places.*

XXX. *That we are not bound to believe all that the doctors of the kirk have written.*

XXXI. *That such as worship the sacraments of the kirk (we suppose they meant the sacrament of the altar) commit idolatry.*

XXXII. *That the pope is the head of the kirk of the antichrist.*

XXXIII. *That the pope and his ministers are murderers.*

XXXIV. *That they which are called principals in the kirk, are thieves and robbers.*

By these articles, which God of his merciful providence, caused the enemies of his truth to keep in their registers, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this realm, retaining within it some spark [spark, or gentle flame] of his light, even in the time of greatest darkness. Neither ought any man to wonder, albeit some things be obscurely, and some things doubtfully spoken. But rather ought all faithful to magnify God's mercy, who, without public doctrine, gave so great light. And farther, we ought to consider, that seeing that the enemies of Jesus Christ gathered the foresaid articles, thereupon to accuse the persons foresaid, that they would deprave the meaning of God's servants so far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done in the heads of excommunication, swearing, and of matrimony: in the which, it is no doubt but the servants of God did damn the abuse only, and not the right ordinance of God: for who knows not, that excommunication in these days was altogether abused? That swearing abounded without punishment, or remorse of conscience: and that divorcements were made for such causes, as worldly men had invented. But to our history. Albeit that the accusation of the bishop and of his accomplices was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for diverse of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusators, that the enemies in the end were frustrated of their purpose: for while the bishop in mockage said to Adam Reid of Barskimming; "Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven?" He answered, "Not as I do the sacraments seven:" whereat, the bishop thinking to have triumphed, said, "Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven," whereat the king wondering, said, "Adam Reid! what say you?" The other answered, "Please your grace to hear the end betwixt the churl and me." And therewith he turned to the bishop and said, "I neither think nor believe, as thou thinkest

that God is in heaven, but I am most assured, that he is not only in the heaven, but also in the earth : but thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or else that he is so set up in heaven, that he regards not what is done into the earth ; for if thou firmly believedst that God were in the heaven, thou shouldst not make thyself cheek-mate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his apostles, which was, to preach the evangel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir," said he to the king, " judge ye, whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven." While the bishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the king, willing to put an end to farther reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, " Wilt thou burn thy bill ?" He answered, " Sir, and [if] the bishop and ye will." With these and the like scoffs, the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance, that the greatest part of [the] accusation was turned to laughter. After that diet, we find almost no question for matters of religion, the space of nigh thirty years ; for not long after, to wit, in the year of God 1500, the said bishop Blackader departed this life, going in his superstitious devotion to Jerusalem : unto whom succeeded Mr James Beaton, son to the laird of Balfour in Fife, who was more careful for the world nor [than] he was to preach Christ, or yet to advance our religion, but for the fashion only ; and as he sought the world, it fled him not, for it was well known, that at once he was archbishop of Saint Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermline, Arbroath, Kilwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland : for after the unhappy field of Flodden, in the which perished king James the Fourth, with the most part of the nobility of the

realm, the said Beaton, with the rest of the prelates, had the whole regimen [government] of the realm, and by reason thereof, held and travailed to hold the truth of God in thralldom and bondage, till that it pleased God of his great mercy in the year of God 1527, to raise up his servant, Mr Patrick Hamilton, at whom our history does begin : of whose progeny, life, and erudition, because men of fame and renown have in divers works written, we omit all curious repetition, sending such as would know farther than we write, to Francis Lambert, John Firth, and to that notable work lately sent forth by John Fox, Englishman, * of the lives and deeds of martyrs within this isle, in this our age.

This servant of God, the said Mr Patrick, being in his youth provided to reasonable honours, and living (he was entitled abbot of Fearn) as one hating the world and the vanity thereof, left Scotland, and passed to the schools in Germany ; for then the fame of the university of Wirtemberg was greatly divulgate [celebrated] in all countries, where by God's providence he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Christ Jesus of that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and the said Francis Lambert ; and did so grow and advance in godly knowledge, joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could of no long continuance remain there, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth as well in public as in secret ; for he was (besides his godly knowledge) well learned in philosophy, he abhorred sophistry, and would that the text of Aristotle should have been better understood and more used in the schools than then it was ; for sophistry had corrupted all, as

* This mention of Fox's Book of Martyrs, was esteemed one of the anachronisms that disproved Knox to be the author, because it was believed that Fox's book was not published in Knox's lifetime. Spotswood, and the author of the Fundamental Charter, argue from this against the genuineness of the history. But the words are in the Glasgow MS., and this seems at first to have staggered Wodrow as

one of the strongest arguments he had seen against Knox's authorship, " till of late," says he, " I have fallen on the edition of Fox in Latin, Basil, 1559, fourteen years before Mr Knox's death, where, at p. 121, at considerable length, is inserted the account of *Patricius Hamiltonius, Scotus*, which Knox might see, and no doubt refers to."—*Ed.*

well in divinity as in humanity. In short process of time, the fame of his reasons and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of bishop James Beaton, of whom before we have made mention, who being a conjured enemy to Jesus Christ, and one that long had the whole regimen of the realm, bare impatiently that any trouble should be made to that kingdom of darkness, whereof, within this realm, he was the head; and, therefore, he so travailed with the said Mr Patrick, that he got him to Saint Andrews; where, after the conference of diverse days, he had his freedom and liberty; the said bishop and his bloody butchers, called doctors, seemed to approve his doctrine, and to grant that many things craved reformation in the ecclesiastical regimen; and, amongst the rest, there was one that secretly consented with him in almost all things, named friar Alexander Campbell, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupt by the world, as after we will hear. When the bishops and clergy had fully understood the mind and judgment of the said Mr Patrick, and fearing that by him their kingdom should be indamaged, they travailed with the king, who then was young and altogether addict to their commandment, that he should pass in pilgrimage to St Dothes of Ross, to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God, who suspecting no such cruelty, as in their hearts was concluded, remained still (a lamb among the wolves) till that upon a night, he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the bishop's band carried to the castle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morning produced in judgment; he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's truth. The articles for the which he suffered, were but of pilgrimage, purgatory, prayer to saints, and for the dead, and such trifles. Albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question, as his treatise, which in the end we have added, may witness. Now that the condemnation of the said Mr Patrick should have greater authority, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that with them were present; and to make their number

great, they took the subscription of children, if they were of the nobility; for the earl of Cassilis, which last deceased in France, then being but twelve or thirteen years of age, was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did confess. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared before the Old College, and he led to the place of execution; and yet men supposed, that all was done but to give unto him a terror, and to have caused him to have recanted, and have become recreant to those bloody beasts; but God, for his own glory, for the comfort of his servant, and for manifestation of their beastly tyranny, had otherwise decreed: for he so strengthened his faithful witness, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruel death, could move him a jot to swerve from the truth once professed. At the place of execution, he gave to his servant, who had been chambercheild [servant] to him of a long time, his gown, his coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, "These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind: for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance unto eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." The innocent servant of God, being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made and set on fire, which gave to the blessed martyr of God a glais, * skrumpled [wrinkled or shrivelled] his left hand, and that side of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals; and so remained, the appointed to death, in torment, till that men ran to the castle again for more powder, and fir wood more able to take fire, which at last being kindled, with loud voice he cried, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit: how long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" The fire was slow, therefore was his torment the more; but most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men,

* A slight injurious pressure in passing.

among whom Campbell the black friar (of whom we spake before) was principal, who continually cried, "Convert, heretic, call upon our Lady, say, *Salve, regina*," &c. To whom he answered, "Depart and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan." But while that the foresaid friar still roared one thing, in great vehemency, he said unto him, "Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, to me thou hast confessed, I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Christ Jesus." After which, and other words, which well could not be understood nor marked, both for the tumult and vehemence of the fire, the witness of Christ Jesus got victory, after long sufferance, the last of February, in the year of God 1527 years. The said friar departed this life within few days after, in what estate we refer to the manifestation of the general day. But it was plainly known, that he died in Glasgow in a frenzy, and as one despaired. Now, that all men may understand what was the singular erudition and godly knowledge of the said Mr Patrick, we have inserted this his little pithy work, containing his assertions and determinations concerning the law, the office of the same, concerning faith, and the true fruits thereof; first by the said Mr Patrick collected in Latin, and after translated in English.

OF THE LAW.

The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments here contained do specify.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

I. Thou shalt worship but one God. II. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it. III. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain. IV. Hold the Sabbath day holy. V. Honour thy father and thy mother. VI. Thou shalt not kill. VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery. VIII. Thou shalt not steal. IX. Thou shalt bear no false witness. X. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God. Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy

mind. This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this, Love thy neighbour as thyself. In these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. He that loveth God loveth his neighbour. If any man say, he loveth God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a liar: He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen. He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth the whole commandments of God. Whatsoever that ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them; for this is the law and the prophets. He that loved his neighbour, fulfilled the law; thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended under this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself. He that loveth his neighbour keepeth all the commandments of God, Rom. xiii. Gal. v. He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour, 1 Jo. iv. *Ergo*, He that loveth God keepeth his commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God: My Father loved you, because ye loved me, and believed that I came of God. He that hath the faith, keepeth all the commandments of God: He that hath the faith, loveth God; and he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God: *Ergo*, He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. He that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all, for without faith it is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God; and he that has faith, keeps all the commandments of God: *Ergo*, He that keeps one commandment, keepeth them all. He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the commandments of God, keeps all: *Ergo*, He that keeps not all the commandments, he keeps none of them. It is not in our power, without grace, to keep any of God's commandments, and grace is not in our power: *Ergo*, It is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. Even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith. The law

was given to show us our sins. By the law comes the knowledge of sin; I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; I knew not what lust meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without law sin was dead, that is, moved me not; neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law. The law biddeth us do that which is impossible for us, for it bids us keep all the commandments of God; and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them: *Ergo*, It bids us do that which is impossible for us. Thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God command us that which is impossible for us? I answer, To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand, and that thou must seek remedy at some other: for the law doth nothing but command thee.

OF THE GOSPEL.

The gospel is as much to say in our tongue, as good tidings, like as every one of these sentences be.

Christ is the Saviour of the world. Christ is our Saviour. Christ died for us. Christ died for our sins. Christ offered himself for us. Christ bare our sins upon his back. Christ bought us with his blood. Christ washed us with his blood. Christ came in the world to save sinners. Christ came in this world to take away our sins. Christ was the price that was given for us, and for our sins. Christ was made debtor for our sins. Christ hath paid our debt: for he died for us. Christ hath made satisfaction for us, and for our sins. Christ is our righteousness. Christ is our wisdom. Christ is our sanctification. Christ is our redemption. Christ is our satisfaction. Christ is our goodness. Christ has pacified the Father of heaven. Christ is ours, and all his. Christ has delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from hell. The Father of heaven has forgiven us for Christ's sake. Or, any such other, as declare unto us the mercies of God.

THE NATURE OF THE LAW AND OF THE GOSPEL.

The law shows us our sin, our condem-

nation, is the word of ira [wrath], is the word of despair, is the word of displeasure.

The gospel shows us a remedy for it, our redemption, is the word of grace, is the word of comfort, is the word of peace.

A DISPUTATION BETWIXT THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

The law saith, Pay thy debt, thou art a sinner desperate, thou shall die.

The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it, thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved.

The law saith, Make amends for thy sin, the Father of heaven is wroth with thee, where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction? Thou art bound and obligate unto me, the devil and hell.

The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee, Christ has pacified him with his blood; Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction, Christ has delivered thee from them all.

OF FAITH.

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. He that believeth God, believeth his word. To believe in him is to believe his word, and account it true that he speaks; he that believeth not God's word, believes not himself, he counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word: and so he denieth both the might of God and himself.

Faith is the gift of God; any [every] good thing is the gift of God; faith is good: *Ergo*, Faith is the gift of God. The gift of God is not in our power; faith is the gift of God: *Ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impossible to please God, all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God. Besides that he that lacketh faith, he trusts not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not in his word; he that trusteth not in his word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God. And how can a man, being of this fashion, please God?

No manner of ways, yea, suppose he did all the work of men and angels. All that is done in faith pleaseth God; right is the word of God, and all his works in faith. Lord, thine eyes look to faith; that is as much to say as, Lord, thou delightest in faith. God loveth him that believeth in him: How can they then displease him; he that hath the faith is just and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: *Ergo*, All that is in faith done pleaseth God. Moreover, he that hath the faith believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his words, woteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie: but knoweth well that he may, and will both, fulfil his word. How can he then displease him? For thou canst not do any greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices please God? None, verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath the faith, woteth well that he pleaseth God; for all that is done in faith pleaseth God. Faith is a sureness, faith is a sure confidence of things that are hoped for, and a certainty of things which are not seen. The same spirit certifieth our spirit that we are the children of God. Moreover, he that had the faith, woteth well that God will fulfil his word: *Ergo*, Faith is a sureness.

A MAN IS JUSTIFIED BY FAITH.

Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. We suppose, therefore, that a man is justified, saith the apostle, without the works of the law; he that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteousness. The just man liveth by faith, Habak. ii. Rom. i. We wot that a man that is justified, is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.

OF THE FAITH OF CHRIST.

The faith of Christ is to believe in him, that is, to believe his word, and to believe,

that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from evil. Thou wilt ask me what word? I answer, the Gospel. He that believeth in Christ shall be saved; he that believeth the Son hath eternal life. Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath eternal life. This I write unto you, that believing in the name of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have eternal life. Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou believest, but happy are they that have not seen, and yet believe in me. All the prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins. What must I do that I may be saved? The apostle answereth, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. If thou acknowledge with the mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart that God raised him up from the death, thou shalt be saved. He that believes not in Christ shall be condemned; he that believes not in the Son, shall never see life, but the ire [wrath] of God abideth upon him. The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me; they that believe in Jesus Christ are the sons of God. Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ. He that believes Christ the Son of God is saved. Peter said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou, Simon, the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my Father which is in heaven. We have believed and known, that thou art Christ the Son of the living God, which should come in the world. I believe, that thou art Christ the Son of the living God, which should come into the world. These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jesus is the Son of the living God. He that believeth God believeth the gospel. He that believeth God believeth his word, and the gospel is his word; therefore, he that believeth God believeth his gospel.

As Christ is the Saviour of the world, Christ is our Saviour. Christ bought us with his blood. Christ washed us with his

blood. Christ offered himself for us. Christ bare our sins upon his back. He that believeth not his gospel, believeth not God. He that believeth not God's word, believeth not himself; and the gospel is God's word: *Ergo*, He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself, and consequently, they that believe not as is above written, and such other, believe not God. He that believes the gospel shall be saved. Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believed not, shall be condemned.

A COMPARISON BETWIXT FAITH AND INCREDULITY. [UNBELIEF]

Faith is the root of all good; maketh God and man friends; bringeth God and man together.

Incredulity is the root of all evil; maketh them deadly foes; bringeth them sundry.

All that proceedeth from faith pleaseth God. All that proceedeth from incredulity displeaseth God. Faith only maketh a man good and righteous. Incredulity maketh him unjust and evil. Faith only maketh a man the member of Christ, the inheritor of heaven, the servant of God. Faith showeth God to be a sweet Father. Faith holdeth stiff [fast] by the word of God, counteth God to be true. Faith knoweth God, loveth God and his neighbour. Faith only saveth, extolleth God and his works.

Incredulity maketh him the member of the devil, the inheritor of hell, the servant of the devil. Incredulity maketh God a terrible judge. It causeth man wander here and there, maketh him false and a liar. Incredulity knoweth him not. Incredulity loveth neither God nor neighbour, only condemneth, extolleth flesh and her own deeds.

OF HOPE.

Hope is a trusty looking-for of things that are promised to come unto us, as we hope the everlasting joy which Christ has promised unto all that believe in him. We should put our hope and trust in God only, and in no other thing. It is good to trust in God, and not in man: He that trusteth in

his own heart he is a fool. It is good to trust in God, and not in princes: They shall be like unto images that make them, and all that trust in them: He that trusteth in his own thoughts, does ungodly: Cursed be he that trusteth in man: Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God: It is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of God. Moreover, we should trust in him only, that he may help us; *ergo*, we should trust in him only. Well is him that trusts in God, and woe to him that trusts him not. Well is the man that trusts in God, for God shall be his trust: He that trusteth in him shall understand the truth, "They shall all rejoice that trust in thee, they shall all ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.

OF CHARITY.

Charity is the love of thy neighbour: The rule of charity is, to do as thou wouldst were done unto thee; for charity esteemeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger.

A COMPARISON BETWIXT FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY.

Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith; and charity springeth of them both. Faith believeth the word; hope trusts after that which is promised by the word; and charity doth good to her neighbour, through the love that she has to God; and gladness that is within herself; and faith looketh to God and his word, hope looketh to his gift and reward, charity looketh unto her neighbour's profit; faith receiveth God, hope receiveth his reward, charity looketh unto her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward; faith pertaineth to God only, hope to his reward, and charity to her neighbour.

OF GOOD WORKS.

No manner of works makes us righteous: we believe that a man shall be justified without works. No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus

Christ ; and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law. If righteousness came by the law, then Christ died in vain ; that no man is justified by the law it is manifest, for a righteous man liveth by his faith ; but the law is not of faith. Moreover, since Christ the maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the creatures that ever God made or might make, might have helped us out of them : *Ergo*, No deeds nor works may make us righteous : No works make us unrighteous, for if any works made us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous. But it is proven that no works can make us righteous : *Ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.*

WORKS MAKE US NEITHER GOOD NOR EVIL.

It is proven that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous : *Ergo*, No works neither make us good nor evil, for righteous and good are both one thing, and unrighteous and evil, one. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man ; but a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works. Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil, but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit : a good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works, for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he do evil works, for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit : Every man is either good or evil ; either make the tree good and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit likewise evil also. Every

man's work is either good or evil, for all fruits are either good or evil, either make the tree good and the fruit also, or else make the tree evil and the fruit of it likewise evil also. A good man is known by his works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works, "Ye shall know them by their fruits, for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. Beware of the false prophets which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, ye shall know them by their fruits.

NONE OF OUR WORKS NEITHER [EITHER] SAVE US NOR CONDEMN US.

It is proven that no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good nor evil ; but first we are good before that we do good works, and evil before we do evil works : *Ergo*, No work neither condemn us nor save us. Thou wilt say, then maketh it no matter what we do ? I answer thee, Yes. For if you do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil and want faith ; if you do good, it is an argument that thou art good and hast faith ; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit ; yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil, so that man is good before he do good works, and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree, the works are the fruit, faith maketh the good tree, incredulity the evil tree : such a tree, such a fruit, such man, such works : for all that is done in faith pleaseth God, and are good works, and all that is done without faith displeaseth God, and are evil works. Whosoever thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is our Saviour, and that Christ died for him ; and finally, all [denieth every] thing that belongeth to Christ. For

* This conclusion taken by itself, is somewhat startling ; and it is true only of men as sinners by nature, or before they do any works either good or evil. The first evil work, or rather act, certainly made men unrighteous. "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Hamilton's expression, "No works make us unrighteous," instead of opposing, is a strong manner of expressing his conviction of this

truth, as appears by his own explanation in the article immediately following. These articles, though expressed in the technical language of the schools, are remarkably clear and intelligible. They show what sort of theological teaching Luther and his colleagues instituted at Wittenberg, and what a firm hold the mind of Hamilton had got of the fundamental article of the Reformation—Justification by faith without works.—*Ed.*

how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightst save thyself with thy works? Or to what end should he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have saved thee? What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Is it not that thou shouldst have died perpetually, and that Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death in his own death: For thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he bore to thee before ever thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now since he has paid thy debt, thou diest not; no, thou canst not, but shouldst have been damned, if his death were not. But sure he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished. Finally, he has delivered thee from the condemnation, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou shouldst acknowledge what he has done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldst help others for his sake both in word and deed, even as he had helped thee for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us! He is a good and a gentle Lord, and he does all things for nought. Let us, I beseech you, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen.

HE THAT THINKETH TO BE SAVED BY HIS WORKS, CALLETH HIMSELF CHRIST.

For he calleth himself a Saviour, which appertaineth to Christ only. What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? And thou sayest, I save myself, which is as much as to say, I am Christ; for Christ is only [only is] the Saviour of the world. We should do no good works for that intent to get the inheritance of heaven or remission of sins through them, for whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven or remission of sins through works, he believes not to get that for Christ's sake. And they that believe that their sins are not forgiven them, and that they shall not be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel; for the gospel saith, Thou shalt be saved for Christ's sake; sins are forgiven you for Christ's sake. He that believeth not the

gospel, believeth not God; and consequently, they that believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good works? I say not so: but I say, we should do no good works, for that intent to get the kingdom of heaven, or remission of sins; for if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sins, as said is, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Christ, and so we count God a liar; for God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake. You say, It is not so, but I win [gain] it through my own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the false trust in any works, for all the works a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicate, or im poisoned, and become evil.

Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them to get any good through them, for if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makest thyself fellow [equal] with God, because thou wilt take nothing from him for nought. What needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all thing, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart will give us all things that we need, than we take it of him. So that if we want any thing, let us wye [blame] ourselves. Press not then to the inheritance of heaven, through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy and equal unto him, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell from the heaven for his pride.* This ends the

* The reader will have observed, that Hamilton's quotations from Scripture are not according to our authorized version, which was not made for three-fourths of a century after his time. The sense is, indeed, the same, and the verbal difference is not great. I suppose the only version in the vulgar tongue to which Hamilton had access, was Wickliffe's; but I find

said Mr Patrick's articles. And so we return to our history.

When those cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, who heard of that fact, there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore was Mr Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed under the pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity, in so much that the university of St Andrews, and St Leonard's college principally, by the labours of Mr Gavin Logie, and the noviciates of the abbey by the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after began both black and grey friars publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuse of the whole ecclesiastical estate, amongst whom was one called friar William Airth, who, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the bishops nor [than] they could well bear. He spake farther against the abuse of cursing [excommunication] and of miracles. The bishop of Brechin, having his placeboes and jackmen [followers and armed men] in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar, impatient of the injury received, passed to St Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his sermon with Mr John Mair, whose word then was holden as an oracle in matters of religion; and being assured of him that such doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresy, there was a day appointed to the said friar to make repetition of the

same sermon: and advertisement was given to all such as were offended at the former to be present. And so in the parish kirk of St Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had amongst his auditors, Mr John Mair, Mr George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, Mr Patrick Hepburn, prior then of St Andrews, with all the doctors and masters of the universities. The theme of his sermon was, "Verity is the strongest of all things." His discourse of cursing was, That if it were rightly used, it was the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth; for it was the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners: but now, said he, the avarice of priests, and the ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended [despised, or evil spoken of]. For the priest, said he, whose duty and office it is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday, and cries, "One has tint [lost] a spurtle; there is a flail stolen beyond the burn; the gudewife of the other side of the gate has tint a horn spoon; God's malison [curse] and mine I give to them that know of this gear and restore it not." How the people mocked their cursing, he farther told a merry tale, how after a sermon that he had at Dunfermline, he came to a house where gossips were drinking their Sunday's penny; and he being dry, asked drink; "Yes, father," said one of the gossips, "ye shall have drink, but ye man [must] first resolve a doubt which is risen amongst us, *to wit*, What servant will serve a man best on least expenses?" "The good angel," said I, "who is man's keeper, who makes great service without expense." "Tush," said the gossip, "we mean no so high matters; we mean, What honest man will do greatest service for least expense?" "And while I was musing," said the friar, "what that should

on comparison, that his quotations differ from it also. As he wrote his Tract originally in Latin, it is probable he used the Vulgate, and then translated the language of it along with his own Latin, into the vulgar language of his country. Long before his time Wickliffe's was read in Scotland. "Before the year 1500, Murdoch

Nisbet, being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the New Testament in manuscript, (of Wickliffe's translation no doubt) which, on his return, he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and acquaintance during the night." *M^r Cree's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 414.—*Ed.*

mean," he said, " I see, father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dike, and that keeps our corn better nor [than] the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of fee, a sark, and a pair of shoon in the year; and, therefore, if their cursing dow [can effect] any thing, we hold the bishops best cheap servants in that behalf, that are within the realm." As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false. But now, said he, greediness of priests not only receive false miracles, but also they cherish and fee knaves for that purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and their offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many chapels founded, as that our lady were mightier, and that she took more pleasure in one place than in another; as of late days our lady of Kersgrange has hopped from one green hillock to another: But honest men of St Andrews, said he, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were kithed [exhibited] there, ye would [neither] thank God nor our lady. And thus he merrily taunted their trysts of whoredom and adultery used at such devotion. Another article was judged more hard, for he alleged the common law, that the civil magistrate might correct the kirkmen, and deprive them of their benefices for open vices. Another day, the same friar made another sermon of the abbot Unreason,* unto whom, and whose laws he compared prelates of that age; for they were subdued to no laws, no more than was the abbot Unreason. And among other things, he told such a merry bourde [jest]: " There was," said he, " a prelate, or at least a prelate's peer, a true servant to the king of love, who, upon a night after supper, asked at his gentlemen, by the faith

that they owed to the king of love, that they should truly declare how many sundry women any one of them had had, and how many of them were men's wives? One answered, ' he had lain with five, and two of them were married.' The other answered, ' I have had seven, and three of them are married.' It came at last to my lord himself, who making very nice for a little space, gave in the end a plain confession, and said, ' I am the youngest man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and seven of them are men's wives.' Now," said the friar, " this god and king of love to whom our prelates make homage, is the master devil of hell, from whom such fruits do proceed." This prelate was known by his proper tokens to have been prior Patrick Hepburn, now bishop of Murray, who to this day has continued in the profession that he once made to his god the king of love.

It was supposed, notwithstanding this kind of preaching, that this friar remained papist in his heart, for the rest of the friars fearing to lose the benedictions of the bishops, *to wit*, their malt and their meal, and their other appointed pensions, caused the friar to flee to England, where, for defence of the pope and papistry, he was imprisoned at King Henry's command; but so it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of that age. Short after this, new consultation was taken that some should be burnt, for men began very liberally to speak. A merry gentleman, named John Lindsay, familiar to bishop James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said, " My lord, if ye burn any man, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in howe [low] cellars, for the reek of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon." Thus it pleased God, that they should be taunted in their own faces. But here follows the most merry of all. Alexander Ferrier, who had been imprisoned seven

* This was a sort of farce of the lowest kind, got up for the amusement of the people; and it was attended by such gross licentiousness, that it was put down by act of Parliament, in the

not over-virtuous reign of Queen Mary. See a long amusing article on the subject in Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish language.—*Ed.*

years in the tower of London, Sir John Dingwell, according to the charity of kirkmen, entertained his wife, and wasted the poor man's substance; for the which cause, at his returning, he spake more liberally of priests than they could bear, and so was he delated to be accused of heresy, and called to his answer at St Andrews. He leapt up merrily upon the scaffold, and casting a gamound, [gambol] said, "Where are the rest of the players?" Mr Andrew Oliphant offended therewith, said, "It shall be no play to you, Sir, before ye depart;" and so began to read his accusation. The first article whereof was, "That he despited the mass." His answer was, "I hear more masses in eight days than three bishops there sitting say in a year." Accused, secondly, "For contemptum of the sacraments." "The priests," said he, "were the most common contemners of sacraments, and especially of matrimony;" and that he witnessed by many there present of the priests, and named the men's wives with whom they had meddled, especially Sir John Dingwell, who had seven years together abused his own wife, and consumed his substance. And says, "Because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused, as one that is worthy to be burnt: For God's cause," said he, "will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whose wives ye have abused, may be revenged upon you." Then bishop Gavin Dunbar, named the old bishop of Aberdeen, thinking to justify himself before the people, said, "Carle, thou shalt not know my wife." The said Alexander answered, "My lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God, I shall drink with your daughter before I depart." And thereat was smiling of the best, and loud laughter of some; for the bishop had a daughter married with Andrew Balfour in that same town. Then the bishops bade, "Away with the carle." But he answered, "Nay, I will not depart this hour, for I have more to speak against the vices of priests, than I can express this whole day." And so after diverse purposes, they commanded him to burn his bill; and he demanding the cause, they said, "Because ye have spoken those articles where-

of you are accused." His answer was, "The muckle devil bear them away that first and last spake them." And so he took the bill, and chewing it, he afterwards spit it in Mr Andrew Oliphant's face, saying, "Now, burn it or drown it, whether ye will, ye shall hear no more of me; but I must have somewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack again, which a priest and my wife, a priest's whore, have spent." And so every prelate and rich priest, glad to be quit of his evil [tongue], gave him somewhat, and so departed he; for he understood nothing of religion. * But so fearful it was to speak any thing against priests, that the least word spoken against them, yea albeit it were spoken in a man's sleep, was judged heresy; and that was practised upon Richard Carmichael, yet alive in Fife, who being young and a singer in the chapel royal of Stirling, happened in his sleep to say, "The devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack." He was therefore accused by Sir John Clapperton, dean of the said chapel, was compelled therefore to burn his bill [i. e. recant]. But God short after raised up against them stronger champions. For Alexander Seyton, a black friar of good learning and estimation, began to tax the corrupt doctrine of the papistry. For the space of a whole lent, he taught the commandments of God only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, "that the law of God had of many years not been truly taught; for men's traditions had obscured the purity of it." These were his accustomed propositions: "First, Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. 2d. There is no sin where God's law is not violated. 3d. To satisfy for sins, lies not in man's power, but the remission thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and the faith apprehending God the Father merciful in Christ Jesus his Son." While oftentimes he puts auditors in mind of these and the like heads; he makes no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimages, prayers to

* It was this that saved him. The clergy could suffer great freedom of speech from wicked men; but the least appearance of godliness was enough to condemn any one.—Ed.

saints, neither of such trifles: The dumb doctors, and the rest of that forsworn rabble, began to suspect him; and yet they said nothing publicly till lent was ended, and he passed to Dundee; and then in his absence, hired for that purpose, openly condemned the holy doctrine, which before he had taught, which coming to his ears, the said friar Alexander then being in Dundee, without delay he returned to St Andrews, caused immediately to jow [ring] the bell, and to give signification that he would preach, as that he did indeed, in the which sermon he affirmed, and that more plainly than at any other time, whatsoever he had taught in all his sermons before the whole lent tide preceding. Adding, "That within Scotland there were no true bishops, if that bishops should be known by such notes and virtues, as saint Paul requires in bishops." This delation flew with wings to the bishops' ears, who, but [without] farther delay, send for the said friar Alexander, who began grievously to complain, and sharply to accuse that he had so slanderously spoken of the dignity of bishops, as to say, "That it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly." The man being witty, and minded of that which was a most assured defence, said, "My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars." Whereat the bishop rejoiced, and said, "Your answer pleases me well; I never could think of you, that ye would have been so foolish as to affirm such things: Where are these knaves that have brought me this tale?" Who compearing, and affirming the same that they did before; he still replied, "that they were liars." But while the witnesses were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the bishop, and said, "My Lord, ye may hear, and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, and friar Alexander Seyton. In very deed, my lord, I said, that Paul says, It behoves a bishop to be a teacher. Isaiah said, That they that fed not the flock are dumb dogs; and Zechariah says, They are idle pastors. I, of

my own head, affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit 'of God before had pronounced. At whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me; and so yet again, my lord, I say, that they are manifest liars, that reported unto you that I said, that ye and others that preach not are no bishops but belly gods." Albeit after that, the bishop was highly offended, as well at the scoff and bitter mock as at the bold liberty of that learned man; yet durst he not hazard at that present to execute his malice conceived; for not only feared he the learning and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had, as well of the people as the prince, King James the Fifth, of whom he had good credit; for he was at that time his confessor, and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's law, and unto purity of life: but the bishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the prince and a man so learned, and so repugning to their effections, laboured by all means, to make the said friar Alexander odious unto the king's grace, and easily found the means by the grey friars, who by their hypocrisy deceive many, to traduce the innocent as a heretic. This accusation was easily received of the carnal prince, who altogether was given unto the filthy lusts of the flesh, and abhorred all counsel that repugned thereto. And because he did remember what a terror the admonitions of the said Alexander was unto his corrupted conscience, without resistance he subscribed to their accusation, affirming, that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he understood well enough that he smelled of the new doctrine, by such things as he had shown to him under confession; and therefore he promised, that he should follow the counsel of the bishops in punishing of him, and of all others of that sect. These things understood by the said Alexander, as well by informations of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the king unto him, provided the next way to avoid the fury of a blinded prince. And so in his habit he de-

parted the realm; and coming to Berwick, he wrote back to the king's grace his complaint and admonition. The very tenor and copy whereof follows, and is this.

“ Most gracious and sovereign lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whom only thy highness and majesty has power and authority to exercise justice within this thy realm under God, who is King and Lord over all realms; and thy grace, and all mortal kings, are but only servants unto that only immortal prince Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wot, unknown to thy grace's highness, how that thy grace's umquhille servant and orator—and ever shall be to my life's end—is departed out of the realm unto the next adjacent of England; not-thelless, I believe the cause of my departing is unknown to your grace's majesty: which only is, because the bishops and kirkmen of thy realm have had heretofore such authority upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather king and you the subject; which unjust regimen is of the self false, and contrary to holy scripture and law of God: then [seeing] thou art their king and master, and they the subjects, which is very true and testified expressly by the word of God. And also, because they will give no man of any degree or state—whom they oft falsely call heretics—audience, time, nor place to speak nor have defence, which is against all law, both the old law, called the law of Moses, and the new law of the evangel. So that if I might have had audience and place to speak, and have shown my just defence, conform to the law of God, I should never have fled to any other realm, suppose it should have cost me my life. But because I believed that I should have had no audience nor place—they are so great with thy grace,—I departed, not doubting, but moved of God, unto a better time, that God illuminate thy grace's eyes, to give every man audience,—as thou shouldst and mayst, and art bound of the law of God,—who is accused to the death. And to certify thy highness that these are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy grace to come in thy realm again, so that thy grace will give

me audience, and hear what I have for me of the law of God: and cause any bishop or abbot, friar or secular, who is most cunning,—some of them cannot read their matins that are made judges of heresy,—to impugn me by the law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy grace being present and judge, I refuse no pain worthy or condign for my fault. And if that I convict them by the law of God, and they have nothing to lay to my charge but the law of man and their own inventions, to uphold their vain glory and prideful life, and daily scourging of thy poor lieges; I report me to thy grace, as judge, whether he has the victory who holds him at the law of God, which cannot fail nor be false, or they who hold them at the law of man, which is right oft plain contrary and against the law of God, and therefore of necessity false, and full of leasings: for all things which are contrary to the verity—which is Christ and his law—is of necessity a leasing. And to witness that this comes of all my heart, I shall remain in Berwick while I get thy grace's answer, and shall without fail return, having thy hand write, that I may have audience and place to speak. No more I desire of thee; whereof, if I had been sure, I should never have departed. That you may know the truth thereof, if fear of the justness of my cause, or dread of persecution for the same, had moved me to depart, I would not so pleasantly revert: only distrust was the cause of my departing. Pardon me to say that which lies to thy grace's charge: thou art bound by the law of God—suppose they falsely lie, saying it pertains not to thy grace to intromit with such matters—to cause every man, in any case accused of his life, to have his just defence, and his accusers produced conform to their own law. They blind thy grace's eyes, that know nothing of this law: but if I prove not this out of their own law, I offer me unto the death. Thy grace, therefore, by experience may daily learn,—seeing they neither fear the king of heaven, as their lives testify, neither their natural prince, as their usurped power in their actions show,—why thy highness should lie no

longer blinded. Thou mayest consider that they pretend nothing else, but only the maintenance and uphold of their bairded mules,* augmenting of their insatiable avarice, and continual down thringing [overthrowing] and swallowing up thy poor lieges, neither preaching nor teaching out of the law of God—as they should—to the rude ignorant people, but aye contending who may be most high, most rich, and nearest thy grace, to put the temporal lords and lieges out of thy conceit and favour, who should be and are most tender servants to thy grace in all time of need, to the defence of thee and thy crown: and where they desire thy grace to putt at [push at] thy temporal lords and lieges, because they despise their vicious life, what else intend they but only thy death, as thou mayest easily perceive, suppose they colour their false intent and mind, with the pursuit of heresy; for when thy barons are put down, what art thou but the king of bane, † and then of necessity man [must] be guided by them, and then no doubt, where a blind man is guide, man [must] be a fall in the mire. Therefore let thy grace take hardiment and authority, which thou hast of God, and suffer not their cruel persecution to proceed, without audience given to him that is accused, and just place of defence: And then, no doubt, you shall have thy lieges' hearts, and all that they can or may do in time of need,—tranquillity, justice, and policy in thy realm, and finally, the kingdom of the heavens. Please to gar [cause] have this or the copy to the clergy or kirkmen, and keep the principal, and thy grace shall have experience, if I do against one word that I have hecht [promised]. I shall daily make my hearty devotion

for thy grace, and the prosperity and welfare of thy body and soul. I doubt not but thy gracious highness will give answer of these presents unto the presenter of this unto thy highness. Of Berwick, by thy highness' servant and orator.

Sic subscribitur, ALEXANDER SEYTON.

This letter was delivered to the king's own hands, and of many read; but what could ghostly admonitions avail, where the pride and corruption of prelacy commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of courtiers fostered the insolent prince to all impiety.

From the death of that constant witness of Jesus Christ, Mr Patrick Hamilton, God disclosing the wickedness of the wicked, as before we have heard; there was one Forrest of Linlithgow taken, who, after long imprisonment in the said tower of St Andrews, was adjudged to the fire by the said bishop James Beaton and his doctors, for none other crime, but because he had a New Testament in English; ‡ farther of that history we have not, except that he died constantly, and with great patience at St Andrews. After whose death, the flame of persecution ceased, till the death of Mr Norman Gourlay, the space of ten years or thereby; not that these bloody beasts ceased by all means to suppress the light of God, and to trouble such as in any sort were suspected to abhor their corruption, but because the realm was troubled with intestine and civil wars, in the which much blood was shed; first at Melrose, betwixt the Douglas and Buccleuch in the year of God 1526, the 24th of July. Next at Linlithgow, betwixt the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox, where the said earl with many

* David Buchanan makes this "barded mules," but he does not say what barded means. It relates to the furniture, or rich trappings of a horse. The most concise English is, their caparisoned steeds.—*Ed.*

† D. B. makes this "king of land but not of men," which Dr Jamieson thinks erroneous. It means, Thou art only such a king as children and others make in their plays.—*Ed.*

‡ Besides the crime of possessing a New Testament, Forrest was reported to have spoken favourably of Patrick Hamilton; but even this they could not prove against him, till they got his confessor to sound him on the subject. He was

so partially enlightened as to submit to confession; and he frankly opened his mind to one whom he regarded as his spiritual comforter, declaring that he thought Hamilton's doctrines were not heretical. This being treacherously communicated to his judges, procured his condemnation. He complained bitterly of the villany that had been practised against him. His knowledge of the truth must have been comparatively small, seeing he wished to conceal it, but his faith must have been real, seeing he chose death rather than to deny the truth when he could no longer conceal his knowledge of it.—*Ed.*

others lost his life, the thirteenth day of September. And last, betwixt the king himself and the said Douglas, whom he banished the realm, and held them in exile during his whole days. By reason of these, we say, and of other troubles, the bishops and their bloody bands could not find the time so favourable unto them as they required, to execute their tyranny.

In this mid time, so did the wisdom of God provide, that Henry the Eighth, king of England, did abolish from his realm the name and authority of the pope of Rome, suppress the abbeys, and other places of idolatry, which gave some esperance [hope] to diverse realms, that some godly reformation should have thereof ensued. And, therefore, from this our country did diverse learned men, and others that lived in fear of persecution, repair to that realm, where, albeit, they found not such purity as they wished,—and therefore diverse of them sought other countries,—yet they escaped the tyranny of merciless men, and were reserved to better times, that they might fructify within this church in diverse places and parts, and in diverse vocations. Alexander Seyton remained in England, and publicly, with great praise and comfort of many, taught the evangel in all sincerity certain years. And albeit the craftiness of Winchester and others, circumvented the said Alexander, that they caused him, at Paul's Cross, to affirm certain things that repugned to his former true doctrine; yet it is no doubt but that as God had potently reigned with him [assisted him] in all his life, that also in his death, which shortly after followed, he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he exhorted all men ever to depend. Alexander Alasins, Mr John Fife, and that famous man Dr Machabæus, departed unto Dutchland, where by God's providence they were distributed to several places. Macdoual, for his singular providence, besides his learning and godliness, was elected burrow-master in one of their steids; Alasins was appointed to the university of Leipsic, and so was Mr John Fife, where, for their honest behaviour and great erudition, they were holden in admiration with all the

godly. And in what honour, credit, and estimation Dr Machabæus was with Christianus king of Denmark, Capmanhoven, and famous men of diverse nations, can testify. Thus did God provide for his servants, and did frustrate the expectation of those bloody beasts, who by the death of one in whom the light of God did clearly shine, intended to have suppressed Christ's truth for ever within this realm: but the contrary had God decreed. For his death was the cause, as said is, that many did awake from the deadly sleep of ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ, who is the only true light, shine into many, for the way-taking of one. And albeit that these notable men did never after—Mr John Fife only excepted—comfort this country with their bodily presence; yet made he them fructify in his church, and raised them up lights out of darkness, to the praise of his own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled, *to wit*, of the king, council, and nobility, yea of the whole people, who suffered such notable personages, without crimes committed, to be unjustly persecuted, and so exiled; others after were even so entreated: but of them we shall speak in their own place. No sooner got the bishops opportunity—which always they sought—but so soon renewed they the battle against Jesus Christ; for the foresaid leprous bishop, in the year of God 1534 years, caused to be summoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Dais, Henry Cairns, John Stewart, indwellers of Leith, with diverse others, such as Mr William Johnston advocate, Mr Henry Henderson schoolmaster of Edinburgh, of whom some compeared in the Abbey Kirk of Holyroodhouse, and so abjured and publicly burnt their bills, others compeared not, and therefore were exiled; but in judgment produced two, *to wit*, David Straiton, a gentleman, and Mr Norman Gourlay, * a man of reasonable erudition, of whom we man shortly

* There is little known of these two martyrs farther than what is above recorded, except that Gourlay added to his heresy the crime of taking a wife. There is a short account of both in the Scots Worthies, edit. 1827, which is partly at least taken from Knox.—Ed.

speak. In Mr Norman appeared knowledge, albeit joined with weakness; but in David Straiton could only be espied, for the first, hatred against the pride and avariciousness of priests; for the cause of his delation was, he had made to himself a fish-boat to go to the sea; the bishop of Murray then being prior of St Andrews, and his factors urged him for the teind thereof; his answer was, "If they would have teind thereof, which his servants won in the sea, it were but reason they should come and receive it, where he got the stock;" and so, as was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants cast the tenth fish in the sea again. Process of cursing was led against him, for non payment of such commands, which when he contemned, he was delated to answer for heresy. It troubled him vehemently; and therefore he began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a man very stubborn, and one that despised all reading,—chiefly of those things that were godly,—but miraculously as it were, he appeared to be changed, for he delighted in nothing but in reading—albeit himself could not read—and was a vehement exhorter to all men to concord, to quietness, and to the contempt of the world: he frequented much the company of the laird of Dun, whom God, in these days, had marvellously illuminated. Upon a day, as the laird of Lauriston, who yet lives, then being a young man, was reading unto him upon the New Testament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read these sentences of our Master Christ Jesus: "He that denies me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my Father, and before his angels." At which words, he suddenly being as one ravished, cast himself upon his knees, and extending both hands and visage constantly to the heaven a reasonable time, at length he burst forth in these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou abstract thy grace from me: but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truths, for fear of death or corporal pains." The issue

declared that his prayer was not vain, for when he, with the foresaid Mr Norman, was produced in judgment in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, the king himself—all clad in red—being present, great labours were made, that the said David Straiton should have recanted, and should have burnt his bill: but he ever standing at his defence, alleging that he had not offended, in the end was adjudged to the fire, and then, when he perceived the danger, asked grace at the king, which he would willingly have granted unto him; the bishops proudly answered, "That the king's hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned." And so was he, with the said Mr Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of August, the year of God 1534 foresaid, led to a place beside the rood of Greenside; and there these two were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the papistical church. To that same diet were summoned, as before we have said, others of whom some escaped in England, and so for that present escaped the death. This their tyranny notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wondrously increase within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in these dangerous days was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the papistical religion openly rebuked: among whom were Dundee and Leith principals, against whom was made a very strait inquisition by David Beaton, cruel cardinal. And diverse were compelled to abjure and burn their bills, some in St Andrews, and some in Edinburgh. About the same time Captain John Borthwick was burnt in figure, but by God's providence escaped their fury. And this was done for a spectacle, and triumph to Mary of Lorraine, lately arrived from France, as wife to king James the Fifth, king of Scots: what plagues she brought with her, and how they yet continue, such as are not blind, may manifestly see. The rage of these bloody beasts proceeded so far, that the king's court escaped not the danger;

for in it diverse were suspected, and some accused. And yet ever still did some light burst forth in the midst of darkness; for the truth of Christ Jesus entered even in the cloisters as well of friars as of monks and canons. John Lin, a grey friar, left his hypocritical habit, and the den of those murderers, the grey friars. A black friar, called friar Keiller, set forth the history of Christ's passion in form of a play, which he both preached and practised in Stirling openly, the king himself being present upon a good Friday in the morning, in the which all things were so lively expressed, that the very simple people understood and confessed, that [as] the priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Jesus Christ, and caused Pilate to condemn him; so did the bishops and men called religious, blind the people, and persuaded the princes and judges to persecute such as profess Christ Jesus his blessed evangel. This plain speaking so inflamed the hearts of all that bore the beast's mark, that they ceased not, till that the friar Keiller, and with him friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simpson, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and dean Thomas Forrest, canon regular and vicar of Dollar,* a man of upright life, [were condemned,] who altogether were cruelly murdered in a fire, upon the Castlehill, the last of February, the year of God 1538. This cruelty was used by the said cardinal, the chancellor, the bishop of Glasgow, and the incestuous bishop of Dumblane. After that this cruelty was used in Edinburgh upon the Castlehill, to the effect that the rest of the bishops might show themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God than he of St Andrews was, were apprehended two of the diocese of Glasgow, the one named Hieronymus Russell, a cordelier friar, a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and of good let-

ters; and one Kennedy, who passed not 18 years of age, and of excellent ingine in Scottish poesy. To assist the bishop of Glasgow in that cruel judgment, or at least to cause him dip his hands in the blood of the saints of God, were sent Mr John Luder, Mr Andrew Oliphant, and friar Maltman, servants of Satan, apt for that purpose; the day appointed to their cruelty approached, the poor saints of God presented before these bloody butchers, grievous were the crimes that were laid to their charge: Kennedy was faint at the first, and would fain have recanted, but while that place of repentance was denied unto him, the spirit of God, which is the spirit of all comfort, began to work into him, yea the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in visage, as in tongue and word, for his countenance began to be cheerful, and with a joyful voice upon his knees, he said, "O eternal God, how wondrous is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others; for, even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have casten myself in everlasting damnation; thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and makest me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear, wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death, do what ye please; I praise God I am ready." The godly and learned Hieronymus, railed upon by these godless tyrants, answered, "This is your hour and power of darkness; now sit ye as judges, we stand wrongously accused, and more wrongously to be condemned; but the day shall come, when our innocence shall appear, and that ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity."

* Of the other four there is little or nothing on record; but there is an interesting account of the vicar of Dollar in the Scots Worthies, edit. 1827, taken from Spotswood. He not only made an open confession of the truth, but preached it faithfully and frequently, and forbore exacting some of his dues from his parishioners, which the other clergy complained of as a reproach to them. He was however in such

favour, that his bishop, before proceeding to extremities, argued and expostulated with him, and warned him of his danger, if he persisted in such uncanonical practices; but being found irreclaimable, he was given up to the flames. The two next, Russell and Kennedy, belonged to Glasgow, of whom there is little more known than what Knox has recorded.—*E. A.*

While that these servants of God thus behaved themselves, ariseth a variance betwixt the bishops and the beasts that come from the cardinal; for the bishop said, "I think it better to spare these men, nor to put them to dead:" Whereat idiot doctors offended, said, "What will ye do, my lord? Will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal and the other bishops and we have done? If so ye do, ye show yourself enemy to the kirk and us, and so will we repute you, be ye assured." At which words, the faithless man afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked. The meek and gentle Hieronymus Russel comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, oft saying unto him, "Brother, fear not, more potent is he that is in us, than is he that is in the world; the pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and our consolation shall

never have end: and, therefore, let us contend to enter in, unto our Master and Saviour, by the same strait way which he has trode before us; death cannot destroy us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we suffer." With these and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of execution; and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire. And thus did these cruel beasts intend nothing but murder in all the quarters of the realm; for so far had that blinded and most vicious man, this prince—most vicious we call him, for he neither spared man's wife nor maiden, no more after his marriage nor he did before,—so far, I say, had he given himself to obey the tyranny of these cruel beasts, that he had made a solemn vow, That none should be spared that was suspect of heresy, yea, although it were his own son. * To

* The following extract from Lindsay of Pit-scotie, will show how this infatuated prince, James V. was wrought upon by the clergy to lend his authority to the extirpation of heresy. He had made an engagement with his uncle, Henry VIII. to meet with him at York, to concert measures for the permanent peace of the two kingdoms. Henry, by this time, had cast off the authority of the pope, and had made a partial reformation in England. The Scottish clergy dreaded, above all things, the meeting of their king with his so deemed heretical uncle, lest he also should be infected with heresy; and to prevent the interview, they interferred in the manner following: "Bot the vngodlie papisticall bischopes, with vther kirkmen, tuik sick fear, beleivand that if the king of Scotland and the king of England had mett, their papisticall impyre would have beine abolished, becaus the king of England laitlie befor had abolished all idolatrie, and castin down the abbayes, and maid the word of God to be preached, and have frie passage through all England. The bischopis taking sick feare of this, that if those kingis mett, it sould become so of thame, their abbayes and rental, quhairfor they kest all the meanis they might to stay the said meiting, sometyme by craft and ingyne, and other quhylls by persuasioones, saying to the king that he sould not want as lang as thair war ane kirk benefice in Scotland, and gave the king in the meantyme, and assigned to him threttie thousand pundis of yeirle rent out of thair benefices, to defend the libertie of their kirk, and present professionn, etc. Yitt for all this the king was well mynded to have keipit his promise to the king of England, and that be the adwyse of the lordis, whom the bischopis persaved counsalled the king in this manner, that they could not be content thairwith, and would faine have beine revengit on the lordis and gentlemen, quhom they beleived was counsallouris of the king to meit with his vncle the

king of England, quhilk they desired on no wayes sould be done, becaus they also beleivit thair would be no lyff for thame, and thairefor devyced to put an discord and variance betwixt the lordis and gentlemeu with thair prince; for they delaited, and gave up to the king in writt, to the number of threttie scoir of earlis, lordis, and barrones, gentlemen and craftismen, that is, as they alledgit, were all heretickis, and leived not after the pope's lawis, and ordinance of the hollie kirk; quhilk his grace sould esteeme as ane capitall cryme to ony man that did the same." I shall, according to my best ability, translate what remains into English.

"Farther, they said to the king, What occasion have you to go to England for any advantage that the king of England will give you? We shall make your grace to possess abundance at home if you will execute justice, as we advise, upon the heretics, of whom we have given you a list, who are all great readers of the Old and New Testament in English, and other abuses which we shall prove to you; and we engage upon our consciences, that all their lands, rents, and goods, shall be your own, for their contempt of our holy father the pope and his laws, and of your grace's authority. Therefore, if you will do us justice in this matter, we shall give you a hundred thousand pounds a-year to augment the patrimony of your crown, and a supply for any war you may have with England, or any other enemy; and we desire but that you will give us a temporal judge to our mind, to do justice on these wicked heretics, which will be to your great honour and profit, and advantage of the church, and maintenance of the laws of our holy father the pope. Wherefore we have no doubt, but the pope will reward your grace for thus maintaining his authority.

"The king yielded to these wicked suggestions of the clergy against his own subjects,

press and push him forward in all that his fury, he wanted not flatterers enough; for many of his minions were pensioners to priests; among whom, Oliver Sinclair, yet remaining enemy to God, was the principal. And yet did not God cease to give that blinded prince some documents that some sudden plague was to fall upon him, in case he did not repent his wicked life; and that his own mouth did confess: for after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded—justly or unjustly we dispute not—this vision came unto him, as to his familiars himself did declare; the said Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hand a drawn sword, by the which from the king he struck both the arms, saying to him these words, “Take that, while thou receive a final payment for all thine impiety.” This vision, with sorrowful countenance, he showed on the morn, and shortly thereafter died his two sons, both within the space of 24 hours; yea, some say, within the space of six hours. In his own presence, George Steele, his greatest flatterer, and greatest enemy to God that was in his court, dropped off his horse, and died without word, that same day that in open audience of many, the said George had refused his portion of Christ’s kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin Mary should not bring him thereto. How terrible a vision the said prince saw, lying in Lulithgow, that night Thomas Scott, justice-clerk, died in Edinburgh, men of good credit can yet report: for afraid at midnight, or after, he cried for torches, and raised all that lay beside him in the palace, and told that Thomas Scott

was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had said unto him this word, “O woe to the day that ever I knew thee or thy service; for, for serving of thee against God, against his servants, and against justice, I am adjudged to endless torment.” How terrible voices the said Thomas Scott pronounced before his death, men of all estate heard; and some that live can witness, his voice was ever “*Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum.*” that is, I am condemned by God’s just judgment. He was most oppressed for delatation and false accusation of such as professed Christ’s evangel, as Mr Thomas Marjoribanks, and Mr Hugh Rigg, then advocates, did confess to Mr Henry Balnaves, who, from the said Thomas Scott, came to him, as he and Mr Thomas Ballantine were sitting in St Giles’ kirk, and asked him forgiveness in the name of the said Thomas. None of these terrible forewarnings could either change or mollify the heart of the indurate, lecherous, and avaricious tyrant, but still he does proceed from impiety till impiety. For in the midst of these admonitions, he caused put hands in that notable man, Mr George Buchanan, to whom, for his singular erudition and honest behaviour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his bastard children: but by the merciful providence of God he escaped, albeit with great difficulty, the rage of them that sought his blood, and remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566 years, to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of them that delight in letters and virtue.* That singular work of David’s

unmoved by the duty which he owed to God and to them, but entering heartily into the covetous views of the bishops. ‘I desire,’ said he, ‘that you had justice; that the holy kirk and the liberty thereof be defended. Choose therefore a fit person, who will execute justice most sharply and rigorously, for punishment of these heretics; and I shall give him my authority, wherever he finds a heretic, to burn him and put him to death at your pleasure.’ They found a fit instrument in Sir James Hamilton, who, after showing his good will to the work of burning heretics, was himself executed for treason; and then, as related in the text, terrified the king by an apparition.—*Ed.*

* On this D. B. has the following note:—“George Buchanan, by the king’s command, angry with the friars, did write his satyr then

against them, who thereafter having made their peace with the king, would not be appeased with George Buchanan, whom the king gave over to their importunity, and so he was put in prison.” This alludes to that exquisite piece of satire, “The Franciscan,” which Buchanan wrote reluctantly, at the urgent desire of the king, when he had a quarrel with the clergy. It was therefore the more pitiful of the king to give him up to their power. He did not publish the poem at the time, but confided it to the king only, who must have taunted the friars with it, and so it would come to their knowledge; but being written in Latin, it could not when published, injure them in the esteem of the people generally. As a specimen of it, I insert the following from a late translation by the Reverend John Graham, a correspondent of “The Protestant.”

Psalms in Latin metre and poesy, besides many other, can witness the rare graces of God given to that man, which that tyrant, by instigation of the grey friars, and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy, by escaping, to his servant. This cruelty and persecution, notwithstanding the monsters and hypocrites the grey friars, day by day came farther into contempt; for not only did the learned espy and detest their abominable hypocrisy, but also men, in whom no such graces nor gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the same forth to the people; as this rhyme, which here we have inserted for the same purpose, made by Alexander earl of Glencairn, yet alive, can witness, entitled, "Ane epistill direct fra the halie hermeit of Alareit, to his brethren the gray freirs."

I THOMAS hermeit in Lareit,
 Sanct Francis ordour do hairtille greit,
 Besekand you with gud intent,
 To be wakryif* and diligent. * watchful
 Thir Lutheranis rissen of new,
 Our ordour dailie dois persew.
 They smaikis^b dois set thair hail intent, ^b sneakers
 To reid the Ingliche New Testament,
 And sayis we have thame clein decevit;
 Thairfore in haist thay mon be stoppit.
 Our stait hypocrisie thay pryse,
 And us blasphemis one this wyse,
 Sayand, That we ar heretyckis,
 And false loud lying mastis tykes, [and oppressors
 Cumerars and quellars^c of Christis kirk, ^c cumberbers
 Sweir swongeors^d that will not wirk, ^d lazy dissem-
 Bot idillie our leving wynis, [blers
 Devoiring woilfis into scheipis skynis,

THE MONK.

THE new-made monk, though all his life before,
 The name of blockhead or of dunce he bore,
 Becomes, as soon as shorn, both learned and wise,
 Quick from his mind each imperfection flies.
 He who but lately tended goats or cows,
 When the grim cowl has decked his greasy brows,
 Changed and grown learned, at once a face puts on
 As grave as PLATO, or as XENOPHON—
 Though all his early years he drove the plough,
 A priest and prophet he commences now.
 At first with care he learns to regulate
 His frowns and smiles, his gestures and his gait.
 With lowly looks, he hides his rising pride,
 With downcast eyes, he hangs his head aside.
 He tries if fumes of sulphur can prevail,
 To make him seem as if by vigils pale,—
 Keeps ever silent in the busy crowd,
 And smiles in secret while he weeps aloud,
 When the world's eye he thinks he can escape,
 He quaffs abundantly the joyous grape;
 But before company rejects the cup,
 As if afraid to taste a single sup.
 With muttered forms of ill-digested prayer,
 He wakes, and eats, and sleeps, and takes the air;

Huirkland* with huide into our neck, ^{crouching}
 With Judas mynd to jouk and beck, ^{[stomp an 1}
 Seikand Christis pepill to devoir, [courtsey
 The doum thringers^e of Christis gloir, ^e throwers
 Professors of hypocrisie,
 And doctours in idolatrie,
 Stout fischeiris with the Feindis net,
 The upclossers of hevins yett,
 Cankart corruptors of the creid,
 Humlock sawers among gud seid, [^h throwⁱ brambles
 To trow^h in trators,ⁱ that do men tyist^k [^k twist
 The hie way kennand thame fra Christ,
 Monsters with the beistis mark,
 Doges that nevir stintis to bark,
 Kirkmen that ar to Christ unkend,
 A sect that Satanis self hes send,
 Lourkand in hoils, lyik trator toddis,
 Manteiners of idollis and fals goddis,
 Fantastik fuillis and fenzeit fleichers,^l [^l feigned
 To turne fra treuth the verray teichers, [flatterers
 For to declare thair hail sentence,
 Wad mekill cumber your conscience;
 To say your fayth it is sa stark,
 Your cord and lousie cote and sark,
 Ye lippin may bring you to salvatioun,
 And quyte excludis Christis passioun.
 I dreid this doctrine, and it last,
 Sall outhar gar us wirk or fast;
 Thairfoir with speid we mene provyde,
 And not our profite overslyde.
 I schaip myself, within schort quhill,
 To curs our ladie in Argyle;
 And thair one craftie waye to wirk,
 Till that we biggit have ane kirk,
 Syne miracles mak be your advyce;
 They ketterells^m thoicht thai had bot lyce, ^m heretics
 The twa parte to us they will bring,
 Bot ordourlie to dress this tling:
 A gaist I purpos to gar gang,
 Be consaill of freir Walter Lang,
 Quhilk sall mak certane demonstratiounis,
 To help us in our procuratiounis,
 Your halie ordour to decoir:
 That practick he provit anis befoir,
 Betwix Kirkaldie and Kinghorne,
 Bot lymmaris maid thereat sick scornie,

And with such words as no man understands,
 He bids good morn, or shakes you by the hands.
 He knows what charms, what magic note or stich,
 Can boys or girls, or widows' heart bewitch.
 And well discerns the way to give advice,
 By which, while chiding, he inflames to vice:
 In questions runs the list of vices o'er,
 And deeds suggests not thought upon before.
 Well skilled is he to flatter human pride,
 And court the rich man on his deathbed side.
 Those are the objects which engage the mind,
 Of those who refuge in a convent find.
 For these a man his country shall forego,
 No longer brother, friend, or neighbour know
 For this a man shall take the pilgrim's way,
 And cold and naked o'er the country stray;
 Lie like a beast uncovered on the ground,
 And snarl, and bark, and growl on all around:
 Now look ferocious as an angry bear,
 Then mild and fearful as a hunted bear;
 A friend to those who gratify his pride—
 A deadly foe to all the world beside.

The verses by the Earl of Glencairn, which Knox gives in the text, seem a close imitation, if not a translation of a fragment of the Franciscan.—Ed.

And to his fame maid sick depressioun,
 Sensyne he hard not the kingis confessioun,
 Thoicht at that tyme he come no speid;
 I pray you tak gude will as deid;
 And sum amongst your self ressave,
 As ane worth many of the lave.
 Quhat I obtain may, throw his airt,
 Ressone wald ye had your parte.
 Your ordour handillis no money,
 Bot for uther casualtie,
 As beif, meill, butter, and cheiss,
 Or quhat we have, that ye pleis,
 Send your brethren, *et habete*,
 As now nocht ellis, bot *valet*,
 Be Thomas your brother at comand,
 A culrun^m kythit throw mony a land. ^m a raseal.

When God had given unto that indurate prince sufficient documents, that his rebellion against his blessed evangel should not prosperously succeed, he raised up against him war, as that he did against obstinate Saul, in the which he miserably perished, as we shall after hear.

The occasion of the war was this, Henry the Eighth, king of England, had a great desire to have spoken with our king, and in that point travailed so long, till that he got a full promise made to his ambassador, Lord William Howard; the place of meeting was appointed at York, which the king of England kept with such solemnity and preparations, as never for such a purpose was seen in England before. Great bruit [noise] of that journey, and some preparation for the same, was made in Scotland; but in the end, by persuasion of the cardinal David Beaton, and by others of his faction, that journey was staid, and the king's promise falsified. Whereupon were sharp letters of reproach sent unto the king, and also unto his council. King Henry frustrated, returned unto London, and after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers forment [opposite] Scotland. There were sent to the borders, Sir Robert Bowes, the earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas. Upon what other trifling questions—as for the debatable land and such like—the war broke up, we omit to write. The principal occasion was the falsifying of the promise before made; our king perceiving that the war would rise, asked the prelates and kirkmen what support they would make to the sustaining of the same; for rather would he

yet satisfy the desire of his uncle, than he would hazard war, where he saw his force not able to resist. They promised mountains of gold,—as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus, if he would worship him,—for rather would they have gone to hell, or he should have met with king Henry: for then, thought they, farewell our kingdom, and farewell, thought the cardinal, his credit and glory in France. In the end, they promised fifty thousand crowns by year,* to be well paid, so long as the war lasted; and farther, that their servants, and others that appertained to them, and werè exempted from common service, should notwithstanding serve in time of necessity. These vain promises lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king, and so begins the war. The realm was quartered, and men were laid in Jedburgh and Kelso. All men—fools we mean—bragged of victory. And in very deed the beginning gave us a fair show: for at the first warden raid, which was made at the St Bartholomew's day, in the year of God 1542, was the warden, Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes, captain of Norham, Sir William Malberry, knight, a bastard son of the earl of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels, with a great number of borderers, soldiers, and gentlemen taken.

The raid was termed Halden Rigg. The earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother, did narrowly escape. Our papists and priests, proud of this victory, encouraged the king, so that there was nothing heard, but, "All is ours; they are but heretics: if we be a thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight. France shall enter the one part, and we the other, and so shall England be conquered within a year." If any man was seen to smile at such vanity, he was no more but a traitor and heretic. And yet by these means, men had greater liberty than they had before, as concerning their consciences; for then ceased the persecution. The war continued till mid September; and then was sent down the old

* Pitscotie, as we have seen, calls it *L. 100,000*. The difference may be accounted for by the comparative value of the two denominations of money.—*Ed.*

duke of Norfolk, with such an army as an hundred years before had not come in Scotland. They were in amassing their forces, and setting forward their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, till mid October and after. And then they marched from Berwick, and tended to the west, ever holding Tweed upon their own side, and never camped from that river the space of a mile during the whole time they continued in Scotland, which was ten or twelve days. Forays were run upon the day to Smallholm, Stichil, and such places near about, but many snapers [often got into difficulties and scrapes] they got, some corn they burnt, besides that which the great host consumed, but small booty they carried away. The king assembled his force at Fala,—for he was advertised, that they had promised to come to Edinburgh,—and taking the musters all at one hour, two days before Halloween, there were found with him 18,000 able men. Upon the borders that waited upon the English army, were 10,000 men, with earl of Huntly, lords Erskine, Seaton, and Home. These were judged men enough to hazard battle, albeit the other were esteemed 40,000. While the king lies at Fala, abiding upon the guns, and upon advertisement from the army, the lords begin to remember how the king had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the pensioners of the priests: it was once concluded, that they would make some new remembrance of Lauder bridge, to see if that would, for a season, somewhat help the estate of their country; but because the lords could not agree among themselves, upon the persons that deserved punishment,—for every man favoured his friend,—the whole escaped: and the purpose was opened unto the king, and by him to the courtiers, who after that, till they came to Edinburgh, stood in no little fear; but that was suddenly forgot, as we shall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the English army, for scarcity of victuals—as was brnited—retreats them over Tweed upon the night, and so begins to skail [disperse], whereof the king advertised, desires the lords and barons to assist him, to follow them in England. Whose

answer was, with one consent, “That to defend his person and realm, they would hazard life and whatsoever they had; but to invade England, neither had they so just title as they desired; neither yet could they be then able to do any thing to the hurt of England, considering that they had long before been absent from their houses, their provision was spent, their horses wearied, and that which was greatest of all, the time of the year did utterly reclaim.” This their answer seemed to satisfy the king, for he in words praised their prudent foresight and wise counsel. But the mint [proposal] made to his courtiers, and that bold repulse of his desires given to him in his own face, so wounded his proud heart,—for long had he reigned as himself list,—that he decreed a notable revenge, which, no doubt, he had not failed to have executed, if God by his own hand had not cut the cords of his impiety. He returns to Edinburgh, the nobility, barons, gentlemen, and commons to their own habitations. And this was the second and third days of November. Without longer delay, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, was a new council convened, a council, we mean, of his abusers, wherein were accusations laid against the most part of the nobility; some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends to the Douglas, and so could there be none faithful to the king, in their opinion. The cardinal and the priests cast fagots in the fire with all their force; and finding the king wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered to him a scroll, containing the names of such as they, in their inquisition, had convict for heretics; for this was the order of justice, which those holy fathers kept in damning of innocent men. Whosoever would delate any of heresy, he was heard: no respect nor consideration had what mind the delators bore to the person delated; whosoever were produced for witnesses were admitted, how suspicious and infamous that ever they were; if two or three had proven any point, that by their law was holden heresy, that was a heretic: rested [there remained] no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt sentence.

What man could be innocent where such judges were party, the world may this day consider. True it is, by false judgment and false witness, have innocents been oppressed from the beginning. But this freedom to shed innocent blood got never the devil but in the kingdom of antichrist, "that the innocent should die, and neither know accuser, nor yet the witness that testified against him." But how shall the antichrist be known, if he shall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Son Christ Jesus, in law, life, and doctrine? But this we omit. The same scroll had the cardinal and prelates once presented to the king, before that time he returned from the navigation about the isles. But then it was refused by the prudent and stout counsel of the laird of Grange, who opened clearly to the king the practice of the prelates, and the danger thereof might ensue, which considered by the king—for being out of his passion he was tractable—gave this answer, in the palace of Holyrood House, to the cardinal and prelates, after that they had uttered their malice, and shown what profit might arise to the crown, if he would follow their counsel: "Pack, you josrellis, [jugglers], get ye to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment does, neither yet as the king of England both by hanging and heading; but I shall reform you by sharp whingers, if ever I hear such motion of you again." The prelates, dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to attempt any farther by rigour against the nobility; but now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclair, Ross laird of Craigie, and others, who were to them faithful in all things; they conclude to hazard once again their former suit, which was no sooner proponed, but as soon it was accepted, with no small regret made by the king's own mouth, that he had so long despised their counsel: "For," said he, "now I plainly see your words to be true: the nobility neither desire my honour nor continuance;*

for they would not ride a mile for my pleasure to follow my enemies. Will ye therefore find me the means, how that I may have raid made in England without their knowledge and consent, that may be known to be my own raid; and I shall bind me to your counsel for ever." There concurred together Ahab and his false prophets, there were gratulations and clapping of hands, there was promise of diligence, closeness, of fidelity; finally, conclusion was taken, that the west border of England, which was most empty of men and garinsching [garrisons], should be invaded; the king's own banner should be there. Oliver the great minion should be great lieutenant. But no man should be privy—except the council that was there then present—of the enterprise, till the very day and execution thereof. The bishops gladly took the charge of that raid; letters were sent to such as they would charge, to meet the king, day and place appointed. The cardinal, with the earl of Arran, was directed to go to Haddington, to make a show against the east border, when the other was in readiness to invade the west: and thus neither lacked counsel, practice, closeness, nor diligence to set forward that enterprise; and so among those consulters there was no doubt of a good success, and so was the scroll thankfully received by the king himself, and put in his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found; in it was contained more than one hundred landed men, besides others of meaner degree,—amongst whom was the lord Hamilton, then second person of the realm—delated. It was bruited that this raid was devised by the lord Maxwell, but the certainty thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the enterprise, the king was found at Lochmaben. To him come companies from all quarters, as they were appointed; no man knowing of another—for no general proclamation past, but privy letters—neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpose till after midnight, while that the trumpets blew, and commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the king—who was constantly supposed to be in the host—guides were ap-

* In the suppressed copy it is countenance.

pointed to conduct them toward England, as both faithfully and closely they did. Upon the point of day, they approached to the enemy's ground, and so passed the water without any great resistance made unto them. The foray goes forth, fire rises; hership might have been seen on every side. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men, their corn and houses on every side send flames of fire unto the heavens. To them it was more than a wonder that such a multitude could have been assembled and convoyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their wardens: for support they looked not, and so at the first they were utterly despaired. And yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another; and so as the fray proceeded, their troops increased; but to no number—for Carlisle fearing to have been assaulted, suffered no man to issue out of their gates—and so the greatest number, that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture, past not three or four hundred men; and yet they made hot skirmishing, as in their own ground, in such feats they are most expert. About ten hours, when fires were kindled, and almost slockened [quenched] on every side, thought Oliver time to show his glory, and so incontinent was displayed the king's banner, Oliver upon spears lift up upon men's shoulders, and there, with sound of trumpet, was he proclaimed general lieutenant, and all men

commanded to obey him, as the king's own person, under all highest pains. There was present the lord Maxwell, warden, to whom the regimen [government] of things in absence of the king properly appertained; he heard and saw all, but thought more nor he spoke. There were also present the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, with the lord Fleming, and many other lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus and Mearns. In this meantime did the skirmishing grow greater than it was before; shouts were heard on every side, some Scottish men were stricken down, some not knowing the ground layred [mired], and tint [lost] their horse. Some English horse of purpose were let loose, to provoke greedy and imprudent men to proik [to gallop after] them. See *Pryk. Jam. Dict.*] at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While such disorder rose more and more in the army, men cried in every ear, "My lord lieutenant, what will ye do?" Charge was given, that all men should light, and go to array; for they would fight it. Others cried, "Against whom will ye fight? you men will fight no other ways than ye see them do, if ye will stand here quhill [until] the morn." New purpose was taken, that the footmen—they had with them certain bands of footmen soldiers—should softly retire towards Scotland, and the horsemen should take their horse again, and so follow in order. Great was the noise and confusion that was heard, while every man called his own sloghorne.* The day was

* Sloghorne—Slogan, war cry, or gathering word, *Jamieson*. D. Buchanan not being able to find the meaning of this word, satisfied himself with one somewhat like it in sound. "Every man," says he, "called his own *sluggard*." So it is also in an octavo edition, published in Paisley in 1791, and in an elegant quarto one in Edinburgh in 1795; only the last has it in the plural. But what surprised me most, was to find the same rendering, without any notice of the original "Sloghorne," in the suppressed edition by Voultroulier, printed in London in 1586, with which I have been furnished by the kindness of a friend in Edinburgh, since my editorial labours commenced. Wodrow, as quoted in my introduction, p. 31, mentions the exact correspondence between this edition, so far as it goes with the Glasgow MS., and expresses his surprise that D. B. should have overlooked it. I think this proves that D. B.

had it before him, and that he followed it; for it is at least very improbable that he should have fallen into the same ridiculous mistake in the translation of a word. He must have seen that the word "sluggard," in this connection, has no meaning at all; and would probably have sought for one with a meaning, if he had not implicitly followed his predecessor. Voultroulier evidently followed the Glasgow MS., or an exact duplicate of it; but he reduces the orthography to the English of his time; he translates some of the Scottish words, in which he makes more mistakes than the one above mentioned; and many he does not translate at all, which, though obsolete to us, may have been then current in England. Upon the supposition that D. B. had this genuine text before him, his omissions and interpolations appear more inexcusable. Wodrow calls the suppressed edition a duodecimo, but both bishop Nicholson and

near spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The lord Maxwell perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his foot with his friends, who being admonished to take his horse, and provide for himself; answered, "Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it shall please God to send me, than to go home, and then be hanged." And so he remained upon his foot, and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the greater shame. The enemies perceiving the disorder, increased in courage. Before they shouted, but then they struck. They shot spears, and daggit [showered] arrows where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed. The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins, and other weapons fensible; the horsemen left their spears; and so without judgment all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop; but the fear was such, so that happy was he might get a taker. Such as passed the water, and escaped the danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the Sollen [Solway] moss; the entry thereof was pleasant enough, but as they proceeded, all that took that way either tint [lost] their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture without cause has seldom been seen; for it is said, "That where the men were not sufficient to take the hands [bands, *suppr. copy*] of prisoners, some ran to houses, and rendered themselves to women." Stout Oliver was taken without stroke, flying full manfully, and so was his glory—stinking and foolish proudness we should call it—suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken the two earls foresaid, the lords Fleming, Somerville, and many other barons and gentlemen, besides the great multitude of

servants. Worldly men say, that all this came but by disorder and fortune, as they term it. But whosoever has the least spunk of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of his hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad, king of Harem, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than that we have that God fought with his own arm against Scotland. In this former discomfiture there did two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in that great battle, put to flight the said Benhadad with thirty kings in his company. But here there are, in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without any knowledge of any back or battle to follow, put to flight ten thousand men, without any resistance. There did every man rencounter his marrow [fellow], till that the two hundred and thirty slew such as matched them; but here without slaughter the multitude fled. There had they of Samaria the prophet of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them; but England, in that pursuit, had nothing but as God secretly wrought by his providence in these men that knew nothing of his working, neither yet of the cause thereof, more than the wall that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army knew what it did. And, therefore, yet again we say, that such as in that sudden dejection behold not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedom of his own little flock unjustly persecuted, do willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God. But the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowledge of the discomfiture coming to the king's ears

Mr Crawford calls it octavo, which would seem to refer to different editions; but from external appearance no man could with certainty assign it to either. The number of leaves under each letter in the foot margin, ascertains it to be octavo, though not larger than a crown duodecimo. Let not the reader allege that by such minute details I am trifling with him. They are connected with the authenticity of the work; and great authors, such as those above-mentioned, have written a great deal more on the same subject. Spotswood makes good use of this

edition under its general title, "The History of the Church of Scotland," without, I suppose, knowing it to be Knox's; for he disputed the fact that he wrote such a history. Of this edition bishop Nicholson observes: "I have seen only four or five copies of the octavo edition of Knox's History, all of them fragments, beginning at p. 17, and ending abruptly with 560." This is an exact description of the copy in my possession. Probably on its suppression the first sheet was destroyed or carried away, and the printing interrupted, so that it was never finished.—*Ed.*



CARDINAL BEATOUN,

ARCHBISHOP OF S^t ANDREWS. &c. &c.

Engraved by M^{rs}. Freeman.

FROM THE ORIGINAL AT HOLYROOD HOUSE.

—who waited upon news at Lochmaben—he was stricken with a sudden fear and astonishment, so that scarcely could he speak, or hold purpose with any man; the night constrained him to remain where he was, and so went to bed; but rose without rest or quiet sleep. His continual complaint was, “Oh! fled Oliver? is Oliver taken? Oh! fled Oliver?” And these words in his melancholy, and as it were carried away in a trance, repeated he from time to time to the hour of his death. Upon the morrow, which was St Catherine’s day, returned he to Edinburgh, and so did the cardinal from Haddington. But the one being ashamed of the other, the bruit [report] of their communication came not to public audience. The king made inventories of his pois [treasure], of all his jewels, and other substance; and thereafter, ashamed to look any man in the face, secretly departed to Fife, and coming to the Hallyards, was humanely received of the lady of Grange, an ancient and godly matron—the laird at his coming was absent. In his company was only with him William Kirkaldy, now laird of Grange, and some others that waited upon his chamber. The lady at supper, perceiving him pensive, began to comfort him, and willed him to take the work of God in good part. “My portion of this world,” said he, “is short, for I will not be with you fifteen days.” His servant repaired unto him, asking, “Where he would have provision made for his Yule [Christmas], which then approached?” He answered, with a disdainful smirk [smile], “I cannot tell, choose ye the place; but this I can tell you, or Yule day ye will be masterless, and the realm without a king.” Because of his displeasure no man durst make contradiction unto him. So after he had visited the castle of Carney, pertaining to the earl of Crawford,

where the said earl’s daughter was, one of his whores, he returned to Falkland, and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no signs of death, yet he constantly affirmed, “Before such a day I shall be dead.” In this meantime, was the queen upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, who was delivered the 8th day of December, in the year of God 1542 years, of Mary, that then was born, and now does reign for a plague to this realm, as the progress of her whole life had to this day declares. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him, coming to his ears, he turned from such as spake with him, and said, “The devil go with it, it will end as it began; it came from a woman, and it will end in a woman.”* After that he spake not many words that were sensible, but ever he harped upon this old song, “Fie! fled Oliver? Is Oliver taken? All is lost.” In this meantime, in his greatest extremity, comes the cardinal, an apt comforter for a desperate man. He cries in his ear, “Take order, Sir, with the realm. Who shall rule, Sir, during the minority of your daughter? Ye have known my service, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen; and shall not I be principal of them?”

Whatsoever the king answered, documents were taken, that so should be as my lord cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man’s hand was made to subscribe a blank, that they might write above it what pleased them best. This finished, the cardinal posted to the queen, lately delivered, as said is; at the first sight of the cardinal, she said, “Welcome, my lord, is not the king dead?” What moved her to conjecture, diverse men are of diverse judgments; many whisper, that of old his part was in the pot, † and that the suspicion thereof caused him to be inhibited the

* He meant, that the family of Stuart came to the crown by marriage, and would now depart by his daughter marrying a person of another name, in which, however, he was mistaken.—Ed.

† “His part was in the pot,” *i. e.* He had an undue share in the queen’s favour. D. B. adds in a note, “Others stick not to say that the king was hastened away by a potion.” I have seen no satisfactory evidence of

this; and I do not recollect of its being mentioned by any other historian. Considering his gallantries, there could not be much cordiality between him and his queen; but that she should have been accessory to his death, is not probable; and perhaps would never have been supposed, if her conduct had not afterwards made people believe that she was capable of any thing.—Ed.

queen's company: howsoever it was before, it is plain, that after the king's death, and during the cardinal's life, whosoever guided the court, he got his secret business sped of that gracious lady, either by day or by night. Howsoever the tidings liked her, she mended [recovered] with as great expedition of that daughter as ever she did before of any son that ever she bore; the time of her purification was sooner than the Levitical law appoints.* The noise of the death of king James divulgate, who departed this life the 18th day of December, the year of God 1542 foresaid, the hearts of all men began to be disclosed. All men lamented that the realm was left without a male to succeed; yet some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's truth was taken away. He was called of some a good poor man's king: of others he was termed a murderer of the nobility, and one that had decreed their whole destruction. Some praised him for the repressing of theft and oppression; others dispraised him for the defiling of men's wives and virgins. And thus men spake even as men's affections led them, and yet none spake altogether beside the truth; for a part of all the foresaids were so manifest, that as the virtues could not be denied, so could not the vices by any craft be cloaked. The question of government was through this realm universally moved. The cardinal proclaimed the king's last will, and therein were expressed four protectors, or regents, of whom himself was the first and principal, and with him were joined the earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray; this was done the Monday at the market-cross of Edinburgh: but the Monday following, took the whole regents remission for their usurpation; for by the stout and wise counsel of the laird of Grange, did the earl Arran, then second person to the crown, cause assemble the nobility of the realm, and required the equity of their judgments in that his just suit to the government of the realm, during the minority of her to whom he was to succeed, failing of her and

of her lawful successors. His friends convened—the nobility assembled—the day of decision was appointed. The cardinal and his faction opposed them to the government of one man, and especially to the regimen of any called Hamilton: "For who knows not," said the cardinal, "that the Hamiltons are cruel murderers, oppressors of innocents, proud, avaricious, double, and false; and, finally, the pestilence in this commonwealth." Whereunto the said earl answered, "Defraud me not of my right, and call me what ye please. Whatsoever my friends have been, yet unto this day has no man cause to complain upon me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing, but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the realm can reasonably require of me; and, therefore, yet again, my lord, in God's name I crave, that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before ye have experience of my government." At these words, were all that feared God and loved honesty, so moved, that with one voice, they cried, "That petition is most just, and unless we do against God, justice, and equity, it cannot be denied." And so, in despite of the cardinal and his suborned faction, was he declared governor, and with public proclamation so denounced to the people; the king's palace, treasure, jewels, garments, horse, and plate, were delivered unto him by the officers that had the former charge, and he honoured, feared, and obeyed more heartily, nor ever any king was before him, so long as he abode at God. The cause of the great favour that was borne, was, that it was bruited that he favoured God's word; and because it was well known, that he was one appointed to have been persecuted, as the scroll found in the king's pocket, after his death, did witness; these two things, together with an opinion that men had of his simplicity, bowed the hearts of many unto him at the beginning, who after, with dolour of hearts, were compelled to change their opinions: but hereof will after be spoken. The variety of matters that occurred we omit, such as the order taken

* But she was no Jewess, and therefore in that offended not.

for keeping of the young queen, of the provision for the mother, the home calling of the Douglas, and such as appertain to a universal history of the time; for, as before we have said, we mind only to follow the progress of the religion, and of the matters that cannot be dissevered from the same.

The governor established in government, godly men repaired unto him, exhorted him to call to mind for what end God had exalted him, out of what danger he had delivered him, and what expectation all men of honesty had of him. At their instant suiting, more than of his own motion, was Thomas Williams, a black friar, called to be preacher; the man was of solid judgment, reasonable letters as for that age, and of a prompt and good utterance; his doctrine was wholesome, without a great vehemency against superstition. Preached also sometimes John Rough, who after, for the verity of Christ Jesus, suffered in England, albeit not so learned, yet more simple and more vehement against all impiety.* The doctrine of these two provoked against them, and against the governor also, the hatred of all such as rather favoured darkness than light, and their own bellies more than God, the gray friars, and amongst the rest friar Scot, who before had given himself forth for the greatest professor of Christ Jesus within Scotland, and under that colour had disclosed, and so endangered many. These slaves of Satan, we say, rourpit [croaked] as they had been ravens, yea, rather they yelled and roared as devils in hell, "Heresy, heresy, Williams and Rough

will carry the governor unto the devil." The town of Edinburgh, for the most part, was drowned in superstition; Edward Hope, young William Adamson, Sibilla Lindsay, Patrick Lindsay, Francis Aikman; and in the Canongate, John M'Kaw, and Ninian Brown, with few others had the bruit [reputation] of knowledge in those days. One Wilson, servant to the bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New Testament nor the Old, made a despicable railing ballad against the preachers, and against the governor, for the which he narrowly escaped hanging. The cardinal moved both heaven and hell to trouble the governor, and to stay the preaching; but yet was the battle stoutly fought for a season; for he was taken and put first in Dalkeith, after in Seaton, but at length by budis [bribes] given to the said lord Seaton, and to the old laird of Lethington, he was restored to St Andrews, from whence he wrought all mischief, as we shall after hear.

The parliament approached, which was before the pasche [Easter]; their bygone question of the abolishing of certain tyrannical acts, made before at devotion of the prelates, for maintaining of the kingdom of darkness, *to wit*, "That under pain of heresy, no man should read any part of the scriptures in the English tongue, neither yet any tractate or exposition of any place of scripture," such articles began to come in question we say, and men began to inquire, if it was not lawful to men that understood no Latin, to use this word of their salvation in the tongue they understood, as

* "Thomas Guillaume, or Williams," says Dr M'Crie, "was very useful to Knox, in leading him to a more perfect acquaintance with the truth. He was a friar of eminence, and, along with John Rough, acted as chaplain to the earl of Arran, during the short time that he favoured the Reformation, at the beginning of his regency, by whom he was employed in preaching in different parts of the kingdom." Rough was born about anno 1510; and, having been deprived of some property to which he considered himself entitled, he in disgust left his relations, and entered into a monastery in Stirling, when only about seventeen years of age. He visited Rome twice, and was very much shocked with what he witnessed in that city, which he had been taught to regard as the fountain of sanctity. Fox, p. 1840, as cited by M'Crie. This was the person who publicly

called Knox to the ministry in the church of St Andrews, as related in the sequel. He afterwards went to England, where he continued to preach till the death of Edward VI. when he retired to the Netherlands. There he was obliged to support himself and his wife (whom he had married in England) by knitting caps, stockings, &c. Having come over to London in the course of business, he heard of a congregation of protestants who met secretly in the city, to whom he joined himself, and was elected their pastor. A few weeks thereafter, the conventicle was discovered by the treachery of one of their own number, and Rough was carried before bishop Bonner, by whose orders he was committed to the flames, on the 22d of December, 1557. See Fox, p. 1840—1842, as referred to by M'Crie.—*Ed.*

it was for Latin men to have it in Latin, Grecians and Hebrews, to have it in their tongues. It was answered, that the kirk first had forbidden all kind of tongues but these three. But men demanded when that inhibition was given; and what counsel had ordained that, considering, that in the days of Chrysostom he complained, that the people used not the psalms and other holy books in their own tongues? And if ye will say these were Greeks, and understood the Greek tongue, we answer, that Christ, he has commanded his word to be preached to all nations. Now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand. Now, if it be lawful to preach it in all tongues, why shall it not be lawful to read it, and to hear it read in all tongues? to the end that the people may try the spirits, according to the commandment of the apostle. Beaten with these and other reasons, they denied not but it may be read in the vulgar tongue; providing that the translation were true. It was demanded what could be reprehended in it? And when much searching was made, nothing could be found, but that love, say they, was put in the place of charity. When the question was asked, what difference was betwixt the one and the other; and if they understood the Greek term *ἀγάπη*, they were dumb. Reasoned for the party of the seculars, the lord Ruthven, father to him that prudently gave counsel to take just punishment upon that knave Davie [David Rizzio], for that he had abused king Henry in more cases than one, a stout and discreet man in the cause of God, and Mr Henry Balnaves, an old professor; for the part of the clergy, Hay, dean of Restalrig, and certain old bosses [paupers or persons of no respectability*] with him.

The conclusion was, the commissioners of burghs, and a part of the nobility, required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, "That it should be lesoun [lawful]

to every man to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, unto such time as the prelates and kirkmen should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct." The clergy thereto long repunged; but in the end, convicted by reasons and by multitude of votes in their contrary, they also condescended; and so by act of parliament, it was made free to all men and women to read the scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue; and so were all acts made in the contrary abolished.

This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity; not small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor articles of their faith in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant, that some, alas! profaned that blessed word: for some, perchance, that never had read ten sentences in it, had it most common in their hands; they would chop their familiars in the cheek with it, and say, "This has lain hid under my bed feet these ten years." Others would glory, "O! how often have I been in danger for this book! how secretly have I stolen away from my wife at midnight to read upon it." And this was done we say of many to make court thereby: for all men esteemed the governor to be the most fervent protestant that was in Europe. Albeit we say that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wondrously increase, and [God, *sup. copy*] gave his holy spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides them that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and the abuse of the Roman antichrist.

The fame of our governor was spread in divers countries, and many praised God for him. King Henry sent unto him his am-

* D. B. very absurdly translates this "old bishops." It is so also in the Paisley edition, and in the Edinburgh one, above mentioned. Voultroulier gives only the original word.—Ed.

bassador, Mr Sadler, who lay in Edinburgh a great part of summer; his commission and negotiation was to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland. The occasion whereof God had so offered, that to many men it appeared that from heaven he had declared his good pleasure in that behalf. For to king Henry, of Jane Somer, after the death of queen Catharine, and of all others that might have made his marriage suspected, was given a son, Edward the sixth of blessed memory, elder some years than our mistress, and unto us left a queen, as before we have heard. This wonderful providence of God caused men of greatest judgment to enter into disputation with themselves, whether that with good conscience any man might repugn to the desires of the king of England, considering that thereby all occasion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to this realm. The offers of king Henry were so large, and his demands so reasonable, that all that loved quietness were content therewith. There were sent from the parliament to king Henry in commission, Sir James Learmonth, and Mr Henry Balnaves, who long remaining in England, so travailed that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward the sixth and Mary queen of Scots was agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of Englishmen; upon the final conclusion of the which head, were added to the former commissioners William earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, to whom were given ample commission and good instructions. In Scotland remained Mr Sadler. Advertisements past so frequently betwixt, yea, the hands of our lords were so liberally anointed, besides other commodities promised, and of some received; for divers prisoners taken at Solane [Solway] moss were sent home ransom free, upon promise of their fidelity, which, as it was kept, the issue will witness. But in the end so well were all ones content—the cardinal, the queen, and the faction of France ever excepted—that solemnly in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, was the contract of marriage made betwixt the persons foresaid, together with all the clauses and conditions requisite, for the

faithful observation thereof, read in public audience, subscribed, sealed, approved and allowed of the governor for his part, nobility and lords for their parts; and that nothing should want that might fortify the matter, was Christ's body sacred, as papists term it, broken betwixt the said governor and Mr Sadler, ambassador, and received of them both as a sign and token of the unity of their minds, inviolably to keep that contract in all points, as they looked of Christ Jesus to be saved, and after to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world. The papists raged against the governor and against the lords that consented, and abode sure at the contract foresaid: and they made a brag to depose the governor, and to confound all, as after followed. But upon the returning of the said ambassadors from England, pacification was made for that time, for by the judgments of eight persons for either party, to judge whether any thing was done for the said ambassadors in the contracting of that marriage, which to do, they had not sufficient power from the council and parliament, it was found, that all things were done according to their commission, and that so they should stand. And so were the seals of England and Scotland interchanged. Mr James Fowlis, then clerk of register, received the great seal of England; and Mr Sadler received the great seal of Scotland. The heads of contract we pass by. These things newly ratified, the merchants make frack [preparation] to sail, and to their traffic, which, by the trouble of wars, had some years been hindered. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ships richly laden, according to the wares of Scotland: from other towns and ports departed others, which all arrived upon the coast of England, towards the south, *to wit*, of Yarmouth; and without any great necessity, entered not only within roads, but also within ports and places of commandment, and where that ships might be arrested. And because of the late contract of amity, and gentle entertainment that they found at the first, they made no great expedition; but being, as they supposed, in security, in merriness they spent the time, abiding

upon the wind. In this meantime, arrived from France to Scotland the abbot of Paisley, called bastard brother to the governor, whom yet many esteemed son to the old bishop of Dunkeld, called Crichton, and with him Mr David Painter, who after was made bishop of Ross. The bruit [report] of the learning of these two, and their honest life, and of their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such, that great esperance [hope] there was that their presence should have been comfortable to the kirk of God. For it was constantly affirmed of some, that without delay, the one or the other would occupy the pulpit, and truly preach Jesus Christ: but few days disclosed their hypocrisy; for what terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not. But short after, it was seen, that friar Williams was inhibited to preach, and so departed to England; John Rough to Kyle, a receptacle of God's servants of old. The men of judgment, counsel, and godliness, that had travailed to promote the governor, and that gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him, or else by threatening to be hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number, were the laird of Grange foresaid, Mr Henry Balnaves, Mr Thomas Ballantine, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount; men, by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose counsel he so used himself at the beginning, that the obedience given unto him was nothing inferior to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many years had before him; yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, that it proceeded of love of those virtues that were supposed to have been in him. Of the number of them that were threatened, were Mr Mitchell Durham, Mr David Borthwick, David Forrest, and David Bothwell; who counselled him to have in his company men fearing God, and not to foster wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname: this counsel understood by the foresaid abbot, and by the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the court as ravens to

the carrion. In plain words, it was said, "My lord governor nor his friends will never be at ease nor quietness, till that a dozen of these knaves that abuse his grace be hanged." These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of them that had better deserved than to have been so entreated: the speaker was allowed for his bold and plain speaking. And so the wicked counsel deprehended, honest and godly men left the court and him in the hands of such, as by their wicked counsel, led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise, dipped his hands in the blood of the saints of God, and brought this commonwealth to the utter point of ruin; and these were the first fruits of the abbot of Paisley his godliness and learning; but hereafter we will hear more. All honest and godly men banished from the court, the abbot and the council begin to lay before the inconstant governor, the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of religion; the power of the king of France, the commodity that might come to his house and to him by retaining the ancient league with France, and the great danger that he brought upon himself, if in any jot he suffered the authority of the pope to be violated, or called in doubt within this realm: considering that thereupon only stood the security of his right to the succession of the crown of this realm: for by God's word would not the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Home, his first wife, be found lawful, and so would his second marriage be judged null, and he declared bastard. Caiaphas spake prophecy and yet wist not what he spake; for at that time there was no man that truly feared God that minded any such thing, but with their whole force would have fortified that title that God had given unto him, and would never have called in question things done in time of darkness. But this head we pass by till God declare his word thereuntil. Another practice was used; for the cardinal being set at liberty, as before we have heard, ceased not to traffic with such of the multitude as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any means, to raise a party

against the said governor, and against such as stood fast at the contract of marriage and peace with England. And so assembled at Linlithgow, the said cardinal, the earls Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell, the bishops and their bands. And thereafter they passed to Stirling, and took with them both the queen mother and the daughter, and threatened the deposition of the said governor, as "inobedient to their holy mother the kirk," so term they that harlot of Babylon, Rome; the inconstant man, not thoroughly grounded upon God, left in his own default, destitute of all good counsel, and having the wicked ever blowing in his ear, "What will ye do? Ye will destroy yourself and your house for ever." The unhappy man, we say, beaten with these temptations, rendered himself to the appetites of the wicked; for he quietly stole away from the lords that were with him then in the palace of Holyroodhouse, passed to Stirling, subjected himself to the cardinal and to his counsel, received absolution, renounced the profession of Christ Jesus his holy evangel, and violated his oath that before he had made, for observation of the contract and league made with England. At that time was our queen crowned, and new promise made to France. The certainty hereof coming to king Henry, our Scottish ships were stayed, the sails taken from the rayes [rigging], and the merchants and mariners were commanded to sure custody. New commission was sent to Mr Sadler, who then still remained in Scotland, to demand the cause of that sudden alteration, and to travail by all means possible, that the governor might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he would not do so foolishly and dishonestly, yea, so cruelly and unmercifully to the realm of Scotland, that he would not only lose the commodities offered, and that were partly to be received, but that also he would expose it to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniences that might ensue the war that was to follow upon the violation of his faith; but nothing could avail. The devil kept fast the gripe that he got, yea, all the days of his government; for the cardinal got his eldest son in pledge, whom he kept in the castle of St Andrews, until the day that God's

hand punished his pride. King Henry perceiving that all hope of the governor's repentance was lost, called back his ambassador, and that with fearful threatenings, as after Edinburgh felt; denounced war, made our ships prizes, merchants and mariners lawful prisoners, which, to the burghs of Scotland, was no small hership. But thereat did the cardinal and papists laugh, and jestingly said, "When we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompensed." The summer and the harvest passed over without any notable thing, for the cardinal and the abbot of Paisley parted the prey amongst them; the abused governor bore the name only. In the beginning of winter came the earl of Lennox to Scotland, sent from France in hatred of the governor, whom the king, by the cardinal's advice, promised to pronounce bastard, and so to make the said earl governor; the cardinal farther did put the said earl in vain hope that the queen dowager should marry him. He brought with him some money, and more he after received at the hands of Labroth.

But at length, perceiving himself frustrated of all expectation that he had, either by France, or yet by the promise of the cardinal, he concluded to leave France, and to seek the favours of England, and so began to draw a faction against the governor; and in hatred of the other's inconstancy, many favoured him in the beginning; for there assembled at the Yule, in the town of Ayr, the earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, the lords Maxwell, * the laird of Drumlanrig, the sheriff of Ayr, with all the force that they, and the lords that remained constant at the opinion of England, might make; and after the Yule they came to Leith. The governor and cardinal, with their forces, kept Edinburgh, for they were slackly pursued. Men excuse the earl of Lennox in that behalf, and laid the blame upon some that had no will of Stewart's regimen. Howsoever it was such an appointment was made, that the said earl of Lennox was disappointed of his purpose, and narrowly escaped; and first got

* There is no blank in the suppressed copy.

him to Glasgow, and after to Dumbarton, Sir George Douglas was delivered to be kept as pledge. The earl his brother was [in the lent, *sup. copy*] after taken in the Lentern, at the siege of Glasgow. It was bruited, that both the brethren, and others with them, had lost their heads, if by the providence of God the English army had not arrived the sooner. After that the cardinal had gotten the governor wholly addicted to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above his enemies, he began to practise how that such as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, should be set by the ears one against another. For in that, thought the carnal man, stood his greatest security. The lord Ruthven he hated, by reason of his knowledge of God's word. The lord Gray he feared, because at that time he used the company of such as professed godliness, and bore small favour to the cardinal. Now, thus reasoned the worldly wise man, "If I can put enmity betwixt these two, I shall be rid of a great number of unfriends; for the most of the country will either assist the one or the other; and so will they otherwise be occupied, than to watch for my displeasure." He finds the means without long process; for he laboured with John Charteris, a man of stout courage and many friends, to accept the provostry of St Johnstone, which he purchased unto him by donation of the governor, with charge to the said town to obey him as their lawful provost. Whereat, not only the said lord Ruthven, but also the town, being offended, gave a negative answer, alleging, that such intruding of men in office was hurtful to their privilege and freedom; which granted unto them free election of their provost from year to year, at a certain time appointed, which they could not, or would not prevent. Hereat the said John offended said, "That he would occupy that office by force, if that they would not grant it unto him by benevolence;" and so departed, and communicated the matter with the lord Gray, with Norman Leslie, and others his friends, whom easily he persuaded in that pursuit, because he appeared to have the governor's right, and had not only a charge unto the town, as said is, but also he purchased letters to besiege it, and

to take it by strong hand, if any resistance were made unto him. Such letters, we say, made many to favour his action. The other made defence, and so took the master of Ruthven—the lord that after departed in England—the maintenance of the town, having in his company the laird of Moncrief, and other friends adjacent. The said John made frack [prepared] for the pursuit; and upon the Magdalene day, in the morning anno 1543, approached with his forces. The lord Gray took upon him the principal charge. It was appointed, that Norman Leslie with his friends should have come by ship, with munition and ordnance, as they were in readiness. But because the tide served not so soon as they would, the other thinking himself of sufficient force, for all that were in the town, entered in by the bridge, where they found no resistance, till that the foremost part was entered a pretty space from the Fish Gate; and then the said master of Ruthven with his company, stoutly rencountered them, and so readily repulsed the foremost, that such as were behind gave back. The place of the retire was so strait, that men that durst not fight, could not fly at their pleasure; for the most part of my lord Gray's friends were upon the bridge; and so the slaughter was great; for there fell in the edge of the sword threescore men. The cardinal had rather that the unhap had fallen on the other part; but howsoever it was, he thought that such trouble was to his comfort and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party that had received the discomfiture, and was unto them no small grief; for as many entered of them in that action for his pleasure, so thought they to have had his fortification and assistance, whereof finding themselves frustrated, they began to look more narrowly to themselves, and did not so much attend upon the cardinal's devotion, as they had wont to do before; and so was a new jealousy engendered amongst them; for whosoever would not play to him the good valet, was reputed amongst his enemies. The cardinal drew the governor to Dundee; for he understood that the earl of Rothes and Mr Henry Balnaves were with the lord Gray in the castle of Huntly. The

governor sent and commanded the said earl and lord, with the foresaid Mr Henry, to come unto him to Dundee, and appointed the next day, at ten hours before noon, which hour they decreed to keep; and for that purpose assembled their folks at Balgowry, or thereby. The cardinal, advertised of their number—they were more than three hundred men—thought it not good, that they should join with the town, for he feared his own estate; and so he persuaded the governor to pass forth of Dundee before nine hours, and to take the straight way to St Johnstone [Perth]; which perceived by foresaid lords, they began to fear that they would come to pursue them, and so put themselves in order and array, and marched forward of purpose to have bidden the uttermost [stood the worst]. But the crafty fox foreseeing, that in fighting stood not his security, ran to his last refuge, that is, to manifest treason; and so consultation was taken, how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the first were sent the laird of Grange, and the provost of St Andrews, knowing nothing of treason, to ask why they molested my lord governor in his journey? Whereto they answered, “That they meant nothing less, for they came at his grace’s commandment, to have kept the hour in Dundee appointed by him, which because they saw prevented, and knowing the cardinal to be their unfriend, they could not but suspect their unprovided coming forth of the town; and, therefore, they put themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend in case they were invaded.” This answer reported, was sent to them the bishop of St Andrews, the abbot of Paisley, Mr David Painter, the lairds of Buccleugh and Coldinknows, to desire certain of the other company to talk with them, which they easily obtained, for they suspected no treason. After long communication, it was demanded, if that the earl, and lord, and Mr Henry foresaid, would not be content to talk with the governor, providing that the cardinal and his company were of [on, s. c.] the ground? They answered, “That the governor might command them in all things lawful; but they had no will to be in the cardinal’s mercy.” Fair promises anew were made

for their security; they was the cardinal and his band commanded to depart; as that he did according to the purpose taken. The governor remained, and a certain [number] with him; to whom came without company the said earl, lord, and Mr Henry. After many fair words given unto them all, *to wit*, “That he would have them agreed with the cardinal; and that he would have Mr Henry Balnaves the worker and instrument thereof.” He drew forwards with him towards St Johnstone, whereto the cardinal was ridden. They began to suspect, albeit it was too late; and, therefore, they desired to have returned to their folks, for putting order to them. But it was answered, “They should send back from the town; but they must needs go forward with my lord governor.” And so, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and how soon that ever they were within the town they were apprehended, and upon the morn sent all three to the Blackness, where they remained so long as it pleased the cardinal’s graceless grace, and that was till that the band of man-rent and of service, set some of them at liberty. And thus the cardinal with his craft prevailed on every side; so that the Scottish proverb was true of him, “So long runs the fox as he foot has.”

Whether it was at this his journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons in St Johnstone, we cannot affirm; neither yet study we to be curious, but rather we travail to express the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint the times, which yet we omit not, when the certainty occurs. The verity of that cruel fact is this: at St Paul’s day, before the first burning of Edinburgh, come to St Johnstone the governor and cardinal, and there, upon envious delation, were a great number of honest men and women, called before the cardinal, accused of heresy; and albeit they could be convicted of nothing, but only of suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon Friday, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruel and most unjust sentence was without mercy put in execution.

The husband was hanged, and the wife, having a sucking babe upon her breast, was drowned. "O Lord, the land is not yet purged from such beastly cruelty, neither has thy just vengeance yet stricken all that were criminal of their blood; but the day approaches when that the punishment of that cruelty and others, will evidently appear." The names of the men that were hanged, were James Hunter, William Lamb, William Anderson, James Rannalt, burgesses of St Johnstone. At that time were banished Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with divers others, whose names came not to our knowledge. That sworn enemy of Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spunk of knowledge appeared, had about that same time in prison divers; amongst whom was John Roger, a black friar, godly, learned, and one that fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom that bloody man had caused murder in the ground of the Sea Tower of St Andrews, and then caused to cast him over the craig [rock], sparsing [spreading] a false bruit [report], "That the said John, seeking to fly, had broken his own craig [neck]." Thus ceased not Satan by all means to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's evangel. But potent is he against whom they fought; for when the wicked were in greatest security, then began God to show his anger; for the third day of May, in the year of God 1544 years, without knowledge of any man in Scotland, we mean of such as should have had the care of the realm, was seen a great navy of ships arriving towards the firth. The posts come to the governor and cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, what multitude of ships were seen, and what course they took. This was upon the Saturday before noon. Question was had, what should they mean? Some said, it is no doubt but they are Englishmen, and we fear that they shall land. The cardinal skrippit [laughed or derided], and said, "It is but the island fleet, they are come to make us a show, and to put us in fear. I shall lodge the men-of-war in my eye, that shall land in Scotland." Still sits the car-

dinal at his dinner, showing as that there had been no danger appearing. Men convene to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle-hill, some to craigs, and other places eminent. But there was no question with what force shall we resist, if that we be invaded. Some, after six hours at night, were arrived, and had casten anchor in the road of Leith, more than two hundred sail. Shortly thereafter, the admiral shot [launched] a float boat, which from Grantoun craigs, till by east Leith, sounded the deep, and so returned to her ship. Hereof were divers opinions; men of judgment foresaw what it meant, but no credit was given to any that would say they mind [intend] to land, and so passed all men to his rest, as if those ships had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day, upon Sunday the fourth day of May, addressed they for landing, and ordered then their ships, so that a galley or two laid their snouts [heads] to the craigs. The small ships, called pinnaces, and heiche [light] horsemen, approached as near as they could. The great ships discharged their soldiers in the smaller vessels, and then by boats, set upon dry land before ten hours, ten thousand men, as were judged, and more. The governor and cardinal seeing then the thing they could not, or at least would not believe afore, after that they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse would carry them; so that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas were that night freed of ward—they were in Blackness—the said Sir George in merriness said, "I thank king Henry and my gentle masters of England."

The English army betwixt twelve and one hour* entered in Leith, found the tables covered, and the dinners prepared; such abundance of wine and victuals, besides the other substance, that the like riches within the like bounds were not to be found, neither in Scotland nor England. Upon the Monday the fifth of May, came to them from Berwick and

* The suppressed edition makes it between one and two o'clock.

the border, two thousand horsemen, who being somewhat reposed, the army upon Wednesday marched towards the town of Edinburgh, spoiled and burned the same, and so did they the palace of Holyrood-house; the horsemen took the house of Craigmillar, and got great spoil therein; for it being the strongest house near the town, other than the castle of Edinburgh, all men sought to save their moveables therein, but the stoutness of the laird gave it over without shot of hackbut, and for his reward was caused to march upon his feet to London. He is now captain of Dunbar, and provost of Edinburgh. The Englishmen seeing no resistance, hurled by force of men cannons up the causeway to the Butter-trone, and above, and hazarded a shot at the fore-entry of the castle; but that was to their own pains; for they lying without trench or gabion, were exposed to the force of the whole ordnance of the said castle, which shot, and that not all in vain, for the wheel and axletree of one of the English cannons were broken, and some of their men slain, and so they left with small honour that enterprise, taken rather of rashness than of any advised counsel. When the most part of the day they had spoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to Leith, and upon the morn returned to Edinburgh, and executed the rest of God's judgments for that time; and so when they had consumed both the towns, they loaded the ships with the spoil thereof, and they by land returned to Berwick, using the country for the most part at their own pleasure. This was a part of the punishment which God took upon the realm for infidelity of the governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath. But this was not the end; for the realm was divided into two factions, the one favoured France, and the other the league lately contracted with England; the one did in no things thoroughly credit the other; so that the country was in extreme calamity; for to the Englishmen were delivered certain strengths, such as Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langholm. The most part of the borderers were confederate with England. And albeit at first, at Ancram-muir, in Fe-

bruary, in the year of God 1544, was Sir Ralph Ewars, with many other Englishmen slain, and the year after were some of the said strengths recovered; yet was it not without great loss and detriment of the commonwealth; for in the month of June, in the year of God 1545, Monsieur de Lourg, with bands of men of war, came from France for a further destruction to Scotland; for upon their brag was an army raised. Forwards go they towards Wark, even in the midst of the harvest. The cardinal's banner was that day displayed, and all his fials [retainers] were charged to be under it. Many before had promised, but at the point it was left so bare, that with shame it was shut up in the poke again, and they after a show returned with more shame to the realm, nor scathie to the enemies. The black book of Hamilton makes mention of great vassalage done at that time by the governor, and the French captain; but such as with their eyes saw the whole progress, knew that to be a lie, "and do repute it among the venial sins of that race, which is to speak the best of themselves they can."

That winter following so nurtured the Frenchmen, that they learned to eat, yea, to beg cakes, which at their entry they scorned. Without jesting, they were so miserably entreated, that few returned to France again with their lives. The cardinal then had almost fortified the castle of St Andrews, which he made so strong, in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France. The earl of Lennox, as said is, disappointed of all things in Scotland, passed to England, where he was received of king Henry in protection, who gave him to wife lady Margaret Douglas, of whom was born Henry, umquhille [deceased] husband to our Jezebel and mistress.

While the inconstant governor was sometimes dejected, and sometimes raised up again by the abbot of Paisley, who before was called "chaster nor any maiden," began to show himself; for, after he had taken by craft the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, he also took possession of his enemy's wife, the lady Stenhouse. The woman is, and has been famous, and is

called lady Gilton; her ladyship was holden always in property;* but how many wives and virgins he has had since that in common the world knows, albeit not all, and his bastard birds bear some witness. Such is the example of holiness that the flock may receive of these papistical bishops.

In the midst of all the calamities that came upon this realm after the defection of the governor from Christ Jesus, comes in Scotland that blessed martyr of God, Mr George Wishart,† in company of the commissioners before-mentioned, in the year of God 1544; a man of such graces as before him were never heard in this realm, yea, and rare to be found yet in any man notwithstanding this great light of God that since his days has shined unto us. He was not only singularly learned, as well in godly knowledge as in all human science, but also he was so clearly illuminated with the spirit of the prophecy, that he saw not only things

pertaining to himself, but also such things as some towns, and the whole realm afterwards found, which he forespake, not in secret, but in audience of many, as in their own places shall be declared.‡ The beginning of his doctrine was into Montrose; therefrom he departed to Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epistle to the Romans, till that by procurement of the cardinal, Robert Mill, then one of the principal men in Dundee, and a man who of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the queen and governor's name, inhibition to the said George, that he should trouble their town no more, for they would not suffer it. And this was said to him, being in the public place, which heard, he mused a little space, with his eyes bent unto heaven, and thereafter looked sorrowfully at the speaker, and to the people, he said, "God is witness that I

* This is evidently a misprint. Poverty is the word in the other editions, including the suppressed one.—*Ed.*

† "The person to whom our Reformer (Knox) was most indebted," says Dr M'Crie, "was GEORGE WISHART, a gentleman of the house of Pittarow, in Mearns. Being driven into banishment by Cardinal Beaton, for teaching the Greek New Testament in Montrose, he had resided for some years in the University of Cambridge. In the year 1544, he returned to his native country, in the company of the commissioners, who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England. Seldom do we meet in ecclesiastical history, with a character so amiable and interesting as that of George Wishart." See the account at length in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, especially a most striking graphical view of his character and person, by one of his Cambridge pupils.—*Ed.*

‡ Knox no doubt believed that his friend possessed the spirit of prophecy; and Wishart seems to have thought so himself, as appears by his address to the people of Dundee, particularly these words, "If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of God." He was sure, that the word of God spoken by him would be fulfilled; which as an abstract proposition, I suppose, no one will deny. God will fulfil his word, speak it who may. But the question is, Did God speak by him any thing but what is contained in the holy scriptures? To maintain the affirmative, would be to admit a new revelation; and if we admit such a thing in the sixteenth century, there is no reason why we may not expect the same in the nineteenth, or any future century; then it will follow, that the canon of divine revelation is not yet finished, at least we cannot know that it is. It is probable, however, that Wishart meant no more than

being led by the Spirit of God to make application of the word contained in scripture, particularly the judgments threatened against gospel despisers; and in the fervency of his spirit, he might feel assured, that Dundee would suffer some severe visitation of divine wrath for the treatment which they gave to the gospel message. This explanation may tend to exculpate Wishart and Knox and others, from the presumption of professing to be inspired to deliver original predictions. But still there was a mistake in their view of the matter; for God does not usually punish the rejection of the gospel by temporal judgments. He that believeth not shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him. He may, notwithstanding, enjoy the greatest degree of temporal prosperity. When Jesus Christ upbraided the cities in which most of his mighty works were done, because they believed not, he did not threaten any temporal calamity, but said, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon *in the day of judgment* than for you. It so happened that Dundee was visited by the plague soon after Wishart left it, which was taken as a fulfilment of his prophecy. But the plague was no uncommon thing in those days, perhaps occasioned by the uncomfortable habitations of the people, and their manner of living. There are other instances of his apparently supernatural knowledge of things, that I do not pretend to explain, particularly how he knew of a secret conspiracy to assassinate himself. Knox does not profess to have been a witness of this. He must have had it from others; and from the state of his own mind, he was predisposed to believe it. Yet were it possible to cross-examine the witnesses, it might turn out, that what they took for supernatural knowledge, was no more than shrewd suspicion.—*Ed.*



GEORGE WISHART.

Engraved by M. Freeman

From the original, painted in the University of Glasgow

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never minded [intended] your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous unto me than it is unto yourselves; but I am assured, that to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but it shall bring you into it; for God shall send unto you messengers, who will not be afraid of horning, nor yet for banishment. I have offered unto you the word of salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained among you. Now ye yourselves refuse me, and therefore man [must] I leave my innocence to be declared by my God; if it long prospers with you, I am not led with the spirit of truth; but and [if] trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for he is merciful; but if ye turn not at the first, he will visit you with fire and sword.* These words pronounced, he came down from the preaching place. In the kirk present were the lord Marshall, and divers noblemen, who would have had the said Mr George to have remained, or else to have gone with them in the country, but for no request would he either tarry in the town, or on that side of Tay any longer, but with possible expedition passed to the west land, where he began to offer God's word, which was of many gladly received, till that the bishop of Glasgow, Dunbar, by instigation of the cardinal, come with his gatherings to the town of Ayr, to make resistance to the said Mr George, and did first occupy the kirk; the earl of Glencairn being thereof advertised, repaired with his friends to the town with diligence, and so did divers gentlemen of Kyle,—among whom was the laird of Lochnoris, a man far different from him that now liveth, anno 1566, in manners and religion,—of whom, to this day, yet many live, and have declared themselves always zealous and bold in the cause of God, as after will be heard. When all were assembled, conclusion was

taken, that they have the kirk; whereto the said Mr George utterly repugned, saying, "Let him alone, his sermon will not much hurt; let us go to the market-cross." And so they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded. The bishop preached to his jackmen, and to some old bosses * of the town; the sum of all his sermon was, "They say we should preach, why not? Better late thrive, nor never thrive: Hold us still for your bishop, and we shall provide better the next time." This was the beginning and end of the bishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not to fulfil his promise. The said Mr George remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, till that he got sure knowledge of the estate of Dundee. He preached commonly at the kirk of Galston, and used much in the Bar.† He was required to come to the kirk of Mauchlin, as that he did; but the sheriff of Ayr caused man the kirk, for the preservation of a tabernacle that was very beautiful to the eye. The persons that held the kirk, were George Campbell of Mingarswood, that yet liveth, anno 1566, Mungo Campbell of Brownside, George Reid in Dawdilling, the laird of Templeland. Some zealous of the parishioners, amongst whom was Hugh Campbell of Kingyeaneleuch, offended they should be debarred their parish kirk, concluded by force to enter. But the said Mr George withdrew the said Hugh, and said unto him, "Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upon the fields as in the kirk; and I find that himself oftener preached in the desert, at the seaside, and other places judged profane, than that he did in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace, which God sends by me: the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." And so withdrawing the whole people, he came to a dike in a muir edge, upon the south-west side of Mauchlin, upon the

* D. B. must have seen that he could not translate this "old bishops," and so he does not translate it at all. They must have been the poor of the town, who depending on the church for their living, durst not offend the clergy by going to hear Wishart.—*Ed.*

† *i. e.* He preached much at this place. In the sequel we find this was one of Knox's preaching stations; and the laird of Bar was one of those who brought him to Ayrshire.—*Ed.*

which he ascended. The whole multitude stood and sat about him, God gave the day pleasant and hot, he continued in preaching more nor three hours. In that sermon, God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men that was in that country, named Lawrence Ranken, laird of Sheil, was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondered; his conversion was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come. While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word rose, that the plague of pestilence rose in Dundee, which began four days after the said Mr George was inhibited preaching, and was so vehement, that it passed almost credibility, to hear what number departed every four and twenty hours. The certainty understood, the said Mr George took his leave of Kyle, and that with the regret of many: but no request could make him to remain; his reason was, "They were now in trouble, and they need comfort; perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that word, which before, for the fear of men, they set at light part." Coming unto Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morn gave signification that he would preach. And because the most part were either sick, or else were in company with them that were sick, he chose the head of the east port of the town for his preaching place, and so the whole stood or sat within, the sick and suspected without the port. The text upon the which his first sermon was made, he took from the hundred and seventh psalm; the sentence thereof, "He sent his word and healed them;" and therewith joined these words, "It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but thy word heals all." In the which sermon, he most comfortably did entreat the dignity and utility of God's word, the punishment that comes for the contempt of the same; the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn unto him; yea, the great happiness of them whom God takes from this misery, even in his own gentle visitation, which the malice of men can

neither eik nor pair [add or diminish]. By the which sermon he raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind. Considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times, he spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity. He comforted them as that he might in such a multitude; he caused minister all things necessary to them that might use meat and drink, and in that point was [to] the town wondrous beneficial, for the poor were no more neglected than were the rich. While he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devil ceased not to stir up his own son the cardinal again, who corrupted by money a desperate priest, named Sir John Wighton, to slay the said Mr George, who looked not in all things so circum-spectly as worldly men would have wished. And upon a day, the sermon ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding the said Mr George, the priest that was corrupted stood waiting at the foot of the steps, his gown loose, and his whinger drawn into his hand under his gown, the said Mr George, as that he was most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he said, "My friend, what would ye do?" And therewith he clapped his hand upon the priest's hand wherein the whinger was, which he took from him. The priest abashed, fell down at his feet, and openly confessed the verity as it was. The noise rising, and coming to the ears of the sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force;" and so they thrust in at the gate; but Mr George took him in his arms, and said, "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me, for he has hurt me in nothing, but he has done great comfort both to you and me, *to wit*, he has led us to understand, what we may fear, in times to come we will watch better;" and so he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his.

When the plague was so ceased, that almost there was none sick, he took his leave

of them, and said, "That God had almost put end to that battle, he found himself called to another;" the gentlemen of the west had written unto him, "That he should meet them at Edinburgh, for they would require disputation of the bishops, and that he should be publicly heard;" whereto he willingly agreed: but first he passed to Montrose to salute the kirk there, where he remained, occupied sometimes in preaching, but most part in secret meditation, in the which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it. While he was so occupied with his God, the cardinal drew a secret draught for his slaughter; he caused write unto him a letter, as it had been from his most familiar friend the laird of Kinnier, "Desiring him with all possible diligence to come unto him, for he was stricken with a sudden sickness." In the meantime, had the traitor provided threescore men, with jacks and spears, to lie in wait within a mile and a half to the town of Montrose, for his despatch. The letter coming to his hand, he made haste at the first, for the boy had brought a horse; and so with some honest men he passed forth of the town. But suddenly he stayed, and musing a space, returned back; whereto they wondering, he said, "I will not go, I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you," said he, "go to yon place, and tell me what they find." Diligence made, they found the treason as it was; which being shown with expedition to Mr George, he answered, "I know that I shall end my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be of this manner." The time approaching that he had appointed to meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave at Montrose, and sore against the judgment of the laird of Dun, he entered on his journey, and so returned to Dundee; but remained not, but passed to the house of a faithful brother, named James Watson, who dwelt in Innergowrie, distant from the said town two miles; and that night, as information was given us by William Spalding and John Watson, both men of good credit, before day he passed forth into a yard; the said William and John

followed privily, and took heed what he did. When he had gone up and down into an alley a reasonable space, with many sighs and deep groans, he plat [fell] down upon his knees, and sitting thereon, his groans increased, and from his knees he fell upon his face, and then the persons forenamed, heard weeping, and as it were an indigested sound, as it were of prayers, in the which he continued near an hour, and after began to be quiet, and so rose and came to his bed. They that awaited prevented him, as they had been ignorant, till that he came in; and then began they to demand where he had been? But that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morn they urged him again; and while that he dissimuled [evaded, or declined answering], they said, "Mr George, be plain with us, for we heard your groans; yea, we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees, and upon your face." With dejected visage, he said, "I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was scarce well occupied." When they instantly urged him to let them know some comfort; he said, "I will tell you that I am assured, that my travail is near an end; and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot." And while that they wept, and said, "That was small comfort unto them;" he answered, "God shall send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's evangel, as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the apostles; the house of God shall be built into it, yea, it shall not want—whatsoever the enemy imagine in the contrary—the very cape-stone;" meaning, that it should be brought to full perfection. "Neither," said he, "shall this be long to; there shall not many suffer after me, till that the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But alas! if the people shall be after unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that after shall follow." And with these words he marched forward in his journey towards St Johnston; and so to Fife, and then to Leith, where arrived, and hearing

no word of them that appointed to meet him, *to wit*, the earl of Cassilis, and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cuningham, kept himself secret a day or two. But beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being demanded of the cause, of such as were not in his company before, he said, "What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? To this time, God has used my labours to the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man that was ashamed, and durst not show himself before men." By these and like words, they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach; and therefore said, "most comfortable it were for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire you." "But dare ye and others hear," said he, "and then let my God provide for me, as best pleases him." Finally, it was concluded, that the next Sunday he should preach in Leith, as that he did, and took the text, "The parable of the sower that went out to sow seed," Matth. xiii., and this the fifteenth day before Yule. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who then were earnest professors of Christ Jesus, thought not expedient that he should abide in Leith, because that the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh: and therefore they took him with them, and kept him sometimes in Brownston, sometimes in Long Niddry, and sometimes in Ormiston; for these three diligently waited on him. The Sunday following, he preached in the kirk of Inveresk, beside Musselburgh, both before and at afternoon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongst whom was Sir George Douglas, who after the sermon, said publicly, "I know that my lord governor, and my lord cardinal shall hear that I have been at this preaching—for they were then in Edinburgh.—Say unto them that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine that I have heard, but also the person of the teacher to the uttermost of my power;" which words greatly rejoiced the people and gentlemen then present.

One thing notable in that sermon we

cannot pass by; amongst others came there two gray friars, and standing in the entry of the kirk door, they made some whispering to such as came in, which perceived, the preacher said to the people that stood near them, "I heartily pray you to make room to these two men, it may be that they be come to learn;" and unto them he said, "Come near,—for they stood in the very entry of the door—for I assure you ye shall hear the word of verity, which shall either seal unto you this same day your salvation or condemnation;" and so proceeded he in doctrine, supposing that they would have been quiet; but when he perceived them still to trouble the people that stood near them,—for vehement was he against the false worshipping of God—he turned unto them the second time, and with an awful countenance said, "O serjeants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." This sentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midst of the sermon; and turning to the people, he said, "Yon wicked men have provoked the spirit of God to anger;" and so he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end. That day's travail ended, he came to Long Niddry, and the two next Sundays preached in Tranent with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his sermons, after his departure from Angus, he forespoke the shortness of the time that he had to travail, and of his death, the day whereof, he said, approached nearer than any would believe.

In the hinder end of those days that are called the holidays of Yule, passed he—by the consent of the gentlemen—to Haddington, where it was supposed the greatest confluence of people should be, both by reason of the town and of the country adjacent. The first day before noon the audience were reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be in that kirk; but the afternoon, and the next day following before noon, the auditors were so slender

that many wondered. The cause was judged to have been, that the earl Bothwell—who in these bounds used to have great credit and obedience—by procurement of the cardinal, had given inhibition, as well to the town as to the country, that they should not hear him under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the town with David Forest, now called general, a man that long has professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended. The second night he lay in Lethington, the laird whereof was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before the said Mr George passed to the sermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the west land, which received and read, he called for John Knox,* who had awaited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian; with whom he began to enter in purpose, “That he wearied of the world.”† The cause of his complaint was, the gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that they could not keep diet at Edinburgh. The said John Knox wondered that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon, for that was never his accustomed use before, said, “Sir, the time of sermon approaches, I will leave you for the present to your meditation,” and so took he the bill containing the purpose foresaid, and left him. The said Mr George spaced [paced] up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour, his very countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he passed to the pulpit, but the auditory was small. He should have begun to have entered the second table of the law, but thereof in that sermon he spoke very little. He began on this manner; “O Lord, how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at a vain clerk-play two or three thousand people, and now to hear the messenger of

the eternal God, of all the town or parish cannot be numbered one hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued, yea, thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee, and ye, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve the enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will not know the time of God’s merciful visitation.” In such vehemency and threatening continued that servant of God near an hour and a half, in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, “I have forgot myself, and the matter that I should have entreated of; but let these my last words, as concerning public preaching, remain in your minds, till that God send you new comfort.” Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and to the works of mercy; and so put an end, as it were, making his last testament, as the issue declared, that the spirit of truth and true judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight, in the house of Ormiston, by the earl of Bothwell, made for money butcher to the cardinal.

The manner of his taking was this: departing from the town of Haddington, he took his goodnight, as it were, for ever of all his acquaintance, especially from Hugh Douglas of Long Niddry. John Knox pressing to have gone with the said Mr George, he said, “Nay, return to your bairns [his pupils], and God bless you, one is sufficient for a sacrifice.” And he caused a two-handed sword, which commonly was carried with the said Mr George, be taken from the said Knox, who—albeit unwillingly—obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas of Long Niddry; Mr George having to accompany him, the laird of Ormiston, John Sandilands of Calder, younger, the laird of Brownston, and others, with their servants, passed upon their foot—for it was a vehement frost—to Ormiston. After supper he held a comfortable purpose of the

* This is Knox’s first introduction of himself.
—Ed.

† Here the London suppressed edition of 1586 adds, “For he perceived that men began to be weary of God.”—Ed.

death of God's chosen children, and merrily said, "Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep;" and therewith he said, "We'll sing a psalm;" and so he appointed the fifty-first psalm, which was put in Scottish metre, and began thus, "Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy;" which being ended, he passed to chamber, and sooner nor his common diet, was passed to bed, with these words, "God grant quiet rest." Before midnight the place was beset about, that none could escape to make advertisement. The earl Bothwell came and cried for the laird, and declared the purpose, and said, "It was but vain to make him to hold his house; for the governor and the cardinal, with all their power, were coming;" and, indeed, the cardinal was at Elphinston, not a mile distant from Ormiston; "But, and if he would deliver the man unto him, he would promise upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that it should pass the power of the cardinal to do him any harm or scathe." Allured with these words, and taking counsel with the said Mr George—who at the first word said, "Open the gates; the blessed will of my God be done,"—they received in the said earl Bothwell himself, with some gentlemen with him, to whom Mr George said, "I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receives me this night in the presence of these noblemen; for now I am assured, that, for your honour's sake, ye will suffer nothing to be done unto me besides the order of law; I am not ignorant that their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." The said earl Bothwell answered, "I shall not only preserve your body from all violence, that shall be purposed against you without order of law, but also I promise, here in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither shall the governor nor cardinal have their will over you; but I shall retain you in my own hands, and in my own place, till that either I shall make you free, or else restore you in the same place where I receive you." The lairds foresaid said, "My lord, if ye will do as ye have spoken,

and as we think your lordship will do, then do we here promise unto your lordship, that not only we ourselves shall serve you all the days of our life, but also we shall procure the whole professors within Lothian to do the same. And upon either the persuasion* of this our brother, or upon his delivery unto our hands again, we being reasonably advertised to receive him, that we, in the name and behalf of our friends, shall deliver to your lordship, or any sufficient man, that shall deliver again to us this servant of God, our band of man-rent, in manner foresaid." And this promise made in the presence of God, and hands straitkit [struck] upon both the parties for observation of the promise; the said Mr George was delivered in the hands of the said earl Bothwell, who immediately departing with him, came to Elphinston where the cardinal was, who knowing that Calder, younger, and Brownston were with the laird of Ormiston, sent back with expedition to apprehend them also. The noise of horsemen being heard, the servants gave advertisement, that more than were departed, or that were there before were returned; and while that they dispute, what should be the motive, the cardinal's garrison had seized both the outward and inward closs; they called for the laird, and for the laird of Calder, who, presenting themselves, demanded what their commission was? "To bring you two, and the laird of Brownston, to my lord governor," say they. They were nothing content, as they had no cause; yet they made fair countenance, and "entreated the gentlemen to take a drink, and to bait their horses, till that they might put themselves in readiness to ride with them." In this meantime, Brownston conveyed himself first secretly, and then by speed of foot to Ormiston wood, and from that to Drundallan, and so escaped that danger. The other two were put in the castle of Edinburgh, where the one, *to wit*, Calder younger, remained, while his band of man-rent till the cardinal was the means of his deliverance; and the other, *to wit* Ormiston, freed himself, by leaping the

* 8vo. Preservation.

castle-wall betwixt ten hours and eleven before noon; and so breaking ward, he escaped prison, which he unjustly suffered.

The servant of God, Mr George Wishart, was carried first to Edinburgh, there-after brought back, for the fashion's sake, to the house of Hailes again, which was the principal place that then the earl of Bothwell had in Lothian; but as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him; for the cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the queen, with whom the said earl was then in the glonders [*i. e.* there was a coolness between them], promised favours in all his lawful suits to women, if he would deliver the said Mr George to be kept in the castle of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise; but an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious queen; and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh castle, where he remained not many days; for that bloody wolf the cardinal, ever thirsting the blood of the servant of God, so travailed with the abused governor, that he was content that God's servant should be delivered to the power of that tyrant. And so small inversion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Caiaphas, and of his fellows, and adjudged Christ to be crucified. The servant of God delivered to the hand of that proud and merciless tyrant, triumph was made by the priests. The godly lamented, and accused the foolishness of the governor; for, by the retaining of the said Mr George, he might have caused protestants and papists—rather proud romanists—to have served; the one to the end that the life of their preacher might have been saved; the other for fear that he should have set him at liberty again, to the confusion of the bishops; but where God is left—as he had renounced him plainly before—what can counsel or judgment avail? How the servant of God was entreated, and what he did from the day that he entered within the sea tower of St

Andrews, which was in the end of January, in the year of God 1546, unto the first of March the same year, when he suffered, we cannot tell, except we understand he wrote somewhat being in prison; but that was suppressed by the enemies. The cardinal delayed no time, but caused all bishops, yea, all the clergy that had any preeminence, to be convocated to St Andrews against the penult of February, that consultation might be had in that question, which in his mind was no less resolved than Christ's death was in the mind of Caiaphas; but that the rest should bear the like burden with him, he would that they should before the world subscribe whatsoever he did. In that day was wrought no less a wonder, than was at the accusation and death of Christ, when that Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies were made friends, by consenting of them both to Christ's condemnation, differs nothing, except that Pilate and Herod were brethren under their father the devil, in the estate called temporal, and these two, of whom we are going to speak, were brethren—sons to the same father the devil—in the estate ecclesiastical. If we interlace merriness with earnest matters, pardon us, good reader, for the fact is so notable that it deserves long memory.

The cardinal was known proud; and Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, was known a glorious fool;* and yet, because sometimes he was called the king's master, he was chancellor of Scotland. The cardinal comes even the same year, in the end of harvest before to Glasgow, upon what purpose we omit; but while they remained together, the one in the town, the other in the castle, question rises for bearing of their cross. The cardinal alleged, by reason of his cardinalship, and that he was *legatus natus*, and primate within Scotland, in the kingdom of antichrist, that he should have the preeminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but that also it should only be borne, wheresoever he was.

* Keith says, "This bishop is shamefully misrepresented by Mr Knox."—Ed. 1824, p. 258. But according to this author, all the Scottish

bishops, with few exceptions, were excellent and learned men, both before and after the reformation, not excepting cardinal Beaton.—*Ed.*

Good gowkston glaikston,† the foresaid archbishop lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory. "He was an archbishop in his own diocese, and in his own cathedral see and kirk; and, therefore, ought to give place to no man: the power of the cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertained but to his own person, and not to his bishoprick; for it might be that his successor should not be cardinal; but his dignity was annexed with his office, and appertained to all that ever should be bishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both the prelates; yet the decision was as ye shall hear. Coming forth or going in—all is one—at the choir door of Glasgow kirk, began striving for state betwixt the two cross-bearers; so that from glooming they came to shouldering, from shouldering they went to buffets, and from dry blows by neives and neivelling; and then for charity's sake, they cried, "*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus,*" and assayed which of the crosses were finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which bearer could best defend his master's preeminence; and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground went both the crosses. And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game, for rockets were rent, tippets were torn,

crowns were knypsit [knapped], and side [long] gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other: many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity; and therefore could not buckle other by the byrss [take one another by the beard], as some bold men would have done. But fie on the jackmen, they did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone right; but the sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. How merrily that ever this be written, it was bitter bourding [*i. e.* bitter mirth, edition 1586] to the cardinal and his court. It was more than irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged lese majesty to the son of perdition, the pope's own person; and yet the other in his folly, as proud as a peacock, would let the cardinal know that he was a bishop, when the other was but Beaton, before he got Arbroath. This enmity was judged mortal, and without all hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent servant of God buried in oblivion all that bragging and boast. For the archbishop of Glasgow was the first unto whom the cardinal wrote, signifying unto him what was done, and earnestly craving of him, that he would assist with his presence and counsel, how that such an enemy unto their estate might be suppressed. And thereto was not

* "Good gowkston glaikston." It is the same in the suppressed London edition, and all the rest; but no explanation is given in any of them. It is difficult, if not impossible to find a meaning for these words as they stand, without connection with what goes either before or after; and the sense of the passage is complete without them. Gowk is the vulgar Scottish appellation for a fool, and glaikery for merriment, or light-heartedness. I suppose, therefore, that the words were originally written in the margin, to indicate that the paragraph contained "a good piece of merry or wanton folly;" and from the margin they have been inadvertently taken into the text. There are many such marginal indices in the old copy; for instance, the words "a merry fact;" are in the margin of the paragraph that relates the casting of the Virgin Mary's image into the water, by one of the prisoners in the galleys. "A merry fact," I believe to have as good a right to a place in the text as "good gowkston glaikston." The Glasgow MS. copy has none of these notes; but David Buchanan's is full of them, by which a reader may know the contents of a page by casting his eye over the side margin. Most or all of them, however, are of David's own

making; and those in the suppressed copy are probably the work of Voultroulier. The words in question are in the text of the Glasgow MS., so that the error, if it be one, is not his, but probably that of John Knox of Melrose, or some still earlier transcriber. If they have the meaning which I have affixed to them, and I cannot imagine any other, they indicate the contents of the paragraph very correctly, and also the good humoured state of the author's mind. Knox had a lively perception of the ludicrous; and grave and repulsive, as most people suppose him to have been, there is a vein of good humour that runs through his whole book, except when he had to reprove the enemies of the truth, and of his country. He sometimes mingles a little raillery with his relation of very grave matters. Here, for instance, he introduces the trial and martyrdom of his friend Wishart, with a burlesque account of a battle royal between two bishops and their followers and cross-bearers, in the High Church-yard of Glasgow; which he presents in bold contrast with the subsequent friendship between the same bishops, when they had to compass the death of an innocent man.—*Ed.*

the other slow, but kept time appointed, sat next to the cardinal, voted and subscribed first in the rank, and lay over the east blockhouse with the said cardinal, till the martyr of God was consumed with fire. For this we must note, that as all these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that innocent, so did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordinance of the castle of St Andrews bent towards the place of execution—which was near to the said castle—ready to have shot if any would have made defence, or rescue to God's servant. The manner of his accusation, process, and answers following, as we have received the same from the book of the martyrs, which, word by word, we have here inserted, and that because the said book, for the great price thereof, is rare to be had.

Upon the last of February, was sent to the prison, where the servant of God lay, the dean of the town, by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked council, and there summoned the said Mr George, that he should upon the morn following appear before the judge, then and there to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom the said Mr George answered, "What needed," said he, "my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound in irons? May not my lord compel me to answer to his extorted power? Or, believed he, that I am unprovided to render an account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done, that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitution made by men." Upon the next morn, my lord cardinal caused his servants to dress themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapstall, splent, spear and axe, more seeming to the war than for the preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had convoyed the bishops into the abbey church, incontinently they send for Mr George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, and the number of an hundred men, dressed in man-

ner foresaid, like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered in the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse; and when he came before the cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Wirnam, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of the xiii. chapter of Matth., whose sermon was divided in four principal parts. In the first was a short and brief declaration of the evangelist. The second, of the interpretation of the good seed; and because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; he defined it on this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly repugning to the word of God." The third part of his sermon was the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. "The cause of heresy," said he, "is the ignorance of them which have the cure of men's souls, to whom it belongeth necessarily to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, 'with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:' And not only to win again, but also to overcome, as says the apostle Paul, A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, not angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harberous [hospitable], one that loveth goodness, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him." The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresy should be known. "Heresy," said he, "may be known in this manner, as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect, by the touchstone; so likewise we may know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God." At the last, he added, "That heretics should be put down in this present life; to the which proposi-

tion the gospel appeareth to repugn, which he entreated of, 'Let them both grow unto the harvest.' The harvest is the end of the world, nevertheless, he affirmed, that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law." And when he ended his sermon, incontinent they caused Mr George to ascend in the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles, for right against him stood up one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings, threatenings, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Mr George, so many cruel and abominable words, and hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fed sow had read through all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a bear, he spat at Mr George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou renegade, traitor, and thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee." Mr George hearing this, sat down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayers unto God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and christianly he answered unto them all in this manner.

MR GEORGE'S ORATION.

"Many and horrible sayings unto me a christian man, many words abominable for to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought it ever great abomination. Wherefore, I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lords, I desire to be heard for three causes: The first is, through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest; it is reasonable, therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me truly teaching the pure and sincere word of God, without any dissimulation. The second reason is, because that your health springs of the word of God, for

he worketh all things by his word; it were therefore an unrighteous thing if ye should stop your ears from me teaching truly the word of God. The third reason is, because your doctrine speaketh forth many pestilential, blasphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inspiration of God, but of the devil, on no less peril than my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable for your discretions to know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls; wherefore, both for the honour and glory of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the meantime, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First, and chiefly, since the time that I came in this realm, I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee, I taught the epistle of St Paul to the Romans; and I shall show your discretions faithfully what fashion and manner I used, when I taught without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears, benevolence, and attention." Suddenly then, with a high voice, cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretic, renegade, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach, thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority from the church; we forethink that thou hast been a preacher so [too] long." Then said the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, these words, "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in holy scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his own opinion, and raise them against us." Mr George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder foresaid, with hoggish voice, answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St Andrews, bishop of Meripois, commendator of Arbroath, *legatus natus, legatus a latere*;" and so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would

have laden a ship, much sooner an ass ; “ is not he,” said John Lauder, “ an equal judge apparently to thee ? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge ? ” To whom this humane man answered, saying, “ I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships mine auditory ; because I am here my lord governor’s prisoner.” Hereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by, mocked him, saying, “ Such man, such judge,” speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor, and others the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Mr George, and that without farther process, had not certain men there counselled my lord cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation. And shortly for to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak ; for when he intended to mitigate their leasings [falsehoods], and show the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic, renegade, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, despisest the holy church’s, and in like case contemnest my lord governor’s authority. And this we know of surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wert charged by my lord governor’s authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same ; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the hands of the devil, and gave thee in commandment, that thou shouldst preach no more ; yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.”

THE ANSWER.—“ My lords, I have read in the acts of the apostles, that it is not lawful, for the threatenings and menacings of men, to desist from the preaching of the evangel ; therefore, it is written, ‘ We shall rather obey God nor [than] man.’ I have also read the prophet Malachi, ‘ I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the

Lord ;’ believing firmly, that he would turn your cursings into blessings.”

THE SECOND ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic didst say, that a priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.”

THE ANSWER.—“ My lords, I said not so. These were my sayings ; the moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else, but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God ; for God is a secret searcher of men’s hearts ; therefore, who will truly adorn and honour God, he must in spirit and truth honour him.” Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

THE THIRD ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic preachest against the sacraments, saying, that there are not seven sacraments.”

THE ANSWER.—“ My lords, it is by your pleasures, I taught never of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or an eleven : so many as are instituted by Christ, and are shown to us by the evangel, I profess openly ; except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.”

THE FOURTH ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament ; and thou sayest we should only confess us to God, and to no priest ? ”

THE ANSWER.—“ My lords, I say, that auricular confession, seeing that it had no promise of the evangel, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in the scripture, as when David sayeth, ‘ I thought that I would acknowledge my iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the trespass of my sins.’ Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God ; when I exhorted the people on this manner, I reprov’d no manner of confession. And further, St James sayeth, ‘ Acknowledge your sins one to another, and so let you have peace amongst yourselves.’ Here the apostle means nothing of auricular confession, but that we should acknowledge and confess ourselves to be sinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to esteem ourselves as the gray friars do, thinking themselves

already purged." When that he had said these words, the horned bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he had in his speech, that he might beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion."

THE FIFTH ARTICLE.—"Thou heretic didst say openly, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, and that it was contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandize with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand the condition, or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger; so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism: for this cause, I believe, ye have confirmation." Then said Mr Blecker, chaplain, "That he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error." Then answered him a child, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words, as yonder man does speak."

THE SIXTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic, traitor, and thief, thou saidst, that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread, baken upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God."

THE ANSWER.—"O Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the scripture doth not so teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the scripture, the which I shall by God's grace make manifest this day, I being therefore ready to suffer death. The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him; but what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your lordships: I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhine; I did inquire of him, what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him

to be fulfilled: moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah. By many other testimonies of the scripture, I vanquished him, and approved that the Messiah was come, the which they called Jesus of Nazareth. The Jew answered again unto me, 'When the Messiah cometh he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given unto our fathers, as ye do; for why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger among you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them; but amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, It is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only to honour; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, A piece of bread baken upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say, that is your God.' I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true." Then the bishops shook their heads, and spat unto the earth, and what he meant in this matter further, they would not hear.

THE SEVENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic didst say, that extreme unction was no sacrament."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, I never taught of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or not."

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic sayest, that holy water was not so good as wash, and such like; thou contemnest conjuring, and sayest, that holy church's cursing availeth not."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurations and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but in so far as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

THE NINTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic and renegade hast said, that every layman is a priest; and such like, thou sayest, that the pope hath no more power than another man."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, I taught no-

thing but the word of God. I remember, that I have read in some places of St John and St Peter, of the which one sayeth, 'He hath made us kings and priests,' the other sayeth, 'He hath made us the kingly priesthood:' wherefore I have affirmed, any man, being cunning and perfect in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, to have his power given him of God, and not by the power or violence of man, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St Paul evidently enough. And again I say, any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of; I say, he hath no power to bind nor to loose, seeing he wants the instrument by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the word of God." After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughter, "Laugh ye," said he, "my lords? though that these my sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty unto me, and of a great value; because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." In the meantime many godly men beholding the wodness [fury] and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of the said Mr George, did greatly mourn and lament.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic saidst, that a man had no free will, but is like to the stoics, which say, 'That it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be of.'"

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, I said not so truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St John, 'If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free.' Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bound servants of sin: 'He that sinneth is bound to sin.'"

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic sayest, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday as on Sunday."

THE ANSWER.—"Please your lordships, I

have read in the epistles of St Paul, 'That who is clean, unto them all things are clean.' Of the contrary, 'to the filthy man, all things are unclean.' A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctified by the word the creature of God, but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God; so that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are sanctified, by the prayer of the word of God." After these sayings of Mr George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needed us any witnesses against him, hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy."

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only; say whether thou hast said this or not, say shortly."

THE ANSWER.—"For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers," he said, "without doubt plainly, that saints should not be honoured nor incalled upon. My lords," said he, "there are two things worthy of note; the one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scriptures, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt worship and honour the Lord thy God with all thine heart;' but as to praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear or not invocation made unto them; therefore, I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our master Christ. 'He is only our mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He the door by the which we must enter in: He that enters not in by this door, but climbeth an other way, is a thief and a murderer; he is the verity and life.' He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire, yea, verily he is fallen in it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly and in no corners, and now ye shall witness the same if your lordships will hear me: except it stand by the word

of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm any thing." These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, saying, that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man, after this life, to be punished in purgatory."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of scripture, I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor any place of scripture applicable thereto; therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in scripture." Then said he to Mr John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the scripture, by the which ye may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But that dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying, that whosoever was bound to such like vows, they vowed themselves to estate of the damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live solitary."

THE ANSWER.—"Of such, my lords, I have read in the evangel, that there are three kind of chaste men, some are gelded from their mother's womb, some are gelded by men, and some have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven's sake; verily, I say, these men are blessed by the scripture of God; but as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangel have overcome the concupiscence of flesh, and have vowed chastity, ye have appearance, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniences they have vowed themselves." When he had said these words they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines nor one wife.

THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou false renegade and heretic sayest, that thou wilt not obey our general or provincial councils."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, what your general councils are, I know not; I was

never exercised in them; but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book, wherein they are contained, that I may read them, if that they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree." Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness, and said, "Whereunto let we him speak any farther? read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Amongst these cruel tigers there was a false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Scott, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers; "For we may not abide them," said he, "no more nor the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named."

THE SIXTEENTH ARTICLE.—"Thou heretic sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made by men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space, as betwixt the priest's hands."

THE ANSWER.—"My lords, Solomon says, 'If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house which I have built.' And Job consenteth to the same sentence, saying, 'Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore, what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than the hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea;' so that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings, notwithstanding, I said never that churches should be destroyed; but of the contrary, I affirmed ever that churches should be maintained and upholden, that the people should be congregated in them to hear the word of God preached. Moreover, wheresoever is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself: so that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended into any one place; 'And wheresoever are two or three gathered in his name, there is he present in the midst of them.'" Then said he to his accuser, "If thou thinkest any otherwise than I say, show forth thy reasons before this

auditory.'” Then he without all reason was dumb, and could not answer one word.

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and sayest, thou shouldest not fast.”

THE ANSWER.—“ My lords, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture ; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health and conservation of the body ; but God knoweth only who fasteth the true fast.”

THE EIGHTEENTH ARTICLE.—“ Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, that the souls of men shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day.”

THE ANSWER.—“ God full of mercy and goodness forgive them that say such things of me. I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him ; I know surely, that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life, the which life, from day to day, is renewed in grace and augmented, nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ their head, to the which life all that believe in him, shall come, and rest in eternal glory.” *Amen.*

When that the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man, in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as a heretic, not having respect unto his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet their own consciences, thinking verily, that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the sayings of Jesus Christ in the gospel of St John, the xvi. chapter ; “ They shall excommunicate you, yea, and the time shall come, that he that killeth you shall think that he has done to God good service.”

* D. B. has a long interpolation here, from which I extract the following :—“ The captain of the castle with some friends came to him, and asked, if he would breakfast with them. He answered, most willingly, for I know you to be honest and godly men. So all being ready, he

THE PRAYER OF MR GEORGE.

“ O immortal God, how long shalt thou suffer the wodness [madness] and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to do the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast shown thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord, we know surely, that thy true servants must needs suffer persecution for thy name's sake, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shown unto us by thy prophets and apostles ; but yet we desire thee, merciful Father, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.”

Then, by and by, they caused the common people to remove, whose desire was always to have heard that innocent man speak. And the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgments of God. When all this was done and said, my lord cardinal caused his tormentors to pass again with the meek lamb unto the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the castle, then there came unto him two gray fiends, friars Scott and his mate, saying, “ Sir, ye must make your confession unto us.” He answered and said, “ I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him.” Then they sent for the subprior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence : but what he said in this confession, I cannot show.* When the fire was made ready, and the gallows at the west part of the castle, near to the priory, my lord cardinal dreading that Mr George

desired them to sit down, and hear him a while with patience. Then he discoursed to them about half an hour concerning the Lord's supper, his sufferings, and death for us. He exhorted them to love one another, laying aside all rancour, envy, and vengeance, as perfect members of

should have been taken away by his friends, therefore, he commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against the place of execution, and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and stand beside their guns, unto such time as he were burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers, from the castle to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle gate, their met him certain beggars asking of him alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I had wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, Mr George, "pray to our lady, that she may be a mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren."

After this he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle. When that he came to the fire he sat down upon his knees, and rose up again; and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, "I beseech you, christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God, for the affliction and torments which you see already prepared for me. But I exhort you, that you love the word

of God, your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learn the word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given unto me, for no persecutions nor troubles in this world which lasteth not: and show unto them that my doctrine was no wives' fable, after the constitutions made by men; and if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men; but for the word's sake and true evangel, which was given unto me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour; this grim fire I fear not, and so I pray you for to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught the soul of man shall sleep until the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup this night with my Saviour—or it be six hours—for whom I suffer this." Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, 'I beseech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart: I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.' And last of all,

Christ, who intercedes continually for us with God the father. After this he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine; he took the bread, and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them remember that Christ died for them, and feed on it spiritually; so taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c. And after he gave thanks and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them that he would eat nor drink more in this life; and so retired to his chamber. Immediately after, came to him, sent from the cardinal, two executioners. One brought him a coat of linen dyed black, and put it upon him; another brought some bags full of (gun) powder, which they tied to several parts of his body. Thus having dressed him, they brought him to an outer room near the gate of the castle. Then

the fire was made ready, and the stake at the west port of the castle, near to the priory. Over against the place of execution, the castle windows were hung with rich hangings and velvet cushions, laid for the cardinal and the prelates, who from thence did feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man." This, the reader will bear in mind, is not in Knox's narrative, and the circumstance of the bags of gunpowder tied round his body, is not consistent with what follows; for had that been the case, the bags would have exploded, and he would have been made insensible the moment the fire reached them; whereas, we find him sensible, and able to speak of the torment which his body suffered after the fire had become so violent as not only to torment his own body, but injure one who came near him.—*Ed.*

he said to the people on this manner; "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the least may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew." Many faithful words said he in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then, last of all, the hangman that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thy office;" and then by and by, he was put upon the gibbet, and hanged, and there burnt to powder.* When that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they might not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of that innocent lamb's slaughter. After the death of this blessed martyr of God, began the people in plain speaking to damn and detest the cruelty that was used; yea,

men of great birth, estimation, and honour, at open tables avowed, "That the blood of the said Mr George should be revenged, or else they should lose life for life." Amongst whom John Leslie, brother to the earl of Rothes, was the chief, for he in all companies spared not to say, "That same whinger, showing forth his dagger, and that same hand should be priests † to the cardinal." These bruises came to the cardinal's ears; but he thought himself stout enough for all Scotland: for in Babylon, that is, in his new block house, he was sure, as he thought; and upon the field he was able to match all his enemies: and, to write the truth, the most part of the nobility of Scotland had either given unto him their bands of man-rent [bond of engagement], or else were in confederacy, and promised amity with him.‡ He only feared them in whose hands God delivered him, and for them he had laid his nets so secretly, as that he made a full count, that their feet could not escape, as we shall after hear; and something of his former practice we must recount. After the Pasche [Easter] he came to Edinburgh, to hold the synod, as the papists term their unhappy assembly of Baal's shaven sort. It was

* Here D. B. has an interpolation of half a folio page, of which the following is the most important:—"The captain of the castle, for the love he bore to Mr Wishart, drev so near to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harm. He wished Mr Wishart to be of good courage, and beg from God the forgiveness of his sins, to whom Mr Wishart answered thus: "This fire torments my body, but no ways abates my spirit." Then Mr Wishart, looking towards the cardinal said, "*He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride.*" This is the famous prophecy which has long been ascribed to Wishart. I hold it almost an axiom in theology, that the gift of prophecy ceased with that of inspiration, and the power of working miracles; and when writing on this subject in my notes on the Scots Worthies, I found Wishart's case one of the hardest to get over. It was understood to rest on the authority of Knox, the intimate friend of Wishart, who, if not a witness of his martyrdom, must, while in St Andrews afterwards, have conversed with many who were. It was difficult to resist the authority of such a competent and credible witness. But now it turns out that Knox bears witness to no such thing. It was put into his history seventy years after his death, and a hundred years after Wish-

art's. This not only reduces the prediction to a story without proof—it decidedly disproves it; for had it been true Knox must have known it; and, for the honour of his martyred friend, would have recorded it. He spent months of the same year in the castle of St Andrews, with the very men who slew the cardinal, including Melvin, who declared that he did it for the very purpose, of punishing him for the murder of Wishart. Had the report of such a remarkable prophecy then existed, all these men would have known it, and would often have been talking about it. From what Knox has said of Wishart, as having foreknowledge of things future, he was sufficiently predisposed to believe this, had there been any evidence in its favour. Spotswood relates, and, I suppose, believed in it; but he is not an original authority, having written a hundred years after the event.—*Ed.*

† I will be his priest, meaning that he would prepare, or send him to the other world.—*Ed.*

‡ D. B. inserts here,—“and so he gave his bastard eldest daughter in marriage to the earl of Crawford's eldest son and heir, and caused the wedding to be celebrated with as much state, as if she had been a prince's lawful daughter.” This, though omitted by Knox, is confirmed by other historians, who add, that he gave his daughter four thousand marks as her marriage portion.—*Ed.*

bruted that something was purposed against him at that time by the earl of Angus and his friends, whom he mortally hated, and whose destruction he sought; but it failed, and so returned he to his strength; yea, to his God and only comfort, as well in heaven as in earth; and there he remained without all fear of death, promising unto himself no less pleasure nor did the rich man of whom mention is made by our Master in the evangel; for he did not only rejoice and say, "Eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store for many days;" but also he said, "Tush, a fig for the feud, and a button for the bragging of all the heretics and their assistance in Scotland. Is not my lord governor mine? Witness his eldest son their pledge at my table. Have I not the queen at my own devotion?—He meant of the mother of Mary that now mischievously reigns—Is not France my friend, and I friend to France? What danger should I fear?" And thus in vanity the cardinal delighted himself a little before his death. But yet he had devised to have cut off such as he thought might cumber him; for he had appointed the whole gentlemen of Fife to have met him at Falkland the Monday after that he was slain upon the Saturday. His reasonable purpose was not understood but by his secret council; and it was this, that Norman Leslie, sheriff of Fife, and apparent heir to his father the earl of Rothes; the said John Leslie, father brother to Norman; the lairds of Grange, elder and younger; Sir James Learmonth of Darsie, and provost of St Andrews; and the faithful laird of Raith, should either have been slain, or else taken, and after to have been used at his pleasure. This enterprise was disclosed after his slaughter, partly by letters and memorials found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by such as were of the council. Many purposes were devised, how that wicked man might have been taken away; but all failed, till Friday the 28th of May, anno 1546, when

the foresaid Norman came at night to St Andrews, William Kirkaldy of Grange, younger, was in the town before, awaiting upon the purpose. Last came John Leslie foresaid, who was most suspected: what conclusion they took that night it was not known but by the issue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29th of May, were they in sundry companies in the abbey kirk-yard, not far distant from the castle. First, the gates being open, and the drawbridge let down for receiving of lime and stones, and other things necessary for building, for Babylon was almost finished: first, we say, assayed William Kirkaldy of Grange, younger, and with him six persons, and getting entrance, held purpose with the porter, "If my lord cardinal was waking?" who answered, "No:" and so it was, indeed, for he had been busy at his accounts with mistress Marion Ogilvy that night, who was espied to depart from him by the private postern that morning; and therefore quietness, after the rules of physic, and a morning sleep, were requisite for my lord. While the said William and the porter talked, and his servants made them to look [to] the work and the workmen, approached Norman Leslie with his company; and because they were no great number, they easily got entrance. They address them to the midst of the closs, and immediately came John Leslie, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him. The porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge, but the said John being entered thereon, stayed, and leapt in: and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the keys were taken from him, and he cast into the fosse, and so the place was seized. The workmen, to the number of more than one hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket gate.* The first thing that ever was done, William Kirkaldy took the guard of the private postern, fearing that the fox should have escaped. Then go the rest to the gentle-

* "Wicked gate" the suppressed London edition calls it, which shows that Mons. Voultroulier was not well acquainted with the original language of the author. What must the English

have thought of our Scottish bishops, when they read they had an entrance to their places called "the wicked gate?"—*Ed.*

men's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty persons to the gate: the number that enterprised and did this, were but sixteen persons. The cardinal wakened with the houts, asked from his window, "What meant that noise?" It was answered, "That Norman Leslie had taken his castle;" which understood, he ran to the postern; but perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, and took his two-handed sword, and made chamberchild [made his servant] cast chests, and other impediments to the door. In this meantime came John Leslie unto it, and bids open. The cardinal asking, "Who calls?" He answered, "My name is Leslie." He re-demands, "Is that Norman?" The other says, "Nay, my name is John." "I will have Norman," says the cardinal, "for he is my friend." "Content yourself with such as are here, for other shall ye get none." There were with the said John, James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with the said Mr George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael, a stout gentleman. In this meantime, while they force at the door, the cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asketh, "Will

ye save my life?" The said John answered, "It may be that we will." "Nay," says the cardinal, "swear unto me by God's wounds, and I shall open unto you." Then answered the said John, "It that was said, is unsaid;" and so he cried, "Fire, fire," for the door was very strong, and so was brought a chimley [grate] full of burning coals, which perceived, the cardinal or his chamber-child—it is uncertain—opened the door, and the cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried, "I am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me." The said John Leslie, according to his former vows, struck him once or twice, and so did the said Peter; but James Melvin, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity." And presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, "Repent thee of thine former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it, a vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it;* for here before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of

* The London edition of 1586 has in the margin here, "The godly fact and words of James Melvin," for which Knox has been so much reproached; but there is no evidence that they are Knox's words. They are not in the Glasgow MS., and were probably added by the publisher.

It has been alleged that this marginal note was omitted in subsequent editions on account of the odium against Knox which it excited. But this could have no influence on the writer of the Glasgow MS., which is at least five years older than the printed edition which contains the obnoxious sentence. But after all, I have little sympathy with those who condemn Knox on this account, even if he had written it; because such persons are shamefully partial in their judgment. When the cardinal had crowned his other crimes by the murder of Wishart, his conduct was applauded by his brethren, as showing a becoming zeal for the holy catholic church. The archbishop of Glasgow, and all the rest who gave their concurrence, must have considered the burning of Wishart a very godly action. Such writers as Keith, quoted in a former note, if they do not positively call it godly, yet regard it as a trifle not worth mentioning in their history of the cardinal's life. Thus Keith, though a protestant, does not make the most

distant allusion to it; but he concludes his narrative with these words, "He was murdered in his own palace at St Andrews, on Saturday the 29th May 1546." If this author was really a protestant, he must have regarded the cardinal himself as a murderer. It is certain that Knox did so. Then he must have regarded his death as the execution of justice according to the will of God, which is much the same as to call it a godly fact; like that of Samuel, who hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord. According to the law of Moses, private persons punished the crime of murder by the death of the criminal. The reformers were in some instances mistaken with regard to the application of that law under the christian dispensation; and, admitting that they were mistaken in this instance, neither Melvin who committed the fact, nor Knox who recorded it apparently with approbation, are to be condemned as murderers from principle. Though in an organized state of society, where there is law and government, it is unlawful for private persons to take the punishment of crimes into their own hands; yet, in the case of cardinal Beaton, though his punishment had not the sanction of proper authority, the thing itself (the death of a murderer) was just and righteous, according to the laws of God and man. It is for expressing something like approbation of

thy person, the love of thy riches, or the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his holy evangel." And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stoge [thrusting, or long small] sword: and so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but "I am a priest, I am a priest, fie, fie, all is gone!"*

While they were thus occupied with the cardinal, the fray rises in the town; the provost assembles the commonalty, and comes to the fosse's side, crying, "What have ye done with my lord cardinal? Where is my lord cardinal? Have ye slain my lord cardinal? Let us see my lord cardinal." They that were within answered gently, "The best it were to you to return to your own houses; for the man you call the cardinal has received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more." But then more enragedly, they cried, "We shall never depart till that we see him." And so was he brought to the east Blockhouse-head, and shown dead over the wall to the faithless multitude, which would not believe before that it saw. And so they departed, without *requiem æternam*, *et requiescat in pace*, sung for his soul. Now, because the weather was hot, for it

was in May, as ye have heard, and his funerals could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best—to keep him from stinking—to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a nuik in the bottom of the sea tower, a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before, to await what exequies his brethren the bishops would prepare for him. These things we write merrily, but we would that the reader should observe God's just judgments, and how that he can deprehend the worldly wise in their own wisdom, make their table to be a snare to trap their own feet, and their own presupposed strength to be their own destruction. These are the works of our God, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty, what strength soever they make in the contrary. But such is the blindness of man, as David speaks, "That the posterity does ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety;" for how little differs the cruelty of that bastard, that yet is called bishop of St Andrews, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.

The death of this foresaid tyrant was dolorous to the priests, dolorous to the governor, and most dolorous to the queen dowager; for in him perished faithfulness to

this that Knox has been branded by certain writers, who have no censure to spare for the cardinal, who was confessedly guilty of the murder of an innocent man. Yes, but the cardinal was a *minister of state*, and an archbishop, and the innocent man was only a *christian minister*. This accounts for the difference. The only thing that can be pleaded in extenuation of the cardinal's conduct is, that the archbishop of Glasgow and a few more, were as guilty as himself, and therefore deserved the same reward, though most of them were suffered to die in their beds. I conclude this long note with stating the fact, that Knox was remarkably scrupulous with regard to what might affect human life. When his friends were, contrary to treaty, detained in a French prison, they wrote for his advice, whether they might lawfully effect their escape if they could? to which he replied, that he thought they might, if it could be done without bloodshed; but that they ought not, for the sake of their own liberty, to take the life of a fellow creature.—*Ed.*

* Cardinal David Beaton was nephew of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, and af-

terwards of St Andrews. At an early period of life he was sent to France for perfecting his education; and there he was initiated into the mysteries of both church and state politics. His first preferment at home was no greater than the rectory of Campsie; but when his uncle was promoted to St Andrews, he resigned in his favour the abbacy of Arbroath, which gave him a seat in parliament. From this he rose to the highest offices in church and state. The cause and manner of his death are sufficiently related in the text; but as affording information with regard to the manners of the times, it is right to add, that gentlemen, even of noble birth, were not ashamed to treat his dead body with disgusting contumely, such as persons of the lowest degree would not now be guilty of to the carcass of a dog. See his life in *Iconographia Scotica*. Knox was a gentleman both by birth and education; but, considering the character of the times, as appears by the above fact, it was not to be expected that he should possess all the refinement of a more polished state of society.—*Ed.*

France, and the comfort to all gentlewomen, and especially to wanton widows; his death must be revenged.

To the court again repairs the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George. Labour is made for the abbacy of Arbroath, and a grant was once made of the same, in memory whereof, George Douglas, bastard son to the said earl, is yet called Postulate. But it was more proper—think the Hamiltons—for the governor's kitchen [for one of his servants], nor for reward to the Douglasses; and yet in esperance [hope] thereof, the said earl and George his brother were the first that voted, that the castle of St Andrews should be besieged. The bishop, to declare the zeal that he had to revenge the death of him that was his predecessor,—and yet for his wish he would not have had him living again,—still blew the coals. And first, he caused summon, then denounce accursed, then last rebels, not only the first enterprisers, but all such also as after did accompany them; and last of all, siege was concluded, which began in the end of August. For the 23d day thereof departed the soldiers from Edinburgh and continued near to the end of January; at what time, because they had no other hope of winning it but by hunger, and thereof also they were despaired, for they within had broken through the east wall, and made a plain passage by an iron gate to the sea, which greatly relieved the besieged, and abased the besiegers; for then they saw that they could not stop them of victuals, unless that they should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be; for the English ships had once been there, and had brought William Kirkaldy from London, and with much difficulty—because the said gate was not then prepared—and some loss of men, had rendered him to the castle again, and had taken with them to the court of England, John Leslie and Mr Henry Balnaves, for perfecting of all contracts betwixt them and king Henry, who promised to take them in his protection, upon condition only, that they should keep the governor's son, my lord of Arran, and stand friends to the contract of marriage, whereof before

we have made mention. These things clearly understood, we say, by the governor and his council, the priests and shaven sort, they conclude to make an appointment, to the end that under truth they might either get the castle betrayed, or else some principal men of the company taken at unawares. In the which head was the abbot of Dunfermline principal, and for that purpose had the laird of Monwherry, which was most familiar with them of the castle, laboured at foot and hand, and proceeded so in his traffic, that from entries upon daylight at his pleasure, he got licence to come in upon the night whensoever it pleased him. But God had not appointed so many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they should be punished, and that justly, as hereafter we will hear.

THE HEADS OF THE COLOURED APPOINTMENT WERE.

I. That they should keep the castle of St Andrews, aye and until that the governor and authority of Scotland should get unto them a sufficient absolution from the pope, antichrist of Rome, for the slaughter of the cardinal foresaid.

II. That they should deliver pledges for delivery of that house, how soon the absolution foresaid was delivered unto them.

III. That their friends, familiars, and servants, and others to them pertaining, should never be pursued in the law, by the authority, for the slaughter foresaid. But that they should brook commodities spiritual and temporal, whatsoever they possessed before the said slaughter, even as if it never had been committed.

IV. That they of the castle should keep the earl of Arran, so long as their pledges were kept.

And such like articles liberal enough, for they never minded to keep [one] word of them, as the issue did declare.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad; for some esperance [hope] they had, that thereby God's word should somewhat bud, as indeed so it did. For John Rough—who soon after the cardinal's slaughter entered within the castle, and had continued with them the whole siege—began to

preach in St Andrews; and albeit he was not the most learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people. At the Pasch after, anno 1547, came to the castle of St Andrews John Knox, who wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by this bishop of St Andrews, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the schools of Germany—of England then he had no pleasure, by reason that the pope's name being suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour,—but because he had the care of some gentlemen's children, whom certain years he had nourished in godliness, their fathers solicited him to go to St Andrews that himself might have the benefit of the castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine; and so, we say, came he the time foresaid to the said place, and having in his company Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, then eldest son to the laird of Ormiston, began to exercise them after his accustomed manner. Besides their grammar, and other humane authors, he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish kirk of St Andrews. He read moreover unto them the evangel of John, proceeding where he left at his departing from Longniddry, where before his residence was; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the castle, at a certain hour. They of the place, but especially Mr Henry Balnaves, and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him. But he utterly refused, alleging, "That he would not run where God had not called him;" meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Whereupon they privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in company Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded, that they would give a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of their preacher. And so upon a certain day, a sermon had of the election of ministers, "what power the congregation, how small that ever it was, pass-

ing the number of two or three, had above any man, in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed:" these and other heads, we say, declared; the said John Rough, preacher, directed his words to the said John Knox, saying, "Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all these that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you, that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that ye shall multiply his graces with you." And in the end he said to those that were present, "Was not this your charge unto me? And do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was, and we approve it." Whereat the said John abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together.

The necessity that caused him to enter in the public place, besides the vocation foresaid, was dean John Annan, a rotten papist, [who] had long troubled John Rough in his preaching. The said John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten the said dean John from all defences, that he was compelled to fly to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the church, "Which authority," said he, "damneth all Lutherans and heretics; and, therefore, he needed no further disputation." John Knox answered, "Before that we hold ourselves, or that ye can prove us sufficient-

ly convict, we must define the church, by the right notes given to us in God's scriptures of the true church. We must discern the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ from the mother of confusion, spiritual Babylon, lest that imprudently we embrace a harlot instead of the chaste spouse. Yea, to speak it in plain words; lest that we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that we submit ourselves to Jesus Christ; for, as for your Roman kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, whereon stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt but that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the pope, to be that man of sin, of whom the apostle speaks, than that I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or write, to prove the Roman church this day further degenerated from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." These words were spoken in open audience in the parish church of St Andrews, after that the said dean John Annan had spoken what it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people hearing the offer, cried with one consent, "We cannot all read your writings, but we may all hear your preachings; therefore, we require you in the name of God, that ye will let us hear the probation of that which ye have affirmed; for if it be true, we have been miserably deceived." And so the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his mind in the public preaching place, which day approaching, the said John took the text written in Daniel the vii. chapter, beginning thus: "And another king shall rise after them, and shall be unlike to the first, and he shall subdue three kings, and shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws, and they shall be given unto his hands, until a time, and times, and dividing of times." In the beginning of the sermon, he showed the great love of God towards his church, whom it pleased to forewarn of dangers to

come so many years before they came to pass. He briefly entreated [treated of] the estate of the Israelites, who then were in bondage in Babylon, for the most part; and made a short discourse of the four empires, the Babylonian, the Persian, that of the Greeks, and the fourth of the Romans, in the destruction whereof rose up that last beast, which he affirmed to be the Roman church; for to none other power that ever has yet been, do all the notes that God has shown to the prophet appertain, except to it alone, and unto it they do so properly appertain, that such as are not more than blind, may clearly see them. But before he began to open up the corruption of the papistry, he defined the true kirk, showed the true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it was the pillar of verity, and why it could not err, *to wit*, "Because it heard the voice of its own pastor, Jesus Christ, would not hear a stranger, neither yet would be carried about with every kind of doctrine."

Every one of these heads sufficiently declared, he entered upon the contrary; and upon the notes given in his text, he showed that the Spirit of God in the New Testament gave to this king other names, *to wit*, "The man of sin, the antichrist, the whore of Babylon." He showed, that this man of sin, or antichrist, was not to be restrained to the person of any one man only, no more than by the fourth beast was to be understood the person of any one emperor. But by such names the Spirit of God would forewarn his chosen of a body and a multitude, having a wicked head, who should not only be sinful himself, but that also should be occasion of sin to all that should be subject unto him, as Christ Jesus is the cause of justice to all the members of his body; and is called the antichrist, that is to say, one contrary to Christ, because that he is contrary unto him in life, doctrine, laws, and subjects. And there began he to decipher the lives of divers popes, and the lives of the shavelings [clergy] for the most part; their doctrine and laws he plainly proved to repugn directly to the laws and doctrine of God the Father, and of Christ Jesus his Son. This he proved by conferring the doctrine of justification expressed

in the scriptures, which teach that man is "justified by faith only; that the blood of Jesus Christ purges us from all our sins:" and the doctrine of the papists, which attributed justification to the works of the law, yea, to the works of men's invention, as pilgrimages, pardons, and other such baggage. That the papistical laws repugned to the laws of the evangel, he proved by the laws made of observation of days, abstaining from meats, and from marriage, which Jesus Christ made free; and the forbidding whereof, St Paul calls "the doctrine of devils." In handling the notes of that beast given in the text, he willed men to consider if these notes—there shall one arise, unlike unto the other, having a mouth speaking great things and blasphemous—could be applied to any other but to the pope and his kingdom: "For if these," said he, "be not great words and blasphemous, the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, the head of the kirk, most holy, most blessed, that cannot err; that may make right a wrong, and wrong of right; that of nothing may make somewhat; and that had all verity in the shrine of his breast; yea, that has power of all, and none power of him; nay, not [even] to say, that he does wrong, although he draw ten thousand million souls with himself to hell. If these," said he, "and many other able to be shown in his own canon law, be not great and blasphemous words, and such as never mortal man spake before, let the world judge. And yet," said he, "is there one most evident of all, *to wit*, John, in his Revelation, says, 'That the merchandise of that Babylonian harlot, amongst other things, shall be the bodies and souls of men.' Now, let very papists themselves judge, if ever any before them took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in purgatory, as they affirm to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their mass, and of their other trifles." In the end, he said, "If any here—and there were present Mr John Mair, the university, the sub-prior, and many canons, with some friars of both the orders—that will say, that I have alleged scriptures, doctor, or history, otherwise than it is written, let them come unto me with suf-

ficient witnesses, and by conference I shall let them see, not only the original where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove, that the writers meant as I have spoken." Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, were there divers bruits: Some said, others hewed the branches of papistry, but he striketh at the root, to destroy the whole. Others said, if the doctors, and *magistri nostri*, defend not now the pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, "The devil have my part of him, and his laws both." Others said, "Mr George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt, even so will he be." In the end, others said, "The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse. And therefore we would counsel you and them, to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else ye shall be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then." This answer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion. The bastard bishop, who was not yet execrated, consecrated they call it, wrote to the subprior of St Andrews, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-general, "That he wondered that he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himself to the same." Upon this rebuke, was a convention of grey friars and black fiends appointed, with the said subprior dean John Winram, in St Leonard's Yards, whereunto was first called John Rough, and certain articles read unto him; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cause of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded; and the articles were read, which were these:

I. No mortal can be the head of the church.

II. The pope is an antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body.

III. Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

IV. The sacraments of the New Testa-

ment, ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his apostles; nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished from them.

V. The mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.

VI. There is no purgatory, in the which the souls of men can neither be pained or purged after this life; but heaven rests to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithful.

VII. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.

VIII. There are no bishops, except they preach even by themselves, without any substitute.

IX. The teinds by God's law do not appertain of necessity to the kirkmen.

"The strangeness," said the subprior, "of these articles which are gathered forth of your doctrine have moved us to call for you, to hear your own answers." John Knox said, "I for my part praise my God, that I see so honourable, and apparently so modest and quiet an auditory; but because it is long since that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the truth, I must crave of you, in the name of God, yea, and I appeal your conscience before that supreme Judge, that if ye think any article there expressed, contrary unto the truth of God, that ye oppose yourself plainly unto it, and suffer not the people therewith to be deceived; but, and if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patrociniè [adherence] thereto; that by your authority the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt by reason of our youth." The subprior answered, "I came not here as a judge, but only familiarly to talk, and, therefore, I will neither allow nor yet condemn; but if ye list, I will reason. Why may not the kirk," said he, "for good causes devise ceremonies to decorate the sacraments, and other God's service?"

JOHN KNOX.—"Because the kirk ought

to do nothing, but in faith, and ought not to go before, but is bound to follow the voice of the true pastor."

THE SUBPRIOR.—"It is in faith that the ceremonies are commanded, and they have proper signification to help our faith, as the hards* in baptism signify the roughness of the law, and the oil the softness of God's mercy; and likewise every one of the ceremonies has a godly signification; and therefore they both proceed from faith, and are done to faith."

JOHN KNOX.—"It is not enough that a man invent a ceremony, and then give a signification according to his pleasure. For so might the ceremonies of the gentiles, and this day the ceremonies of Mahomet be maintained. But if any thing proceed from faith, it must have the word of God for the assurance; for ye are not ignorant, 'That faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.' Now, if ye will prove that your ceremonies proceed from faith, and do please God, ye must prove that God in express words has commanded them; or else shall ye never prove that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they please God; but that they are sin, and so displease him, according to the words of the apostle, 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.'"

THE SUBPRIOR.—"Will ye bind us so strait, that we may do nothing without the express word of God? What, and I ask a drink? think ye that I sin? and yet have I not God's word for me?" This answer gave he, as might appear, to shift over the argument upon the friar, as that he did.

JOHN KNOX.—"I would we [ye, *sup. ed.*] should not jest in so grave a matter, neither would I that ye should begin to elude the truth with sophistry; and if ye do, I will defend me the best that I can. And, first, to your drinking, I say, that if ye either eat or drink without assurance of God's word, that in so doing ye displease God, and ye sin in your very eating and drinking; for says not the apostle, speaking even of meat and drink, 'That the creatures are sanctified unto man, even by the word and

* It is hands in the suppressed edition, perhaps for the gentle strokes which are given to the

child, to signify the hardships he may meet with in the course of his life.—*Ed.*

by prayer.' The word is this, 'All things are clean to the clean.' Now, let me hear this much of your ceremonies, and I shall give you the argument; but I wonder that ye compare things profane and holy things so indiscreetly together; the question was not, nor is not of meat or drink, whereinto the kingdom of heaven consists not; but the question is of God's true worshipping, without the which we can have no society with God. And, here it is doubted, if we may take the same freedom in the using of Christ's sacraments, that we may do in eating and drinking. One meat I may eat, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may change one with another, even as oft as I please. Whether may we do the same in matters of religion? May we cast away what we please, and retain what we please? If I be well remembered, Moses, in the name of God, says to the people of Israel, 'All that the Lord thy God commands thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God, add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it.' By this rule, think I, that the kirk of Christ will measure God's religion, and not by that which seemeth good in their own eyes."

THE SUBPRIOR.—"Forgive me, I speak it but in mowes [jest], and I was dry. And now, father," said he to the friar, "follow the argument, ye have heard what I said, and what is answered to me again."

ARBUCKLE GRAYFRIAR.—"I shall prove plainly that ceremonies are ordained by God."

JOHN KNOX.—"Such as God has ordained we allow, and with reverence we use them; but the question is of those that God has not ordained, such as in baptism, are spittle, salt, candle, cuid*—except it be to keep the bairn from cold—hards, oil, and the rest of the papistical inventions."

ARBUCKLE.—"I will even prove these that ye damn to be ordained of God."

JOHN KNOX.—"The proof thereof I would gladly hear."

ARBUCKLE.—"Says not St Paul, 'that, any other foundation than Jesus Christ, may no man lay.' But upon this founda-

tion some build gold, silver, and precious stones, some, hay, stubble, and wood. The gold, silver, and precious stones are the ceremonies of the church, which do abide the fire, and consume not away," &c. This place of scripture is most plain, says the foolish fiend.

JOHN KNOX.—"I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, for I find his promise sure, true, and stable. Christ Jesus bids us 'Not fear, when we shall be called before men, to give confession of his truth;' for he promises 'That it shall be given unto us in that hour what we shall speak.' If I had sought the whole scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your argument: the ceremonies of the kirk, say ye, are gold, silver, and precious stones, because they are able to abide the fire; but I would learn of you, what fire it is which your ceremonies does abide? And in the meantime, till that ye be advised to answer, I will show my mind, and make an argument against your's upon the same text. And, first, I say, that I have heard this text adduced for a proof of purgatory; but for defence of ceremonies I never heard, nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye understand the mind of the apostle or not, I make my argument, and say, that which may abide the fire, may abide the word of God; but your ceremonies may not abide the word of God. Ergo, they may not abide the fire; and if they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, silver, nor precious stones. Now, if ye find any ambiguity in this term, fire, which I interpret to be the word, find ye me another fire, by the which things built upon Christ Jesus should be tried than God and his word, which both in the scriptures are called fire, and I shall correct my argument."

ARBUCKLE.—"I stand not thereupon; but I deny your minor, *to wit*, that our ceremonies may not abide the trial of God's word."

JOHN KNOX.—"I prove that abides not the trial of God's word, which God's word condemneth; but God's word condemns your ceremonies: therefore, they

* Cude, a cloth to cover the child's face. See *Jam. Dict.*

do not abide the trial thereof; but as a thief abideth the trial of the inquest, and thereby is condemned to be hanged; even so may your ceremonies abide the trial of God's word, but not else. And now, in few words to make plain that wherein ye may seem to doubt, *to wit*, that God's word damneth your ceremonies, it is evident, for the plain and strait commandment of God is, "Not that thing which appeareth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God has commanded thee, that do you; add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it." Now, unless ye be able to prove, that God has commanded your ceremonies, this his former commandment will damn both you and them."

The friar, somewhat abashed what first to answer, while he wanders about in the mist he falls in a foul mire; for, alleging that we may not be so bound to the word, he affirmed, "That the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their epistles; but after they received him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies." Few would have thought, that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer; and yet it is even as true as he bore a grey cowl. John Knox hearing the answer, started and said, "If that be true, I have long been in an error, and I think I shall die thereintill." The subprior said to him, "Father, what say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that, for then farewell the ground of our faith." The friar, astonished, made the best shift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be: John Knox brought him oft again to the ground of the argument, but he would never answer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the church; whereto the said John answered, oftener than once, "That the spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the word of God." Then said the friar, "If so be, ye will leave us no kirk." "Indeed," said the other, "in David I read, that there is a church of the malignants, for he says, '*Odi ecclesiam malignantium*;' that church ye may have without the word, and doing many things directly fighting against the word of God; of that church if ye will be, I cannot impede you; but as

for me, I will be of none other church, except of that which hath Christ Jesus to be their pastor, which hears his voice, and will not hear a stranger."

In this disputation many other things were merrily scoffed over; for the friar after his fall could speak nothing to any purpose. For purgatory he had no better proof but the authority of Virgil, in the sixth of his *Æneid*; and the pains thereof to him was an evil wife. How John Knox answered that and many other things, himself did witness, in a treatise that he did write in the galleys, containing the sum of his doctrine, and the confession of his faith, and sent it to his familiars in Scotland, with his exhortation, that they should continue in the truth which they had professed, notwithstanding any worldly adversity that might ensue thereof. This much of that disputation have we inserted here, to the intent that men may see how that Satan ever travails to obscure the light; and yet how that God, by his power, working in his weak vessels, confounds his craft, and discloses his darkness.

After this the papists nor friars had no great heart of further disputation or reasoning, but invented another shift, which appeared to proceed from godliness; and it was this: every learned man, in the abbey and in the university, should preach in the parish kirk his Sunday about. The subprior began—followed the official, called Spittal—sermons penned—to offend no man—followed all the rest in their ranks; and so John Knox smelled out the craft, and in his sermons, which he made upon the week days, he prayed to God that they should be as busy in preaching where there should be more mister [need] of it than there was there then. "Always, [however]," said he, "I praise God, that Christ Jesus is preached, and nothing is said publicly against the doctrine that ye have heard; if in my absence they shall speak any thing, which in my presence they do not, I protest that ye suspend your judgment, till that it please God ye hear me again."

God so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those

of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's table, in the same purity that now it is ministered in the kirks of Scotland, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them; amongst whom was he that now either rules or else misrules Scotland, *to wit*, Sir James Balfour, sometimes called master James, the chief and principal protestant that then was to be found in this realm. This we write, because that we have heard that the same Mr James alleges that he was never of this our religion; but that he was brought up in Martin's [Luther's] opinion of the sacrament, and, therefore, he cannot communicate with us: but his own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides know, that he lies; and that he was one of the chief—if he had not been after cups—that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine that the said John Knox taught. But albeit, "That those that never were of us—as none of Monequhaim's* sons have showed themselves to be—depart from us," it is no great wonder; for it is proper and natural, that the children follow the father; and let the godly beware of that race and progeny; for if in them be either fear of God, or love of virtue, farther than the present commodity persuades them, men of judgment are deceived. But to return to our history.

The priests and bishops enraged at all these proceedings that were in St Andrews, ran now upon the governor, now upon the queen, now upon the whole council; and there might have been heard complaints and cries, "What are we doing? Shall we suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine? Fie upon you, and fie upon us." The queen and Monsieur d'Oysel, who then was a *secretis mulierum* in the court, comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they should see remedy ere it were long; and so was proven, indeed; for upon the penult of June, appeared in the sight of the castle of St Andrews

twenty-one French galleys, with a great army, the like whereof was never seen in that firth before. This treasonable mean had the governor, the bishop, the queen, and Monsieur d'Oysel, under the appointment drawn. But to excuse their treason, eight days before, they had presented unto them an absolution, as sent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, *remittimus irremissibile*, that is, we remit the crime that cannot be remitted; which considered by the most of the company that was in the castle, answer was given, "That the governor and council of the realm, had promised unto them a sufficient and assured absolution, which that appeared not to be; and, therefore, could they not deliver the house, neither thought they that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that promise was not kept unto them." The next day after that the galleys arrived, they summoned the house, which being denied, because they knew them no magistrates in Scotland; they prepared for siege. And, first, they began to assault by sea, and shot two days; but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour; for they knocked down the slates of houses, but neither slew man, nor did harm to any wall; but the castle handled them so, that Sancta Barbara—the gunner's goddess—helped them nothing; for they lost many of their rowers, men chained in the galleys, and some soldiers both by sea and land; and farther, one galley that approached nearer nor the rest, was so struck with cannon, and other ordnance, that she was stopped [stricken, *s. c.*] under water, and so almost drowned, and so had been, were not that the rest gave her succour in time, and drew her first to the west sands, without the shot of the castle, and thereafter to Dundee, where they remained, till that the governor, who was then at the siege of Longhope, came unto them, with the rest of the French faction. The siege by land was confirmed about the castle of St Andrews, the 28th day of July. The trenches were cast, ord-

* I can find no certain clue to the meaning of this; perhaps it was the name of the family estate. Balfour became a statesman, and made some

figure in these troublesome times; but I do not find that ever he returned to the faith from which he had departed.—*Ed.*

nance was planted upon the abbey kirk, and upon St Salvator's college, and yet was the steeple thereof burnt, which so annoyed the castle, that neither could they keep their block-house, the sea-tower head, nor the west wall; for in all these places men were slain by great ordnance; yea, they mounted the ordnance so high upon the abbey kirk, that they might discover the ground of the closs in divers places. Moreover, within the castle was the pest [plague], and divers therein died, which more afayed some that were therein, than did the external force without; but John Knox was of another judgment; for he ever said "That their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God;" and that was his continual advertisement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory—the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances—he lamented, and ever said, "They saw not what he saw." When they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said, "They should be but egg-shells." When they vaunted, England will rescue us, he said, "Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered in your enemies' hands, and shall be carried unto a strange country."

Upon the penult of July, at night, was the ordnance planted for the battery; fourteen cannons, whereof four were cannons royal, called double cannons, besides other pieces. The battery began at four hours in the morning, and, before ten hours of the day, the whole south quarter, betwixt the fore tower and the east block-house, was made saltabill [assailable]. The lower trench was condemned, divers slain in it, and the east block-house was shot off from the rest of the place betwixt ten hours and eleven. There fell a shower of rain, that continued near an hour, the like whereof had seldom been seen; it was so vehement that no man might abide without a house [sothal]; the cannons were left alone. Some within the castle were of judgment, that men should have issued, and put all in the hands of God; but because that William Kirkaldy was coming with the prior of Capua, who had the commission of that journey from the king of France, nothing was enterprised; and so was appointment made, and the castle

rendered upon Saturday the last of July. The heads of the appointment were, "That the lives of all within the castle should be saved, as well English as Scottish; that they should be safely transported to France; and in case that, upon conditions that by the king of France should be offered unto them, they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there, they should, upon the king of France his expense, be safely conveyed to what country they would require, other than Scotland." With the governor they would have nothing ado, neither yet with any Scotsman; for they had all traitorously betrayed them. "Which," said the laird of Grange elder—a man simple, and of most stout courage—"I ara assured God will revenge, ere it be long." The galleys, well furnished with the spoil of the castle foresaid, after certain days returned to France; and escaping a great danger—for, upon the back of the sands they all chopped—they arrived first at Fecamp, and thereafter passed up the water of Seine, and lay before Rouen; where the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were dispersed, and put in sundry prisons; the rest were left in the galleys, and there miserably entreated, amongst whom the foresaid Mr James Balfour was, with his two brethren, David and Gilbert, men without God; which we write, because we hear that the said Mr James, principal misguider now of Scotland, denies that he had any thing to do with the castle of St Andrews, or yet that ever he was in the galleys. Then was the joy of the papists, both in Scotland and France, even in full perfection, for this was their song of triumph:

Priests content you now, priests content you now;
For Norman and his company have filled the galleys fou.

The pope wrote his letters to the king of France, and so did he to the governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature the cardinal of Scotland; desiring them to continue in their begun severity, that such things after should not be attempted; and so were all those that were deprehended in the castle, damned to perpetual prison: and, so judged the ungodly, that after that in Scotland should Christ Jesus never

have triumphed. One thing we cannot pass by, from Scotland was sent a famous clerk—laugh not reader—Mr John Hamilton of Millburn, with credit to the king of France, and unto the cardinal of Lorraine, and yet had neither French nor Latin, and some say his Scottish tongue was not very good. The sum of all his negotiation was, that those of the castle should be sharply handled; in which suit he was heard with favours, and was despatched from the court of France with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerk forgot by the way; for he passing up to the craig of Dumbarton, before his letters were delivered, he broke his neck; and so God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our history. These things against promise—but princes have no fidelity farther than for their own advantage—done at Rouen, the galleys departed to Nantes, in Brittany, where upon the water of Loire they lay the whole winter.

In Scotland that summer was nothing but mirth; for all went with the priests at their own pleasure. The castle of St Andrews was rased to the ground, the block-house thereof cast down, and the walls round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfil their law, which commands places where cardinals are slain so to be used; or else for fear that England should have taken it, as after they did Broughty craig, we remit it to the judgment of such as were of council.

The same year, in the beginning of September, entered into Scotland an army of ten thousand men from England, by land, and some ships with ordnance came by sea. The governor and the bishop, hereof advertised, gathered together the forces of Scotland, and assembled at Edinburgh. The protector of England, with the earl of Warwick, and their army, remained at Preston, and about Prestonpans: for they had certain offers to be proponed unto the nobility of Scotland, concerning the promise before made by them, unto the which king Henry before his death gently required them to stand fast; and if they so would do, of him nor of his realm they should have no trouble, but the help and the comfort that

he could make them in all things lawful. And hereupon was there a letter direct unto the governor and council, which coming to the hands of the bishop of St Andrews, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it should be divulged; and, therefore, by his craft it was suppressed.

Upon the Friday the seventh of September, the English army marched towards Leith, and the Scottish army marched from Edinburgh to Inveresk. The whole Scottish army was not assembled, and yet the skirmishing began, for nothing was concluded but victory without stroke. The protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Grey, and all the English captains, were playing at dice: no men were stouter nor [than] the priests and canons, with their shaven crowns and black jacks. The earl of Warwick and the lord Grey, who had the chief charge of the horsemen, perceiving the host to be molested with the Scottish preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience,—for they were divided from the great army,—sent forth certain troops of horsemen, and some of their borderers, either to fight them, or else to put them out of their sight, so that they might not annoy the host. The skirmish grew hot, and at length the Scotsmen gave way, and fled without gane-turn [rallying]. The chase continued far, both towards the east and towards the west; in the which many were slain, and he that now is lord Home was taken, which was the occasion that the castle of Home was after rendered to the Englishmen. The loss of these men neither moved the governor nor yet the bishop, his bastard brother; they should revenge the matter well enough upon the morn, for they were hands anew; no word of God; the English heretics they had no faces,* they would not abide.

Upon the Saturday, the armies of both sides passed to array. The English army takes the middle part of Faside hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and having their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as water would serve. The Scottish army stood first in a reasonable

* Durst not show their faces.

strength and good order, having betwixt them and the English army the water of Esk, otherwise called Musselburgh water. But at length a charge was given in the governor's behalf, with sound of trumpet, that all men should march forward, and go over the water. Some say, that this was procured by the abbot of Dunfermline, and Mr Hugh Rigg, for preservation of Carberry. Men of judgment liked not the journey; for they thought it no wisdom to leave their strength. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge was given, which urged them so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The earl of Angus being in the vanguard, had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the west land, with many others that of love resorted unto him, and especially those that were professors of the evangel; for they supposed that England would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first through the water, and arrayed his host direct before the enemies. Followed the earl of Huntly, with his north-land men. Last came the duke, having in his company the earl of Argyle, with his own friends, and the body of the realm. The Englishmen perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotsmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made haste to prevent the peril. The lord Grey was commanded to give the charge with his men of arms, which he did, albeit the army [hazard, *sup. copy*] was very unlikely; for the earl of Angus's host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears—which were longer than those of the Englishmen—so rudely, that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottish army, except that the spears of the former two ranks were broken; which discomfiture received, the rest of the horsemen fled; yea, some passed beyond Faside hill. The lord Grey himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he said, "It is alike to run against a wall." The galleys and the ships—and so did the ordnance planted upon the middle hill—shot terribly; but the ordnance of the galleys shooting

alongst the Scottish army frayed them gret-tumlie [dreadfully]; and while that every man labours to draw from the north, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to reel, and with that were the English footmen marching forward, albeit some of their horsemen were upon the flight. The earl of Angus's army stood still, looking that either the earl of Huntly, or the duke, should have rencountered the next battle; but they had decreed, that the favourers of England, and the heretics—as the priests called them—and the Englishmen should part it betwixt them for that day.

The fear rises, and at an instant they which before were victors, and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as said is, cast from them their spears and fled; so that God's power was so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, at an instant time, both the armies were flying. The shout came from the hill, from those that hoped no victory upon the English part; the shout rises, we say, "They fly, they fly;" but at the first it could not be believed, till at the last it was clearly seen, that all had given back, and then began the cruel slaughter, which was greater by reason of the late displeasure of the men of arms. The chase and slaughter lasted till near Edinburgh upon the one part, and by west Dalkeith upon the other.

The number of slain upon the Scottish side, was near ten thousand men judged. The earl of Huntly was taken and carried to London; but he relieved himself, being surety for many ransoms, honestly or dishonestly we know not, but as the bruit was, he used policy with England. In that same battle was slain the master of Erskine, dearly beloved of the queen, for whom she made great lamentation, and bore his death many days in mind. When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, abiding upon tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling, with Monsieur d'Oysel, who was as fleyed [frightened] as "a fox when his hole is smoked." And thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured governor, with such as assisted him to defend an unjust quarrel; albeit many innocents fell

among the midst of the wicked. The English army came to Leith, and there taking order with their prisoners and spoil, they returned with this victory, which they looked not for, to England. That winter following were great herships made upon all the borders of Scotland, Broughty craig was taken by the Englishmen, besieged by the governor, but still kept; and at it was slain Gavin, the best of the Hamiltons, and the ordnance left. Whereupon the Englishmen encouraged, began to fortify upon the hill above Broughty house, which was called the fort of Broughty, and was very noisome to Dundee, which it burnt and laid waste; and so did it the most part of Angus that was not assured, and under friendship with them.

That lantran [lent] following was Haddington fortified by the Englishmen: the most part of Lothian, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waste. Thus did God plague in every quarter; but men were blind, and would not, nor could not consider the cause. The lairds Ormiston and Brunstan were banished, and after forfeited, and so were all those of the castle of St Andrews. The sure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there were prepared a navy and army. The navy was such as never was seen to come from France for the support of Scotland; for besides the galleys, being then twenty-two in number, they had threescore great ships, besides victuallers. How soon soever they took the plain seas, the red lion of Scotland was displayed, and they holden as rebels unto France,—such policy is no falsehood in princes,—for good peace stood betwixt France and England—and the king of France approved nothing that they did. The chief men to whom the conducting of that army was committed, were Monsieur Dandelote, Monsieur de Termes, and Pierre de Stois. In their journey they made some herships upon the coast of England, but it was not great. They arrived in Scotland in May anno 1549. * The galleys did visit the fort of Broughty, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the siege

of Haddington, but it was another thing that they meant, as the issue declared. The whole body of the realm assembled, the form of a parliament was set to be holden there, *to wit*, in the abbey of Haddington. The principal head was the marriage of the princess—by them before contracted to king Edward—to the king of France, and of her present delivery, by reason of the danger that she stood into, by the invasion of our old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with buds [bribes], some deceived by flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the French soldiers were the officers of arms in that parliament. The laird of Buccleugh, a bloody man, with many God's wounds, swore, "They that would not consent should do war [worse.]" The governor got the dukedom of Chatelherault, with the order of the Cockle, with a full discharge of all intromissions with king James the Fifth, his treasure and substance whatsoever, with possession of the castle of Dumbarton, till that issue should be seen of the queen's body. With those and other conditions stood he content to sell his sovereign forth of his own hands, which in the end will be his destruction; God thereby punishing his former wickedness, if speedy repentance prevent not God's judgments, which we heartily wish. Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were likewise made knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly, none was found to resist that unjust demand. And so was she sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor that should remain with her all her lifetime, for a plague to this realm, and for her final destruction. And therefore, albeit that now a fire comes out from her that consumes many, let no man wonder, she is God's hand, in his displeasure punishing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide, and turn unto their God, and then shall he either destroy that whore in her whoredom, or else he shall put it in the hearts of a multitude to take the same vengeance upon her that has been taken of Jesebel and Athalia, yea, and of others of whom profane histories make mention; for

* Both Spotswood and Buchanan make it 1548, and they are evidently right.—*Ed.*

greater abomination was never in the nature of any woman than is in her, whereof we have but seen only the buds, but we will after taste of the ripe fruit of her impiety, if God cut not her days short. * But to return to our history.

This conclusion taken, that our queen, but [without] farther delay, should be delivered to France, the siege continues: great shooting, but no assaulting, and yet they had fair occasion offered unto them; for the Englishmen approaching to the town, for the comforting of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an army of six thousand men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the borderers were either taken or slain. And so might the town justly have despaired of any farther succours to have been looked for:

but yet it held good, for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wilfrid, general; who so encouraged the whole captains and soldiers, that they determined to die upon the walls. But, from the time that the Frenchmen had got the bone for the which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow. The siege was raised, and she was convoyed by the west seas to France, with four galleys and some ships. And so the cardinal of Lorraine got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth.

We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the sitting down of the ship called the Cardinal, the fairest ship in France, betwixt St Colme's Inch and Cra-mond, without any occasion, except negligence, for the day was fair, and the weather

* As I mentioned in the introduction, this passage is omitted by David Buchanan, and he supplies its place by some reflections of his own in a less offensive style. I doubt if it be lawful, in any circumstances, for a christian to write or speak of his sovereign in such language as the above; but Knox, and all the reforming ministers, claimed the privilege of addressing their princes as the inspired prophets did the wicked kings of Israel and Judah; and as they did so with equal hazard of their lives, we cannot doubt their sincerity, however much they were mistaken in the principle. It was not long till Knox witnessed the deliverance for which he here so strongly expressed his desire. In the margin of the London suppressed copy, opposite this part of the paragraph, we have the following note: *Perfice quod cepisti, mi Deus, propter tui nominis gloriam, 15th June, 1567*—Finish what thou hast begun, O my God, for the glory of thy name. This was exactly the time when Mary surrendered herself to the nobles, at Carbery hill, rather than abide the event of a battle, finding that her followers had no heart to fight for her. This was virtually the end of her reign, for she was thrown into prison, and soon compelled to resign the crown to her infant son. This note was no doubt written by Knox immediately on hearing of the event, for the manuscript of this first book was then in his own hands unfinished, being dated, as we have seen, near the beginning, 1566, and at the end 1568. I never saw this expression of exultation on the fall of the queen, brought against Knox by any of the authors who accuse him of barbarity towards her. It existed only in the suppressed copy of the book, which few persons have seen for two centuries at least; but having it thus brought to light, it will no doubt excite the clamour of many against “* the

rude or rustic reformer,” as some of his friends have called him. “O what a savage he must have been, thus to exult over the ruin of a beautiful and accomplished woman.” Yes; but unfortunately for herself and the country, this woman was a queen; who had ruined herself in the esteem of all the virtuous part of the kingdom; who, in spite of the remonstrances of her best friends, married a married man, the murderer of her husband, affording a strong presumption at least, that she had been accessory to the crime; who was driving measures tending to the ruin of the commonwealth; and when a nation is ruined, it is but poor consolation to reflect that the author of their misery was beautiful. Knox had not imbibed the slavish sentiments inculcated by cardinal Wolsey, in the reign of Henry VIII., when he told the citizens of London, “It were better that some of you should lose your heads than that the king should want money.” There are certain hyperloyal authors, who seem to reverse the maxim of Caiaphas, and who would say, “It were better that the whole nation should perish, than that one should suffer, if that individual should be a king or a queen, however guilty.” Knox certainly believed that sovereigns might lawfully be deposed, when they made their government oppressive and ruinous, and refused to be reclaimed; and he rejoiced and gave thanks to God when Mary was removed. The principle was admitted and acted upon by the three kingdoms at the revolution in 1688, and we have had no cause to repent of it. For the glory of God, and the good of his country, Knox would have sacrificed much more than the favour of a beautiful woman, and the good opinion of her admirers in all generations.—*Ed.*

* In my account of cash received for building Knox's Monument, in 1826, there is the following entry: “A Royal Bank note, indorsed as follows; ‘a matron's mite, for erecting at Glasgow a monument to the memory of the great Reformer of Scotland, John Knox, from a lineal

descendant of that rustic apostle's grandfather, E. D. Knox, L.L.’” I do not know the lady who made me this communication; but if this should meet her eye, I hope she will not be offended by finding her name recorded in her kinsman's great work.—*Ed.*

calm; but, God would show, that the country of Scotland can bear no cardinals. In this time also was there a combat betwixt the galleys and the English ships. They shot frankly awhile. An English ship took fire, or else the galleys had come short home; and, as it was, they fled without mercy till that they were above St Colme's Inch. The captains left the galleys, and took a fort made upon the Inch for their defence; but the English ships made no pursuit, except that they burnt the Cardinal where that she lay, and so the galleys and the galley men did both escape.

Order was taken that, next September, some galleys should remain in Scotland, and that the rest should return to France, as that they did all, except one, that was taken by an English ship—by an English ship only, we say—as that they were passing betwixt Dover and Calais.

That winter remained Monsieur de Termes in Scotland, with the bands of Frenchmen: they fortified Inveresk, to stay that the Englishmen should not invade Edinburgh and Leith. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the Frenchmen had almost taken Haddington; the occasion whereof was this.

The Frenchmen thinking themselves more than masters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, thought they could do no wrong to a Scotsman; for a certain Frenchman delivered a culverin to George Tod, Scotsman, to be stocked, who bringing it through the street, another Frenchman claimed it, and would have reft it from the said George, but he resisted, alleging, that the Frenchman did wrong; and so began parties to assemble, as well to the Scotsman as to the French; so that two of the Frenchmen were struck down, and the rest chased, from the Cross to the Niddy Wynd head. The provost being upon the street, apprehended two of the Frenchmen, and was carrying them to the tolbooth; but from Monsieur d'Essies' lodging and close issued forth Frenchmen, to the number of threescore persons, with drawn swords, and resisted the said provost. But yet the town assembling repulsed them, till

that they came to the Netherbow, and there Monsieur la Chappell, with the whole bands of Frenchmen in arms, rencountered the provost, and violently repulsed him,—for the town was without weapons for the most part,—and made invasion upon all that they met. And first in the throat of the Bow were slain, David Kirk and David Barbour, being at the provost's back, and thereafter were slain the said provost himself, being laird of Stenhouse and captain of the castle, James Hamilton his son, William Chapman, a godly man, Mr Walter Stewart, William Purves, and a woman named Elizabeth Stewart; and thereafter carried within the town by force, from five hours, till after seven at night, and then retired to their Canongate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole town, yea, the governor and nobility, commoved at the unworthiness of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactors, or else they would take justice of the whole. The queen crafty enough, Monsieur de Essies, and Monsieur d'Oysel, laboured for pacification, and did promise, "That, unless the Frenchmen, by themselves alone, should do such an act as might recompense the wrong that they had done, that then they should not refuse, but that justice should be executed upon them to the rigour." These fair words pleased our fools, and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington, to the which they approached a little after midnight, so secretly, that they were never espied, till that the former were within the bass court, and the whole company in the church-yard, not two pair of butt's [ridges, or bowshots] length distant from the town. The English soldiers were all asleep, except the watch, which was slender, and yet the shout rises, "Bows and bills! Bows and bills!" which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid the present danger, in all towns of war. The afraid arise, weapons that first came to hand serve for the need. One amongst many came to the east port, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cries to his fellows that were at the gate making defence,

“Beware before;” and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no farther pursuit made; for the bullets rebounded from the wall of the Friar kirk, to the wall of St Catherine’s chapel, which stood direct forment it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the wall of the said kirk again, so oft that there fell more than one hundred of the Frenchmen at these two shots only. They shot often, but the Frenchmen retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harm done, except the destruction of some drinking beer, which lay in the said chapel and kirk; and this was satisfaction more than enough for the slaughter of the said captain and provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with him. This was the beginning of the French fruits.

This winter, in the time of Christmas, was the castle of Home recovered from the Englishmen, by the negligence of the captain, named Dudley. This winter also did the laird of Raith most innocently suffer, and after was forfeited, because that he wrote a bill to his son, John Melvin, who then was in England, which was alleged to have been found in the house of Ormiston; but many suspected the pauks [artifice] and craft of Ninian Cockburn, now called captain Ringan, to whom the said letter was delivered; but howsoever it was, these cruel beasts, the bishop of St Andrews and abbot of Dunfermline, ceased not, till that the head of the said nobleman was stricken from him; especially because that he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God’s word, and was a great friend to those that were in the castle of St Andrews; of whose deliverance, and of God’s wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we must now speak, lest that in suppressing so notable a work of God, we might justly be accused of ingratitude.

And, first, the principals being put in sundry houses, as before we have said, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the mass, but chiefly travail was taken upon Norman Leslie, the laird of Grange, and the laird of Pitmilley, who were in the castle of Sherburgh, that they would come to the mass with the captain who answered, “That the captain had commandment to keep their bodies, but he had no power to command their consciences.” The captain replied, “That he had power to command and to compel them to go where he went.” They answered, “That to go to any lawful place with him, they would not refuse; but to do any thing, which was against their conscience, they would not, neither for him, nor yet for the king.” The captain said, “Will ye not go to the mass?” They answered, “No; and if ye would compel us, yet will we displease you farther; for we shall so use ourselves there, that all those that are present shall know that we despise it.” These same answers, and somewhat sharper, William Kirkaldy, Peter Carmichael, and such as were with them in Mont St Michael, gave to their captain; for they said, “They would not only hear mass every day, but they would help to say it, providing that they might stick the priests, or else they would not.” Mr Henry Balnaves, who was in the castle of Rouen, was most sharply assaulted of all; for because he was judged learned—as he was, and is, indeed,—therefore, learned men were appointed to travail with him, with whom he had many conflicts; but God ever so assisted him, that they departed confounded, and he, by the power of God’s spirit, remained constant in the truth and profession of the same, without any wavering or declining to idolatry. In the prison he wrote a most profitable treatise of justification, and of the works and conversation of a justified man; but how it was suppressed we know not.* These that were in the

* On this subject Dr M^cCrie furnishes the following information. “Henry Balnaves of Halhill, composed in prison a Treatise on Justification, and the works and conversation of a justified man. This being conveyed to Knex, probably

after his second return in the galleys from Scotland to France, he was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, added some marginal notes, and a concise epitome of its contents: to the whole he prefixed a recommenda-

galleys were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the mass; for at certain times the mass was said in the galleys, or else heard upon the shore in presence of the forsaris [the exiles], but they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol; yea, when upon the Saturday they sang their *salve regina*, the whole Scotsmen put on their caps, their hoods, or such things as they had to cover their heads; and when that others were compelled to kiss a painted board, which they called *notre dame* [our lady], they were not pressed after once; for this was the chance. Soon after their arrival at Nantes, their great *salve* was sung, and a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed, and, amongst others, was presented to one of the Scotsmen then chained.* He gently said, "Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; and, therefore, I will not touch it." The patron, and the argousin [lieutenant], with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, "Thou shalt handle it." And so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about, he cast it in the river, and said, "Let our lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim." After that was no Scotsman urged with that idolatry.

These are things that appear to be of no great importance, and yet if we do rightly consider, they express the same obedience that God required of his people Israel, when that they should be carried to Babylon; for he gave charge unto them, that when they should see the Babylonians worship their gods of gold, silver, metal, and wood, that they should say, "The gods that have not

made the heavens and earth shall perish from the heaven, and out of the earth." That confession gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage: in the which, would God they had continued in their freedom; for then had not Mr James Balfour been official, neither yet borne a cap, for pleasure of the bishop. But, to proceed, the said Mr James and John Knox being into one galley, and being wondrous familiar with him, would oft times ask his judgment, "If he thought that ever they should be delivered?" whose answer was ever, from the day that they entered into the galleys, "That God would deliver them from that bondage, to his glory, even in this life." And lying betwixt Dundee and St Andrews, the second time that the galleys arrived to Scotland, the said John Knox being so extremely sick, that few hoped his life; the said master James willed him, to look to the land, and asked him, if he knew it? Who answered, "Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place, where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." This reported the said Mr James, in presence of many famous witnesses, many years before that ever the said John set his foot in Scotland, this last time, to preach.

William Kirkaldy, then of Grange, younger, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Leslie, who were altogether in Mont St Michael, wrote to the said John, asking his counsel, "If they might with safe conscience break their prison?" whose answer was, "That if without the blood of

tory dedication, intending that it should be published for the use of their brethren in Scotland, as soon as an opportunity offered." He adds in a note: "The manuscript, there is reason to think, was conveyed to Scotland about this time, but it fell aside, and was long considered as lost. After Knox's death, it was discovered by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in the house of Ormiston, and was printed anno 1584, by Thomas Voultroulier, in 12mo, with the title of Confession of Faith, &c. by Henry Balnaves of Halhill, one of the Lords of Council and Session in Scotland. David Buchanan, in his edition of

Knox's History, anno 1644, among his other alterations and interpolations, makes Knox to say that this work was published at the time he wrote the history; which may be numbered among the anachronisms of that edition, which, for some time, discredited the authenticity of the history, and led many to deny that Knox was its author. But in the genuine edition Knox expresses the very reverse." See as above in the text.—*Ed.*

* This is generally believed to have been Knox himself.

any shed, or spilt by them for their deliverance, they might set themselves at freedom, that they might safely take it; but to shed any man's blood for their freedom, thereto he would never consent." Adding farther, "That he was assured that God would deliver them and the rest of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by such means as we had looked for, that was by the force of friends, or by their other labours." By such means he affirmed they should not be delivered, but that God would work so in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to his glory only; he willed, therefore, that every one to take the occasion that God has offered unto them, providing that they did nothing against God's express commandment for the deliverance of themselves. He was the more earnest in giving his counsel, because that the old laird of Grange, and others, repugned to their purpose, fearing lest that the escaping of the others should be an occasion of their worse entreatment; whereunto the said John answered, "That such fear proceeded not from God's spirit, but from a blind love of the self; and, therefore, that no good purpose was to be stayed for things that were in the hands and power of God." And added, "That in one instant God had delivered all that company into the hands of unfaithful men, but so would he not relieve them, but some would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others must abide for a season upon his good pleasure." This counsel in the end was embraced upon the king's even, when Frenchmen commonly used to drink liberally. The foresaid four persons having the help and conducting of a boy of the house, bound all those that were in the castle, put them in sundry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the captain, and departed without harm done to the person of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the king, the captain, or the house.

Great search was made through the whole country for them; but it was God's good pleasure so to conduct them, that they escaped the hands of the faithless, albeit it was with long travel, and great pain, and

poverty sustained; for the French boy left them, and took with [him] the small pose [privy purse, or secret hoard] that they had; and so neither having money, nor the knowledge of the country, and farther fearing lest the boy should describe them, as that in very deed he did, they took purpose to divide themselves, to change their garments, and to go in sundry parts; the two brethren, Robert and William Leslie—who now are become, the said Robert especially, enemies to Jesus Christ and to all virtue—came to Rouen. William Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, in beggars' garments, came to Conquet, and by the space of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled as poor mariners from port to port, till at length they got a French ship, and landed in the west, and from thence came to England, where they met before them the said John Knox, who that same winter was delivered, and Alexander Clerk in his company.

The said John was first appointed preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, last he was called to London, and to the south parts of England, where he remained to the death of king Edward the Sixth. When he left England, then passed he to Geneva, and there remained at his privy study, till that he was called by the English congregation that then were assembled at Frankfort, to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable servant of God, John Calvin. At Frankfort he remained, till that some of the learned, whose names we suppress, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the said John; and because they despaired to prevail before the magistrate there, for the establishing of their corruptions, they accused him of treason committed against the emperor, and against their sovereign queen Mary, that in his admonition to England, he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jesabel. The magistrate perceiving their malice, and fearing that the said John should fall in the hands of his accusators, by one mean or other gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their city; for they could not save him if

he were required by the emperor, or by the queen of England in the emperor's name; and so the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Dieppe, and thereafter to Scotland, as we shall after hear.

The time, and [also] that winter, that the galleys remained in Scotland, were delivered Mr James Balfour, his two brethren David and Gilbert, John Auchinleck, John Sibbald, John Gray, William Guthrie, and Stephen Bell. The gentlemen that remained in prisons were, by the procurement of the queen dowager to the cardinal of Lorraine and to the king of France, set at liberty in the month of July, anno 1550, who shortly thereafter were called home to Scotland, their peace proclaimed, and they themselves restored to their lands, in despite of their enemies; and that was done in hatred of the duke, because that then France had begun to thirst to have the regimen of Scotland in their own hands. Howsoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty and freedom. There rested [remained] a number of common servants yet in the galleys, who were all delivered upon the contract of peace that was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Boulogne; and so was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing, no not before the world, except James Melvin, who departed from the misery of this life in the castle of Brest in Brittany. This we write to let the posterity to come understand how potently God wrought, in preserving and delivering of those that had but a small knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all; that if either we now in our days, having greater light, or our posterity that shall follow us, shall see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise than laws of men will permit; if we, I say, or they, shall see such left of men, yea, as it were, despised and punished of God, yet let us not condemn the persons that punish vice, and that for just cause; nor yet de-

spair but that the same God that dejects for causes unknown to us, will raise up again the persons dejected, to his glory and their comfort. And to let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, that great abuser of this commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave Davie [David Rizzio], was justly punished the ninth of March in the year of God 1565, for abusing of the commonwealth, and for his other villany* which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas earl of Morton, Patrick lord Lindsay, and the lord Ruthven, with other assisters in their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile. But this is our hope in the mercies of our God, that this same blind generation, whether it will or not, shall be compelled to see that he will have respect to them that are unjustly pursued; that he will pardon their former offences; that he will restore them to the liberty of their country and commonwealth again, and that he will punish, in despite of men, the head and the tail that now trouble the just, and maintain impieties. The head is known; the tail has two branches: the temporal lords that maintain her abominations, and her flattering counsellors, blasphemous Balfour, now called clerk of register, Sinclair dean of Restalrig and bishop of Brechin, blind of one eye in the body, but of both in the soul, upon whom God after shortly took vengeance, [John] Leslie, priest's get [bastard] abbot of Lindores and bishop of Ross, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, a right epicurean, whose end will be, ere it be long, according to their works. But now to return to our history.

Haddington being kept, and much her-ship done about in the country—for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the Frenchmen—God begins to fight for Scotland; for in the town he sent a pest so contagious, that with great

* In the suppressed copy this word is rendered *William*; and in the margin we have, "The slaughter of that *William Davie*." This

is evidently the work of the printer, who mistook the word *villaine* for *William*.—*Ed.*

difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain. Hunger and pest within, and the pursuit of the enemy, with a camp volant lay about them, and intercepted all victuals, except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick, so constrained them that the council of England was compelled in spring time to call their forces from that place; and so spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied to such as first should take possession, and those were the Frenchmen, with a mean number of the ancient inhabitants: and so did God perform the words and threatening of Mr George Wishart, who said, "That for their contempt of God's messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers, and famine; which all they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability, as then did inhabit it.

Hereafter was peace contracted betwixt France, England, and Scotland; yea, a several [separate] peace was contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders, together with all the easterlings, so that Scotland had peace with the world. But yet would their bishops make war against God: for how soon that ever they got any quietness, they apprehended Adam Wallace—*alias* Fean—a simple man, without any great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness, and of an upright life. He, with his wife Beatrix Livingston, frequented the company of the lady Ormiston, for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. This bastard, called bishop of St Andrews, took the said Adam forth of the place of Winton, men supposed that they thought to have apprehended the laird, and carried him to Edinburgh; where after certain days he was presented to judgment in the kirk of the Black thieves, *alias* Friars, before the duke, the earl of Huntly, and divers others besides. The bishops and their rabble they began to accuse him—Mr John Lauder was accuser—"That he took upon him to preach." He answered, "That he never judged himself worthy of

so excellent a vocation, and, therefore, he never took upon him to preach; but he would not deny, but sometimes at the table, and sometimes in some other private places, he would read and had read the scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God had pleased to give him, to such as pleased to hear him." "Knave," said one, "what have ye to do to meddle with the scriptures?" "I think," said he, "it is the duty of every christian, to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation where it is to be found, and that is within his Old and New Testament." "What then," said another, "shall we leave to the bishops and kirkmen to do, if every man shall be a babbler upon the Bible?" "It bindeth [becometh, *s. c.*] you," said he, "to speak more reverently of God, and of his blessed word: if the judge were incorrupt, he would punish you for your blasphemy. But to your question, I answer, that albeit that ye and I, and other five thousand within this realm, should read the Bible, and speak of it what God should give us to speak, yet left we more to the bishops to do nor either they will or yet can well do; for we leave to them publicly to preach the evangel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and has commanded the same to the care of all true pastors: and when we leave this unto them, methinks, we leave to them a heavy burden; and that we do unto them no wrong, although we search our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but dumb dogs, and unsavoury salt that has altogether lost the season [savour]." The bishops hereat offended, said, "What prating is this? let his accusation be read." And then was begun, "False traitor, heretic; thou baptizedst thy own bairn; thou saidst, there is no purgatory; thou saidst, that to pray to saints, and for the dead is idolatry, and a vain superstition, &c. What sayest thou to these things?" He answered, "If I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and indifferent judge." The earl of Huntly disdainfully said, "Foolish man, wilt thou desire any other judge nor my lord duke's grace, great

governor of Scotland, and my lords the bishops, the clergy here present." Where-to he answered, "The bishops can be no judges to me, for they are open enemies to me, and to the doctrine that I profess; and as for my lord duke, I cannot tell if he has the knowledge that should be in him that should judge and discern betwixt lies and the truth, the invention of men and the true worshipping of God. I desire God's word—and with that he produced the Bible—to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that ye all hear: and if by this book I shall be convicted to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, any thing that repugns to God's will, I refuse not to die; but if I cannot be convicted—as I am assured by God's word I shall not—then I, in God's name, desire your assistance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny." The earl of Huntly said, "What a bawling fool is this? Thou shalt get none other judges than those that sit here." Whereunto the said Adam answered, "The good will of God be done: but be ye assured, my lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be measured to you again. I know that I shall die, but be ye assured, that my blood shall be required of your hands."

Alexander, earl of Glencairn, yet alive, said to the bishop of Orkney, and others that sat near him, "Take you yon, my lords of the clergy, for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death:" and so, without fear, prepared the said Adam to answer. And first to the baptizing of his own child, he said, "It was and is as lawful for me, for lack of a true minister, to baptize my own child, as that it was to Abraham to circumcise his son Ismael and his family; and as for purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead, I have oft read," said he, "both the Old and New Testament, but I neither could find mention, nor assurance of them; and, therefore, I believe they are but mere inventions of men, devised for covetousness' sake." "Well," said the bishop, "ye hear this, my lords." "What sayest thou of the mass?" asks the earl of Huntly. He answered, "I say—

my lord—as my Master Jesus Christ says, 'That which is in greatest estimation before men, is abomination before God.'" Then all cried out, "Heresy, heresy;" and so was the simple servant of God adjudged to the fire, which he patiently sustained that same day at afternoon upon the castle-hill. And so began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plagued, for yet their iniquity was not come to so full ripeness, as that God would that they should be manifested to this whole realm, as this day they are, to be faggots prepared for the everlasting fire, and to be men whom neither plagues may correct, nor the light of God's word convert from their darkness and impiety.

The peace, as said is, contracted, the queen dowager passed by sea to France, with galleys, that for that purpose were prepared, and took with her divers of the nobility of Scotland, *to wit*, the earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marshall, Cassillis, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the king's sons, and divers barons, and gentlemen of ecclesiastical estate, the bishop of Galloway, and many others, with promise that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they received we cannot tell, but few made rus [boast] at their returning. The dowager had to practise somewhat with her brethren, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, the weight whereof the governor afterward felt: for shortly after her returning, was the governor deposed of the government, justly by God, but most unjustly by men, and she made regent in the year of God 1554; and a crown put upon her head, as seemly a sight, if men had eyes, as to put a saddle upon the back of an unruly cow; and so began she to practise practices upon practices how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortal glory: for that was her common talk, "So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my friends, and a good fame unto myself, I regard not what God do after with me." And in very deed, in deep dissimulation, to bring her own purpose to effect, she passed the common sort of women, as we will after hear; but yet God to whose evangel she declared her-

self enemy, in the end frustrated her of all her devices.

Thus did light and darkness strive within the realm of Scotland; the darkness ever before the world suppressing the light, from the death of that notable servant of God, Mr Patrick Hamilton, until the death of Edward the Sixth, that most godly and virtuous king, that had been known to have reigned in England, or elsewhere, these many years bypast, who departed the miseries of this life, the sixth of July, anno 1553. The death of the prince was lamented of all the godly within Europe, for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godliness, passing the measure that accustomedly used to be given to other princes in their greatest perfection, and yet exceeded he not sixteen years of age. What gravity above age, what wisdom passing all understanding or expectation of men, and what dexterity in answering, in all things proposed, were into that excellent prince, the ambassadors of all countries, yea, some that were mortal enemies unto him, and to his realm, amongst whom the queen dowager of Scotland was not the least, could and did testify; for the said queen dowager, returning from France, through England, communed with him at length, and gave record when she came to this realm, "That she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young king Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe." His liberality towards the godly and learned, that were in other realms persecuted, was such, as Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Poles, Grecians, and Hebrews born, can yet give sufficient document; for how honourably were Martin Luther, Peter Martyr, John Alasco, Emmanuel Gualterus, and many others, upon his public

stipends, entertained, their patents can witness; and they themselves during their lives would never have denied.

After the death of this most virtuous prince, of whom the godless people of England, for the most part, was not worthy, Satan intended nothing less than the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole isle of Britain. For after him was raised up, in God's hot displeasure that idolatrous Jezebel, mischievous Mary of the Spaniard's blood; a cruel persecutrix of God's people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficiently witness. And into Scotland, that same time, as we have heard, reigned that crafty practiser, Mary of Lorraine, then named regent of Scotland; who, bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the duke of Guise, and cardinal of Lorraine, did only abide the opportunity to cut the throats of all those in whom she suspected any knowledge of God to be, within the realm of Scotland; and so thought Satan, that his kingdom of darkness was in quietness and rest, as well in the one realm as in the other: but that provident eye of the eternal God, who continually watches for preservation of his church, did so dispose all things, that Satan short after found himself far disappointed of his conclusion taken: for in that cruel persecution, used by that monster, Mary of England, were godly men dispersed in divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some unto us, for our comfort and instruction. And, first, came a simple man, William Harlow,* whose erudition, although it excelled not, yet for his zeal, and diligent plainness in doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praise, and remains a fruitful member within the church of Scotland. After him came that notable man, John Willock,† as one that had some commission to the queen regent,

* Of William Harlow, Dr M'Crie says, his "zeal and knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel compensated for the defects of his education." "He had followed the trade of a tailor in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Episcopal writers have sometimes upbraided the Scottish church, as reformed by tradesmen and mechanics. They have however no reason to talk in this strain; for a sensible religious tradesman is surely more qualified for communicating reli-

gious instruction than an ignorant superstitious priest. Nay, the church of England herself, after trying those of the latter class, was glad to betake herself to the former. Strype's Annals, i, 176, 177. William Harlow received deacon's orders from the English church, and so was no layman. Cald. MS. i, 256." Life of Knox, 1st ed. p. 127.—Ed.

† John Willock "was a native of Ayrshire, and had worn the monastic habit; but, at an

from the duchess of Embden; but his principal purpose was to assay what God would work by him in his native country. Those two did sometimes, in several companies, assemble the brethren, who by their exhortations began greatly to be encouraged, and did show, that they had an earnest thirst of godliness. And last, came John Knox, in the end of harvest, in the year of God 1555, who first being lodged in the house of that notable man of God, James Sym, began to exhort secretly in that same house, whereunto repaired the laird of Dun, David Forrest, and some certain personages of the town, amongst whom was Elizabeth Adamson, then spouse to James Barron, burgess of Edinburgh, who, by reason that she had a troubled conscience, delighted much in the company of the said John, because that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountains of God's mercies than did [the] common sort of teachers that she had heard before—for she had heard none except friars—and did with such greediness drink thereof, that at her death she did express the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all those that repaired to her; for albeit that she suffered most grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praising of God, except that sometimes she would lament the troubles of those that were troubled by her. Being sometimes demanded by her sisters, "What she thought of that pain, which she then suffered in body, in respect of that wherewith she was sometimes troubled in spirit?" she answered, "A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I suffered in my spirit. I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, that has delivered me from that most fearful pain; and welcome be

this, even so long as it pleases his godly majesty to exercise me therewith." A little before her departure, she desired her sisters, and some others that were beside her, to sing a psalm, and among others she appointed the ciii. psalm, beginning, "My soul, praise thou the Lord always," which ended, she said, "At the teaching of this psalm, began my troubled soul first effectually to taste of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more sweet and precious than [if] all the kingdoms of the earth were given unto me, to possess them a thousand years." The priests urged her with their ceremonies and superstitions; to whom she answered, "Depart from me, ye servants of Satan; for I have refused, and in your own presence do refuse, all your abominations; that which ye call your sacrament, and Christ's body, as ye have deceived us to believe in times past, is nothing but an idol, and has nothing to do with the right institution of Jesus Christ; and therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me." They departed, alleging, "That she raved, and wist not what she said." And she shortly thereafter slept in the Lord Jesus, to no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession, before that the great light of God's word did universally shine through this realm.

At the first coming of the said John Knox, he perceiving divers who had a zeal to godliness make small scruple to go to the mass, or to communicate with the abused sacraments in the papistical manner, began as well in privy conference as in doctrine, to show the impiety of the mass, and how dangerous a thing it was to communicate in any sort with idolatry; wherewith the consciences of some being afraid, the

early period, he embraced the reformed opinions, and fled into England. During the severe persecution for the six articles, he was, in 1541, thrown into the prison of the Fleet. He was afterwards chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, the father of lady Jane Grey; and upon the accession of queen Mary, he retired to East Friesland." "Willock became afterwards the chief coadjutor of Knox, who entertained the highest affection and esteem for him. The union of

their talents and peculiar qualities was of great advantage to the reformation. Willock was not inferior to Knox in learning; and although he did not equal him in intrepidity and eloquence, he surpassed him in affability, prudence, and address; by which means he was sometimes able to maintain his station, and accomplish his purposes when his colleague could not act with safety or success." *Life of Knox*, p. 127—*E/l*.

matter began to be agitated from man to man, and so was the said John called to supper by the laird of Dun for that same purpose, where were convened David Forrest, Mr Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lethington, younger, a man of learning, and of sharp wit and reasoning. The question was proponed, and it was answered by the said John, "That nowise it was lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol." Nothing was omitted that might make for the temporiser, and yet was every head so fully answered, and especially one whereunto they thought their great defence stood, *to wit*, "That Paul, at the commandment of James, and of the elders of Jerusalem, passed to the temple, and feigned himself to pay his vow with others." This, we say, and others were so fully answered, that William Maitland concluded, saying, "I see perfectly that our snifts will serve nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." The answer of John Knox to the fact of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was, "That Paul's fact had nothing to do with their going to the mass; for to pay vows was sometimes God's commandment, and was never idolatry; but their mass, from the original, was and remained odious idolatry; therefore the fact was most unlike." Secondly, said he, "I greatly doubt whether either James' commandment or Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Ghost. We know their counsel tended to this, that Paul should show himself one that observed [the] very small points of the law, to the end that he might purchase to him the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him by reason of the bruits that were sparsed [circulated], that he taught defection from Moses. Now, while he obeyed their counsel, he fell into the most desperate danger that ever he sustained before, whereof it was evident, that God approved not that mean of reconciliation, but rather that he plainly declared, that evil should not be done that good might come of it. Evil it was to Paul to confirm those obstinate Jews in their superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expone himself, and the

doctrine which before he had taught to slander and mockage; and therefore," concluded the said John, "that the fact of Paul, and the sequel that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight against them that would go to the mass, than to give unto them any assurance to follow his example, unless that they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them that apprehended him, for obeying worldly wise counsel." After these and like reasonings, the mass began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion, and avoiding of slander, as then they termed it.

John Knox, at the request of the laird of Dun, followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exercised in doctrine, whereunto resorted the principal men of that country. After his returning, his residence was most in Calder, where repaired unto him the lord Erskine, that now is, the earl of Argyle, then lord of Lorn, and lord James, then prior of St Andrews, and now earl of Murray, where they heard, and so approved his doctrine, that they wished it to have been public. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh; and after the Yule, by the conduct of the laird of Bar, and Robert Campbell of Kingeancleuch, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Bar, in the house of the Carnell in the Kingeancleuch, in the town of Ayr, and in the house of Ochiltree and Gargirth; and in some of them ministered the Lord's table. Before the Pasch the earl of Glencairn sent for him to his place of Finlayston, where, after doctrine, he also ministered the Lord's table; whereof, besides himself, were partakers his lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends: and so returned he to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, convened, as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the laird of Dun; and teaching then in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he should minister the table of the Lord Jesus likewise unto them, whereof were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns, who—God be praised—to this day do con-

stantly remain in the same doctrine which then they professed, *to wit*, that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves to the uttermost of their power to maintain the true preaching of the evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity.

The bruit hereof sparsed [spread],—for the friars from all quarters flocked to the bishops,—the said John Knox was summoned to compear in the kirk of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, the 15th day of May, which day the said John decreed to keep, and for that purpose John Erskine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen convened to the town of Edinburgh. But that diet held not. For whether that the bishops perceived informality in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremity, it is unknown unto us: but the Saturday before the day appointed, they cast their own summons; and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught in Edinburgh, in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town; the place was the bishop of Dunkeld his great lodging, where he continued in doctrine ten days, both before and afternoon. The earl of Glencairn allured the earl of Marshall, who with Henry Drummond his counselor for that time, heard an exhortation, but it was upon the night, who were so well contented with it, that they both willed the said John to write unto the queen regent somewhat that might move her to hear the word of God. He obeyed their desire, and wrote that which after was imprinted, and is called, “The letter to the queen dowager,” which was delivered unto her own hands by the said Alexander earl of Glencairn: which letter, when she had read, within a day or two, she delivered it to that proud prelate Beaton, bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockage, “Please you my lord to read a pasquil;” which words coming to the ears of the said John, were the occasion that to his letter he made his additions, as yet may be seen. As concerning the threatenings pronounced against her

own person, and the most principal of her friends, let their very flatterers see what had failed of all that he has written; and therefore it were expedient that her daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which hath passed before, lest that in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty mother did.*

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came unto him from the English kirk that was assembled at Geneva, which was separated from that superstitious and contentious company that were at Frankfort, commanding him in God's name, as he that was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort. Upon the which the said John took his leave from us, almost in every congregation where before he had preached, and exhorted us to prayers, to reading of the scriptures, and mutual conference, until such time as God should give unto us greater liberty. And hereupon he sent before him to Dieppe, his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife Marjory, with no small dolor to their hearts, and to many of us. He himself, by procurement and labours of Robert Campbell of Kingencleuch, remained behind in Scotland, and passed to the old earl of Argyle, who then was in the castle of Campbell, where he taught certain days. The laird of Glenorchy, which yet liveth, being one of his auditors, willed the said earl of Argyle to retain him still; but he, purposed upon his journey, would not at that time stay for no request, adding, “That if God so blessed these small beginnings, that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient; but,” he said, “that once he must needs visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave:” and so in the month of July he left this realm, and passed to France, and so to Geneva. Immediately after, the bishops summoned him, and for non-compearance, burnt him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh, in

* The latter part of this sentence is wanting in Mr B.'s edition, but the Paisley one has it

entire. It is also in the suppressed copy, and the Edinburgh edition of 1795.—*Ed.*

the year of God 1555; from the which unjust sentence the said John made his appealation, and caused to print the same, and directed it to the nobility and commons within Scotland, as yet may be read.

In the winter that the said John abode in Scotland, appeared a comet, the course whereof was from the south and south west, to the north and north east. It was seen in the months of November, December, and January; it was called, "the fiery besom." Soon after died Christian, king of Denmark, and war arose betwixt Scotland and England; for the commissioners of both realms, who almost the space of six months entreated upon the conditions of peace, and were upon a near point of conclusion, were disappointed. The queen regent, with her council of the French faction, decreed war at Newbattle, without giving any advertisement to the commissioners for the part of Scotland. Such is the fidelity of princes, guided by priests, whensoever they seek their own affections to be served.

In the end of that next harvest was seen upon the borders of England and Scotland a strange fire, which descended from the heaven, and burned divers corns in both the realms, but most in England. There was presented to the queen regent, by Robert Ormiston, a calf having two heads, whereat she scorped [derided], and said, "It was but a common thing." The war began in the end of harvest, as said is, and conclusion was taken that Wark should be assieged: the army and ordnance passed forward to Maxwell Heugh. The queen regent remained in the castle of Home, and thinking that all things were in assurance, Monsieur d'Oysel, then lieutenant for France, gave charge that the cannons should be transported over the water of Tweed, which was done with expedition, for the Frenchmen in such facts are expert; but the nobility of Scotland nothing content with such proceedings, after consultation amongst themselves, passed to the pavilion of Monsieur d'Oysel, and in his own face declared, "That in no ways would they invade England: and therefore com-

manded the ordnance to be retired: And that it was but [without] farther delay.

This put an affray in Monsieur d'Oysel's breeches, and kindled such a fire in the queen regent's stomach, as was not well slockened [quenched] till her breath failed: and thus was that enterprise frustrate. But yet war continued, during the which the evangel of Jesus Christ began wondrously to flourish; for in Edinburgh began publicly to exhort William Harlow: John Douglas, who had been with the earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and sometimes exhorted in Edinburgh: Paul Meffan began to preach publicly in Dundee; and so did divers others in Angus and the Mearns. And last, at God's good pleasure, arrived John Willock, the second time, from Em-den; whose return was so joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increased. And albeit he contracted a dangerous sickness, yet he ceased not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed: some of the nobility,—of whom some are fallen back, amongst whom the lord Seyton is chief,—with many barons and gentlemen, were his auditors, and by him were [the] godly instructed, and wondrously comforted. They kept their conventions, and held councils with such gravity and closeness, that the enemies trembled. The images were stolen away in all parts of the country; and in Edinburgh was that great idol, called St Gile, first drowned in the North Loch, and after burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town; for the friars rousing [croaking] like ravens upon the bishops, the bishops ran upon the queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the evangel, and the name of protestants. And yet consented she to summon the preachers: whereat the protestants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of summons, as that they did. Which perceived by the prelates and priests, they procured a proclamation to be publicly made, "That all men that were come to the town without the commandment of the

authority, should with all diligence repair to the borders, and there remain fifteen days:" for the bishop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme, said to the queen,

Madam, because they are come without order,
I red you send them to the border.

Now so had God provided, that the quarter of the west land, in the which were many faithful men, was that same day returned from the borders; who understanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the priests, assembled themselves together, and made passage to themselves, till that they came to the very privy chamber, where the queen regent and the bishops were. The gentlemen began to complain upon their strange entertainment, considering that her grace had found in them so faithful obedience in all things lawful. While that the queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, James Chalmers of Gathgirth, said, "Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these jefwellis,* and of that bastard," meaning the bishop of St Andrews, "that stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants for feeding of their idle bellies: they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us: Shall we suffer this any longer? Nay, Madam, it shall not be:" and therewith every man put on his steel bonnet. There was heard nothing of the queen's part, but, "My joys, my hearts, what aileth you? Me means no evil to you, nor to your preachers: the bishops shall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving subjects; me knows nothing of this proclamation; the day of your preachers shall be discharged, and me will hear the controversy that is betwixt the bishops and you; they shall do you no wrong. My lords," said she to the bishops, "I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again and said, "O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your mind? and

should ye not love your neighbours as yourselves?" With these and the like fair words she kept the bishops from buffets at that time.

And so the day of summons being discharged, began the brethren universally to be farther encouraged; but yet could the bishops in no sort be quiet; for St Gile's day approaching, they gave charge to the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, either to get again the old St Gile, or else upon their expense to make a new image. The council answered, "That to them the charge appeared very unjust, for they understood that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed; but where he had commanded images to be set up they had not read;" and desired the bishop to find a warrant for his commandment. Whereat the bishop offended, admonished under pain of cursing, which they prevented by a formal appellation, appealing from him, as from a partial and corrupt judge, unto the pope's holiness: and so greater things shortly following, that passed in oblivion. Yet would not the priests and friars cease to have that great solemnity and manifest abomination, which they accustomedly had upon St Gile's day, *to wit*, they would have that idol borne; and, therefore, was all preparation duly made. A marmorset idol was borrowed from the gray friars,—a silver piece of James Carmichael was laid in pledge—it was fast fixed with iron nails upon a barrow called their fertor [bier]. There assembled priests, friars, canons, and rotten papists, with tabours and trumpets, banners and bagpipes: and who was there to lead the ring, but the queen regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of that feast. West about goes it, and comes down the High Street, and down to the common cross. The queen regent dined that day in Alexander Carpenter's house betwixt the Bows, and so when the idol returned back again, she left it, and passed in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wondrously inflamed,

* A contemptuous expression, of which, says Dr J., the proper meaning seems to be lost. It is one of the hard names used by Dunbar in his complaint:—"Fowl jow-jourdane-headed

jevels." Johnson renders it "a wandering or dirty fellow." Sibbald, with much appearance of probability, derives it from the French *Javioleur*, "a prating or chattering fellow."—Ed.

and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were decreed [determined] to be revenged. They were divided in several companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporisers that day, amongst whom David Forrest, called the general, was one, who, fearing the chance to be done as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren; but that could not be; for immediately after that the queen was entered in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him, and getting the fertor [bier] upon their shoulders, began to shoulder [shove and drive one another], thinking that thereby the idol should have fallen; but that was provided and prevented by the iron nails, as we have said; and so began one to cry, "Down with the idol, down with it;" and so, without delay it was pulled down. Some brags [threatening reproofs] made the priests' patrons at the first; but when they saw the feebleness of their god, for one took him by the heels, and dadding [striking] his head to the causeway, left Dagon without head or hands, and said, "Fie upon thee, thou young St Gile, thy father would have tarried [endured] four such." This considered, we say, the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch. There might have been seen so sudden a fray as seldom has been seen amongst that sort of men within this realm; for down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps, coronets, with the crowns. The gray friars gaped, the black friars blew, and the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of antichrist within this realm before. By chance there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman; and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add some

merriness to the matter: and so cried he over the stair, and said, "Fie upon you, whores' sons, why have ye broken order; down the street ye passed in array, and with great mirth: why fly ye, villains, now without order? Turn and strike every one a stroke for the honour of his god; fie, cowards, fie, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again." But exhortations were then unprofitable; for after that Bel had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confused army. The queen regent laid up this amongst her other *mementos*, till that she might have seen the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended; for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished.

This tragedy of St Gile was so terrible to some papists, that Durie, sometimes called for his filthiness, abbot Stottikin, and then entitled, bishop of Galloway, left his rhyming, wherewith he was accustomed, and departed this life even as that he lived. For the articles of his belief were, "I refer, decarte you. Ha, ha, the four kings and all made. The devil go with it: it is but a varlet. From France we thought to have gotten a ruby; and yet it was nothing but a cohobie."* And with such faith, and such prayers, departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly said, "That in despite of God, so long as they that then were prelates lived, should that word, called the evangel, never be preached within this realm." After him followed that belly-god, Mr David Painter, called bishop of Ross, even with the like documents, except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that thereupon depended, was the pastime of his life.† The

* These broken sentences may have had a meaning in their day, though it does not seem to have been worth preserving. The wit and learning of our clergy, in those days, seem to have been on a par with the manners of our gentry, see note p. 62. Durie is one of the very few bishops for whom Keith has no epithet of commendation. His whole history is comprised in the following: "Andrew Durie, a son of the house of Durie in Fife, was made abbot of Mel-

rose, at least as early as September 24, 1527. He came to be bishop of Galloway in 1541. He was bishop here, anno 1546. He is bishop and abbot of Melrose 1556. He died in the month of September, 1558." Knox's account of him is no doubt true, for had there been the shadow of a good quality about him, Keith would have praised him.—*Ed.*

† This prelate, according to Keith, was "a person of most polite education, and excellent

most part of the lords that were in France at the queen's marriage, although that they got their congé [leave] from the court yet they forgot to return to Scotland; for whether it was by an Italian posset, or by French figs, or by the pottage of their pottinger—he was a Frenchman—there departed from this life, the earl of Cassillis, the earl of Rothes, lord Fleming, and the bishop of Orkney, whose end was even according to his life; for after that he was driven back by a contrarious wind, and forced to land again at Dieppe, perceiving his sickness to increase, he caused make his bed betwixt his two coffers;—some said upon them—such was his god, the gold that therein was enclosed, that he could not depart therefrom, so long as memory would serve him. The lord James, than prior of St Andrews, had, by all appearance, licked of the same buist [broth, or bruis, *i. e.* brewing] that despatched the rest, for thereof to this day his stomach does testify; but God preserved him for a better purpose. This same lord James, now earl of Murray, and the said bishop were commonly at debate for matters of religion; and, therefore, the said lord, hearing of the bishop's disease, came to visit him; and finding him not so well at a point as he thought he should have been, and as the honour of the country required, said unto him, "Fie, my lord, how lie you so? Will ye not go to your chamber, and not lie here in this common house." His answer was, "I am well where I am, my lord, so long as I can tarry, for I am near unto my friends—meaning his coffers, and the gold therein;—but, my lord," said he, "long have you and I been in plea for purgatory. I think that I shall know ere it

be long whether there be such a place or not." While the other did exhort him to call to mind the promise of God, and the virtue of Christ's death: he answered, "Nay, my lord, let me alone, for you and I never agreed in our life, and I think we shall not agree now at my death; and, therefore, let me alone." The said lord James departed to his lodging, and the other short after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.* When the word of the departing of so many patrons of papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the queen regent, after astonishment and musing, she said, "What shall I say of such men? they lived as beasts, and as beasts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprise."

While these things were in doing in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite, Mr John Sinclair, then dean of Restalrig, and now lord president and bishop of Brechin, began to preach in his kirk of Restalrig, and at the beginning held himself so indifferent, that many had opinion of him, that he was not far from the kingdom of God. But his hypocrisy could not long be cloaked; for when he understood, that such as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the friars and others of that sect, began to whisper, "That if he took not heed in time to himself, and unto his doctrine, he would be the destruction of the whole estate of the kirk;" this by him understood, he appointed a sermon, in the which he promised "to give his judgment in all such heads as then were in controversy in the matters of religion." The bruit hereof made his audience great at the first; but that day he so hand-

parts." His life was occupied chiefly by political matters, at home and abroad; but there is not the least hint of his possessing the qualifications requisite in a christian bishop. According to Knox, he was a good liver in the sensual meaning of the terms, which is quite consistent with the panegyric of his biographer.—*Ed.*

* "Bishop Reid," for such was his name, says Keith, "was a man of great learning, and a most accomplished politician. This, no doubt, has been the reason of sending him one of the commissioners from Scotland into France, to witness the marriage of our young queen Mary with the dauphin, anno 1558; but, on his return, he died at Dieppe, the 14th day of September that

year. He bequeathed by his testament the sum of 8000 merks Scottish money, towards founding a college in Edinburgh for the education of youth." "So that this being the first sum mortified for that purpose, he may justly be reckoned the first founder of that university." "This sum," it is added, "the earl of Morton converted to his own use and profit, by banishing the executors of bishop Reid for supposed crimes." Knox's statement, that gold was his idol, is thus far corroborated by the fact, that he had amassed a great deal of it. The possession of wealth, indeed, does not necessarily imply the inordinate love of it; but they are commonly united in the minds of ambitious worldly men.—*Ed.*

led himself, that, after that, no godly man did credit him; for not only gainsaid he the doctrine of justification and of prayer which before he had taught, but also he set up and maintained papistry to the uttermost prick [the smallest iota]; yea, holy water, pilgrimage, purgatory, and pardons were of such virtue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be saved.* In this meantime the clergy made a brag, that they would dispute; but Mr David Painter, which then lived and lay at Restalrig, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming, "That if ever they disputed, but where themselves were both judge and party, and where that fire and sword should obey their decree, that then their cause was wrecked for ever; for their victory stood neither in God nor his words, but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own councils, together with fire and sword, whereto," said he, "these new start-up fellows will give no place; but will call you to your count-book, and that is to the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the devil will be approved to be God: and, therefore, if ye love yourselves, enter never in disputation; neither yet call ye matters in question; but defend your possession, or all is lost." Caiaphas could not give a better counsel to his companions; but yet God disappointed both them and him, as after we shall hear. At this same time some of the nobility directed their letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers, and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth. The tenor of their letter is this:

"Grace, mercy, and peace for salvation.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts—thanks be unto God—are steadfast in the belief whereunto ye left them, and have a

godly thirst and desire, day by day, of your presence again, which, if the spirit of God so move and permit time unto you, we will heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye will return again into these parts, where ye shall find all faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but will be ready to jeopard lives and goods for the forward setting of the glory of God, as he will permit times. And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them, yet at the making hereof, we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used nor was before; but rather we have belief, that God will augment his flock, because we see the friars, enemies to Christ's evangel, daily in less estimation, both with the queen's grace and the rest of the nobility of our realm. This in few words is the mind of the faithful, being present, and others absent. The rest of our minds this faithful bearer will show you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord."

*Off Stirling, the tenth of }
March, anno 1556. }*

This is the true copy of the bill, being subscribed by the names underwritten:

Sic subscribitur,

"GLENCAIRN.

LORN, NOW ARGYLE.

ERSKINE.

JAMES STEWART."

These letters were delivered to the said John in Geneva, by the hands of James Sym, who now resteth with Christ, and of James Barron that yet liveth, in the month of May immediately thereafter; which received, and advised upon, he took consultation, as well with his own church, as with that notable servant of God, John Calvin, and with other godly ministers, who all with one consent, said, "That he could not refuse that vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his

* Keith's commendation of this turncoat is rather scanty; but, as usual, there is no fault found—not a single blot in his escutcheon. The following is his entire history: "John Sinclair, a son of the house of Roslin, four miles S.S.E. from Edinburgh, a man well learned in both laws, was dean of Restalrig (*vulgo Lesterrick*), beside Edinburgh, and put into this see by queen

Mary, after the death of abbot Campbell. He was likewise, for his singular knowledge of the law, first an ordinary lord of session, and then lord president. He had the honour to join the queen in holy matrimony to the lord Daruley. He died next year, in the month of April, 1566." —*Ed.*

God, and unmerciful unto his country; and so he returned answer, with promise to visit them with reasonable expedition, and so soon as he might put order to that dear flock that was committed to his charge; and so, in the end of the next September after, he departed from Geneva, and came to Dieppe, where there met him contrary letters, as by his answer thereto we may understand.*

“The spirit of wisdom, constancy, and strength be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“According to my promise, right honourable, I came to Dieppe the 24th of October, of full mind, by the good will of God, with the first ships to have visited you; but because two letters, not very pleasing unto the flesh, were there presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a time; the one was directed to myself, from a faithful brother, which made mention, that new consultation was appointed for final conclusion of the matter before purposed, and willed me, therefore, to abide in these parts, till the determination of the same. The other letter was directed from a gentleman to a friend, with charge to advertise me, that he had communed with all those that seemed most frank and fervent in the matter, and that in none did he find such boldness and constancy, as was requisite for such an enterprise; but that some did—as he writeth—repent, that ever any such thing was moved: some were partly ashamed, and others were able to deny, that ever they did consent to any such purpose, if any trial or question should be taken thereof. Which letters, when I had considered, I

partly was confounded, and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow. Confounded I was, that I had so far travailed in the matter, moving the same to the most godly and most learned that this day we know to live in Europe, to the effect that I might have their judgments and grave counsels, for assurance as well of your consciences as of mine, in all enterprises. And then that nothing should succeed of so long consultations, cannot but redound either to your shame or mine: for either it shall appear that I was marvellous vain, being so solicit [eager], where no necessity required; or else, that such as were my movers thereto lacked the ripeness of judgment in their first vocation. To some it may appear a small and light matter, that I have cast off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care, as my public office and charge, leaving my house and poor family destitute of all head,—save God only,—and committing that small—but Christ his dearly beloved—flock, over the which I was appointed one of the ministers, to the charge of another. This, I say, to worldly men may appear a small matter, but to me it was, and yet is such, that more worldly substance than I will express, could not have caused me willingly behold the eyes of so many grave men weep at once for my cause, as that I did, in taking of my last good night from them, to whom, if it please God, that I return, and question be demanded, What was the impediment of my purposed journey? judge you what I shall answer. The cause of my dolor and sorrow—God is witness—is for nothing pertaining either to my corporal contentment or world-

* Knox has not preserved the letters which he received countermanding his journey homeward. Perhaps he destroyed them, that they might not be a standing memorial of the misgiving, or momentary cowardice of his friends, who afterwards acted so bravely and faithfully. He shows in his answer great delicacy to them by concealing the names of those who had so grieved him by looking back after they had put their hands to the plough. We cannot be surprised that they stood appalled for a moment, when they thought of the magnitude, and the hazard of their undertaking. This may be called the turning point of the reformation. Had Knox been infected by their misgivings, so as to have returned to his flock in Geneva, the cause

had perished for that time; and the reign of idolatry and darkness might have been protracted for ages. But along with ardent zeal for the glory of God, and the good of his country, he was inspired with more than human courage and fortitude, and enabled to write to his friends in such a strain as to inspire their breasts with the same feelings, so that they engaged heartily in the work, and in two years effected the deliverance of their country from the spiritual bondage of Rome, and the military tyranny of France. It is therefore to Knox individually, as the instrument in the hand of providence, that we are indebted for both the civil and religious privileges we enjoy.—*Ed.*

ly displeasure; but it is for the grievous plagues and punishments of God, which assuredly shall apprehend not only you, but every inhabitant of that miserable realm and isle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of his evangel, deliver you from bondage. I mean not only that perpetual fire and torment, prepared for the devil, and for such as, denying Christ Jesus and his known verity, do follow the sons of wickedness to perdition, which most is to be feared; but also that thralldom and misery that shall apprehend your own bodies, your children, subjects, and posterity, whom ye have betrayed. In conscience, I can except none that bear the name of nobility, and presently do fight to betray them and your realm to the slavery of strangers. The war begun—although I acknowledge it to be the work of God—shall be your destruction, unless that, by time, remedy be provided. God open your eyes that ye may espy, and consider your own miserable estate. My words shall appear to some sharp and indiscreetly spoken; but as charity ought to interpret all things to the best, so ought wise men to understand, that a true friend cannot be a flatterer, especially when the questions of salvation, both of body and soul, are moved; and that not of one or two, but as it were of a whole realm and nation. What are the sobs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare! But this will I add to my former rigour and severity, *to wit*, if any persuade you, for fear or dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he never esteemed so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish and your mortal enemy: foolish, for because he understandeth nothing of God's approved wisdom; and enemy unto you, because he laboureth to separate you from God's favour; provoking his vengeance and grievous plagues against you, because he would that ye should prefer your worldly rest to God's praise and glory; and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren. I am not ignorant, that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise, as in my former letters I did signify unto you; but O joyful and

comfortable are those troubles and adversities, which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will, revealed by his word! For how terrible that ever they appear to the judgments of the natural men, yet are they never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers; for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to the promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him. The subtle craft of Pharaoh, many years joined with his bloody cruelty, was not able to destroy the male children of Israel, neither were the waters of the Red Sea, much less the rage of Pharaoh, able to confound Moses and the company which he conducted; and that because the one had God's promise that they should multiply, and the other his commandment to enter into such dangers. I would your wisdoms should consider, that our God remaineth one, and is immutable; and that the church of Christ Jesus hath the same promise of protection and defence, that Israel had of multiplication. And farther, that no less cause have ye to enter in your former enterprise, than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh; for your subjects, yea, your brethren, are oppressed, their bodies and souls holden in bondage: and God speaketh to your consciences—unless ye be dead with the blind world—that you ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance; for only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment, not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men falsely do suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that letter, which I directed to the whole nobility, and let every man apply the matter and case to himself; for your consciences shall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, doth appertain to more than to the clergy, or chief rulers, called kings. The mighty spirit of the Lord Jesus

rule and guide your counsels to his glory, your eternal comfort, and to the consolation of your brethren. Amen.”

*From Dieppe, 27th day }
of October, 1557. }*

These letters received and read, together with others directed to the whole nobility, and some to particular gentlemen, as to the lairds of Dun and Pitterrow, new consultation was had, what was best to be done: and in the end it was concluded, that they would follow forward their purpose once intended, and would commit themselves, and whosoever God had given unto them, into his hands, rather than they would suffer idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that realm so to be defrauded, as long as they had been, of the only food of their souls, the true preaching of Christ's evangel, and that every one should be the more assured of other, a common bond was made, and by some subscribed, the tenor whereof follows:

“ We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to downthring [overturn] and to destroy the evangel of Christ, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God, and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God, and his congregation: and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers and wairing [spending] of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny

or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word, and congregation, we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation, by our subscription at these presents. At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1557 years. God called to witness.”*

Sic subscribitur,

“ A., earl of Argyle.

“ GLENCAIRN.

“ MORTON.

“ ARCHIBALD, lord of Lorn.

“ JOHN ERSKINE of Dun,” &c.

Before a little that this bond was subscribed by the forewritten, and many others, letters were directed again to John Knox from the said lords, together with their letters to Mr Calvin, craving of him, that by his authority he would command the said John once again to visit them. These letters were delivered by the hands of Mr John Gray, in the month of November, the year of God 1558, who, at that same time, passed to Rome, for expedition of the bows [business] of Ross to Mr Henry Sinclair. Immediately after the subscription of this foresaid bond, the lords and barons professing Christ Jesus, convened frequently in council; in the which these heads were concluded: *First*, “ It is thought expedient, devised, and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm, the common prayers be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the parish kirks, with the lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the book of Common Prayers. And if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same, and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.” *Secondly*, “ It is thought necessary, that doctrine, preaching, and in-

* This is the first covenant of the Scottish reformers for mutual defence, and maintenance of the truth; which embraces more than mere self-defence, which may be pleaded for as a civil right. They engage to maintain, set forward,

and establish the word of God, by force of arms, as seems to be implied. This was one of their mistakes, which providence eventually overruled for good.—*Ed.*

terpretation of scriptures be had and used privily in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till afterward that God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."

These two heads concerning the religion, and some others concerning the policy, being concluded, the old earl of Argyle took the maintenance of John Douglas, caused him preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsel. The same boldness took divers others, as well within towns, as to landward; which did not a little trouble the bishops and queen regent, as by this letter and credit committed to Sir David Hamilton from the bishop of St Andrews to the said earl of Argyle, may be clearly understood. The bishop's letter to the old earl of Argyle :

"My lord, after most hearty commendations, this is to advertise your lordship, we have directed this bearer, our cousin, towards your lordship, in such business and affairs as concerns your lordship's honour, profit, and great weal; like as the said bearer will declare [to] your lordship at more length. Praying your lordship effectually to advert thereto, and give attendance to us, your lordship's friends, that aye have willed the honour, profit, and other wealth of your lordship's house, as of our own: and credit to the bearer. And Jesus have your lordship in everlasting keeping. Off Edinburgh, the 25th of March, anno 1558."

Sic subscribitur,

Your lordship's, at all power,
"ST ANDREWS."

Follows the Credit :

Memorandum—To Sir David Hamilton, to my lord earl of Argyle, in my behalf, and let him see and hear every article.

Imprimis, "To repeat the ancient blood of his house, how long it has stood, how notable it has been, and so many noble men have been earls, lords, knights thereof: how long they have reigned in these parts, ever true and obedient both to God and the prince, without any smote [blot or stain] in their days in any manner of sort: and to

remember how many notable men are come of his house.

Secondly, "To show him the great affection I bear towards him, his blood, house, and friends, and of the ardent desire I have of the perpetual standing of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it: which is my part, for many and divers causes, as ye shall show.

Thirdly, "To show my lord, how heavy and displeasing a thing it is unto me now to hear, that he, who is and has been so noble a man, should be seduced and abused by the flattery of such an infamed person of the law, and mansworn apostate [as the foresaid John Douglas], who under the pretence that he gives himself forth as a preacher of the evangel and verity, under that colour sets forth schisms and divisions in the holy kirk of God, with heretical propositions, thinking that under his maintenance and defence, to infect this country with heresy, persuading my said lord, and others his bairns and friends, that all that he speaks is scripture, and conform thereto, albeit that many of his propositions are many years past condemned by the general councils, and the whole estate of christian people.

Fourthly, "To show to my lord how perilous this is to his lordship and his house, and decay thereof, in case the authority would be sharp, and would use both, conform to civil and canon, and also your own municipal law of this realm.

Fifthly, "To show his lordship how wae [sorry] I would be, either to hear, see, or know any displeasure that might come to him, his son, or any of his house or friends; and especially in his own time and days. And also how great displeasure I have else [also] to hear great and evil bruit of him, that [he] should, now in his age, in a manner waver from his faith; and, to be altered therein, when the time is that he should be most sure and firm therein.

Sixthly, "To show his lordship that there is delation of that man, called Douglas or Grant, of sundry articles of heresy, which lies to my charge and conscience to put remedy to, or else all the pestilentious doc-

trine he sows, and such like all that are corrupted by his doctrine, and all that he draws from our faith and christian religion, will lie to my charge before God; and I to be accused before God for overseeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for such things [as] he is delated of. And therefore that my lord consider, and weigh it well, how highly it lies both to my honour and conscience: for if I thole [suffer] him, I will be accused for all them that he corrupts and infects in heresy.

"Herefore, I pray my lord, in my most hearty manner, to take this matter in the best part, for his own conscience, honour, and weal of himself, house, friends, and servants; and such like for my part, and for my conscience and honour, that considering that there are divers articles of heresy to be laid to him [Douglas], that he is delated of, and that he is presently in my lord's company: that my lord would by some honest way depart with this man, and put him from him, and from his son's company; for I would be right sorry that any being in any of their companies should be called for such causes, or that any of them should be bruted to hold any such men. And this I would advertise my lord, and have his lordship's answer and resolution, or any summons passed on him, together with my lord's answer."

Item.—"If my lord would have a man to instruct him truly in the faith, and preach to him, I would provide a cunning man to him, wherefore I shall answer for his true doctrine, and shall put [pledge] my soul there fore that he shall teach nothing but truly according to our catholic faith. Off Edinburgh, this last of March, 1558."

Sic subscribitur,

"ST ANDREWS."

Item.—"Attour [besides], your lordship shall draw to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavy murmur against me, both by the queen's grace, the kirkmen, spiritual and temporal estates, and well given [disposed] people, moaning, crying and murmuring me greitolmie [greatly], that I do not my office, to thole [endure] such infamous persons, with such perversed doctrine, within my diocese, and this realm,

by reason of my legateship and primacy; which I have rather sustained and long suffered, for the great love I had to your lordship and posterity, and your friends, and your house: also believing surely your lordship's wisdom should not have maintained and melled [meddled] with such things that might do me dishonour or displeasure, considering I being ready to put good order thereto always; but has allenarly [only] abstained, for the love of your lordship and house foresaid, that I bear truly, knowing and seeing the great skaith [hurt] and dishonour and lack apparently that might come therethrough, in case your lordship remede not the same hastily, whereby we might both be quit of all danger, which doubtless will come upon us both, if I use not my office, or that he be called, in the time that he is now with your lordship, and under your lordship's protection."

Subscribed again,

"ST ANDREWS"

By these former instructions, thou mayst perceive, gentle reader, what was the care that this pastor, with his complices, took to feed the flock committed to their charge, as they allege, and to gainstand false teachers. Here is oft mention of conscience, of heresy, and such other terms, that may fray the ignorant, and [the] simple deceive. But we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accused; and yet is he damned [condemned] as a mansworn apostate. This was my lord's conscience, which he learned of his fathers, the pharisees, old enemies to Christ Jesus, who damned him before they heard him. But who ruled my lord's conscience, when he took his kinsman's wife, lady Gilton? Consider you the rest of his persuasion, and you shall clearly see, that honour, estimation, love to house and friends, is the best ground that my lord bishop has, why he should persecute Jesus Christ in his members. We thought good to insert the answers of the said earl, which follow:

Memorandum.—"This present writ is to make answer particularly to every article, directed by my lord of St Andrews, to me, with Sir David Hamilton, which articles are in number nine, and here re-

peated and answered, as I trust, to his lordship's contentment."

"The *first* article puts me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my house; how many earls, lords, and knights have been thereof; how many noblemen descended from the same house; how long it continued true to God and the prince, without smote [blot] in their days, in any manner of sort."

Answer.—"True it is, my lord, that there is well [good] long continuance of my house, by God's providence and benevolence of our princes, whom we have served, and shall serve truly next to God. And the like obedience towards God and our princes remains with us yet, or rather better—praised be the Lord's name—neither know we any spot towards our princess and her due obedience; and if there be offence towards God, he is merciful to remit our offences; for 'he willeth not the death of a sinner;' in like manner it stands in his omnipotent power to make up houses, or continue the same, to alter them, to make them small or great, or to extinguish them, according to his own inscrutable wisdom; for in exalting, depressing and changing of houses, the laud and praise must be given to that one eternal God, in whose hands the same stand."

"The *second* article bears the great affection and love your lordship bears towards me and my house, and of the ardent desire ye have of the perpetual standing thereof in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it."

Answer.—"Forsooth, it is your duty to wish good unto my house, and unto them that are come of the same, not allenary for the faithfulness, amity, and society that has been betwixt our forebears, but also for the late conjunction of blood that is betwixt our said houses, if it be God's pleasure that it have success; which should give sufficient occasion to your lordship to wish good unto my house, and perpetuity with God's glory, without which nothing is perpetual, unto whom be praise and worship for ever and ever." *Amen.*

Thirdly, "Your lordship declares, how displeasing it is to you, that I should be

seduced by an infamed person of the law, and by the flattery of a mansworn apostate, that, under pretence of his forthgiving, makes us understand that he is a preacher of the evangel, and therewith raises schisms and divisions in the whole kirk of God; and by our maintenance and defence, would infect this country with heresy; alleging that to be scripture, which these many years bygone has been condemned as heresy, by the general councils and whole estate of christian people."

Answer.—"The God that created heaven and earth, and all that therein is, preserve me from seduction; and I dread many others under the colour of godliness are seduced, and think that they do God a pleasure, when they persecute any of them that profess his name. What that man is of the law we know not, we hear none of his flattery, his mansworn oath of apostasy is ignorant [unknown] to us; but if he had made an unlawful oath contrary God's command, it were better to violate it, than to observe it; he preaches nothing to us but the evangel; if he would otherwise do, we would not believe him; nor yet an angel of heaven. We hear him sow no schisms nor divisions, but such as may stand with God's word, which we shall cause him confess in presence of your lordship and the clergy, when ye require us thereto. And as to it that has been condemned by general councils, we trust ye know well that all the general councils have been at diversity among themselves, and never two of them universally agreeing in all points, in so much as they are of men; but the spirit of verity that bears testimony of our Lord Jesus has not, neither can err; 'For heaven and earth shall perish, ere one jot of it perish.' By this, my lord, neither teaches he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with God's sincere word, set forth by patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and evangelists, left to our salvation in his express word; and so, my lord, to condemn the doctrine not examined is not required; for when your lordship pleases to hear the confession of that man's faith, the manner of his doctrine, which agrees with the evangel of

Jesus Christ, I will cause him to assist to judgment, and shall be present thereat with God's pleasure, that he may render reckoning of his belief and our doctrine, to the superior powers, according to the prescription of that blood of the eternal Testament sealed by the immaculate Lamb, to whom, with the Father, and Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever." *Amen.*

"The *fourth* article puts me in remembrance how dangerous it is, if the authority would putt at [attack] me and my house according to the civil and canon laws, and our own municipal laws of this realm, and how it appeareth to the decay of our house."

Answer.—"All laws are—or at least should be—subject to God's laws, which laws should be first placed and planted in every man's heart; it should have no impediment: men should not abrogate it, for the defence and upsetting of their own advantage. If it would please authorities to putt at [attack] our house, for confessing of God's word, or for maintenance of his law, God is mighty enough in his own cause; he should be rather obeyed nor [than] man. I will serve my princess with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's duty [due], which I will reserve to God alone, that is to worship him in truth and verity, and, as near as I can, conform to his prescribed word, to his own honour, and obedience of my princess."

"The *fifth* article puts me in remembrance, how wae [sorry] your lordship would be to hear, see, or know any displeasure that might come to me, my son, or any of my house, and specially in my time and days; and also to hear the great and evil bruit of me, that I should now in my age, in a manner begin to waver from my faith, and to be altered therein, when the time is that I should be most sure and firm therein."

Answer.—"Your lordship's good will, is ever made manifest to me in all your articles, that would not see, hear, or know of my displeasure; for the which I am bound to render your lordship thanks, and shall do the same assuredly. But as for wavering

in my faith, God forbid that I should so do; for 'I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Saviour.' My lord, I vary not in my faith; but I praise God, that of his goodness, now in my latter days, has of his infinite mercy opened his bosom of grace unto me, to acknowledge him, the eternal wisdom, his Son Jesus Christ a sufficient satisfaction, to refuse all manner of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, where-with I have been blinded in times bygone, and now believe, that God will be merciful to me; for now he has declared his blessed will clearly to me, before my departing this transitory life."

"The *sixth* article declares, that there are delations of sundry points of heresy upon that man called Douglas or Grant, which lie to your charge and conscience to put remedy to, or else that all the pestilentious doctrine he sows, and all whom he corrupts with his seed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your christian faith; and if ye should thole [suffer] him, that ye will be accused for all them whom he infects with heresy; and, therefore, to regard your lordship's honour and conscience hereunto."

Answer.—"What is his surname I know not, but he calls himself Douglas; for I know neither his father nor his mother. I have heard him teach no articles of heresy; but that which agrees with God's word; for I would maintain no man in heresy nor error. Your lordship regards your conscience in the punishment thereof. I pray God, that ye so do; and examine your conscience well. He preaches against idolatry; I remit to your lordship's conscience, if it be heresy or not. He preaches against adultery and fornication; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against hypocrisy; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against all manner of abuses and corruption of Christ's sincere religion; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. My lord, I exhort you, in Christ's name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience, and consider, if it be your duty also, not only to thole this, but in like manner to do the same. This is all,

my lord, that I vary in my age, and no other thing, but that I knew not before these offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will, by manifestation of his word, abhor them."

"The *seventh* article desires me to weigh these matters in most hearty manner, and to take them in best part, for the weal of both our consciences, my house, friends, and servants, and to put such a man out of my company, for fear of the cumber and bruit that should follow thereon, by reason he is delated of sundry heresies: and that your lordship would be sorry to hear any of our servants delated or bruited for such causes, or for holding of any such man; and that your lordship would understand my answer hereunto, or any summons passed thereupon."

Answer.—"I thank your lordship greatly, that ye are so solicitous for the weal of me and of my house, and are so humane, as to make me the advertisement before ye have summoned, of your own good will and benevolence; and I have weighed these matters, as highly as my judgment can serve me, both for your lordship's honour and mine. And when I have reasoned all that I can do with myself in it, I think it aye best to serve God, and obey his manifest word, and not be obstinate in the contrary: syne [next] to give their due obedience to the princes, rulers, and magistrates, and to hear the voice of God's prophets, declaring his good promises to them that repent, and threatening to obstinate wicked doers, everlasting destruction. Your lordship knows well the man; he has spoken with your lordship: I thought you content with him: I heard no occasion of offence in him; I cannot well want him, or some preacher. I cannot put away such a man, without I know him an offender, as I know not; for I hear nothing of him, but such as your lordship's self heard of him, and such as he yet will profess in your presence, whenever your lordship requires. Such a man that is ready to sist himself to judgment, should not be expelled without cognition of the cause; for, like as I answered before in another article, when your

lordship pleases that all the spiritual and temporal men of estate of Scotland be convened, I shall cause him render an account of his belief and doctrine in your presences; then, if he deserves punishment and correction, let him so suffer; if he be found faithful, let him live in his faith."

"The *eighth* article propones unto me, that your lordship would take the labour to get me a man to instruct me in your catholic faith, and to be my preacher, for whose doctrine ye would lay your soul, that he would teach nothing but truly conform to your faith."

Answer.—"God Almighty send us many of that sort, that will preach truly, and nothing but a catholic universal christian faith; and we Highland rude people have mister [need] of them. And if your lordship would get and provide me such a man, I should provide him a corporal living, as to myself, with great thanks to your lordship; for truly, I and many more have great mister [need] of such men. And because I am able to sustain more nor [than] one of them, I will request your lordship earnestly to provide me such a man as ye wrote, 'for the harvest is great, and there are few labourers.'"

"The *last* and *ninth* article puts me in remembrance to consider what murmur your lordship tholes, and great bruit, at many men's hands, both spiritual and temporal, and at the queen's grace's hand, and other well given people, for not putting of order to their affairs; and that your lordship has abstained from execution hereof, for love of my house and posterity, to the effect that myself should remedy it, for fear of the dishonour might come upon us both for the same; which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger."

Answer.—"My lord, I know well what murmur and indignation your lordship tholes at enemies' hands of all estates, for non-pursuing of poor simple christians; and I know, that if your lordship would use their counsel, that would be blood-shedding and burning of poor simple men, to make your lordship serve their wicked appetites; yet your lordship knows your own duty, and should not fear the danger of

men, as of him whom ye profess. And verily, my lord, there is nothing that may be to your lordship's relief in this behalf, but I will use your lordship's counsel here-until, and further the same, God's honour being first provided, and the truth of his eternal word having liberty; and to abstain for my love from pursuit, as your lordship has signified, I am addebted to your lordship, as I have written divers times before; but there is one above, for whose fear ye must abstain from blood-shedding, or else, my lord, knock on [wound] your conscience. Last of all, please your lordship to consider how desirous some are to sow sedition amongst friends; how mighty the devil is to sow discord; how that many would desire no better game but to hunt us at [each] other. I pray your lordship beguile them; we will agree upon all purposes with God's pleasure, standing to his honour. There are divers houses in Scotland by [beside] us, that profess the same God secretly; they desire but that ye begin the bargain [fight] at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end thereof, and who shall abide the next putt [attack]. My lord, consider this, make no preparative of us: let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little the strength and weal of both of our houses, stir up your lordship, as they would, to do against God, your own conscience, and the weal of your posterity for ever; and, therefore, now in the end, I pray your lordship, weigh these things wisely; and if ye do otherwise, God is God, was, and shall be God, when all is wrought that man can work."

This answer received, the bishop and his complices found themselves somewhat disappointed; for the bishops looked for nothing less than for such answer from the earl of Argyle; and, therefore, they made them for their extreme defence, that is, to corrupt, and by buds [bribes] to stir up the queen regent in our contrary; as in the second book we shall more clearly hear. Short after this, the Lord called to his mercy the said earl of Argyle from the miseries of this life; whereof the bishops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of their way, but God

disappointed them: for as the said earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry; so left he it in his testament to his son, that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the evangel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry to the uttermost of his power. In which point small fault can be found with him to this day, the 10th of May, anno 1568.* God be merciful to his other offences. *Amen.*

The blind, crooked, bedrals, widows, orphans, and all other poor, so visited by the hand of God as may not [cannot] work, To the flocks of all friars within this realm we wish restitution of wrongs bypast, and reformation in times coming for salvation.

"Ye yourselves are not ignorant, and though ye would be, it is now—thanks to God—well known to the whole world, by his most infallible word, that the benignity or alms of all christian people pertains to us allenarly [only]; which ye, being whole of body, stark, sturdy, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty, and nevertheless possessing most easily all abundance, what through cloaked and hooded simplicity, though your proudness is known, and what feigned holiness, which now is declared superstition and idolatry, have these many years, express against God's word and the practice of his holy apostles, to our great torment, alas! most falsely stolen from us. And as ye have by your false doctrine and wresting of God's word—learned of your father Satan—induced the whole people, high and low, in sure hope of belief, that to clothe, feed, and nourish you, is the only most acceptable alms allowed before God; and to give a penny or a piece of bread once in the week, is enough for us. Even so ye have persuaded them to big to you great hospitals, and maintain you therein by their purse, which only pertains now to us by all law, as bigged and doted [devoted]!

* From this it would appear that Knox was employed two years in writing this his first book, see page 24, which is dated 1566.

to the poor, of whose number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the law of God, nor yet by no other law proceeding of nature, reason, or civil policy. Wherefore seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means, that none takes care of our misery: and that it is better for us to provide these our impotent members, which God has given us, to oppose to you in plain controversy, than to see you hereafter, as ye have done before, steal from us our livings, and ourselves, in the meantime, to perish and die for want of the same. We have thought good, therefore, ere we enter with you in conflict, to warn you, in the name of the great God, by this public writing, affixed on your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next; so that we, the only lawful proprietors thereof, may enter thereto, and afterwards enjoy the commodities of the kirk, which ye have hereunto wrongously holden from us. Certifying you, and [if] ye fail, we will at the said term, in whole number, with the help of God, and the assistance of his saints on earth,—of whose ready support we doubt not,—enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same.”

Let him therefore that before has stolen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpful to the poor.

*From the whole cities, towns, }
and villages of Scotland, the }
first day of January 1558.*

The bishops continued in their provincial counsel even unto that day that John Knox arrived in Scotland; and that they might give some show to the people that they minded [intended] reformation, they sparsed abroad a rumour thereof, and set forth somewhat in print, which, of the people, was called, “The Twopenny Faith.” Among their acts, there was much ado for caps, shaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and such other trifles.

I. *Item*, That none should enjoy office or benefice ecclesiastical, except a priest.

II. *Item*, That no kirkman should nourish his own bairn in his own company, but that every one should hold the children of others.

III. That none should put his own son in his own benefice.

IV. That if any were found in open adultery, for the first fault he should lose the third of his benefice; for the second crime, the half; and for the third, the whole benefice.

But herefrom appealed the bishop of Murray, and other prelates, saying, “That they would abide at the canon law.” And so they might well enough do, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensators, makers and disannullers of that law. But let the same law have the true interpretation and just execution, and the devil shall as soon be proven a true and obedient servant to God, as any of that sort shall be proven a bishop, or yet to have any just authority within the church of Christ Jesus. But we return to our history.

The persecution was decreed, as well by the queen regent as by the prelates; but there rested [remained] a point, which the queen regent and France had not at that time obtained, *to wit*, That the crown matrimonial should be granted to Francis, husband to our sovereign, and so should France and Scotland be but one kingdom, the subjects of both realms to have equal liberties, Scotsmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland. The glister of the profit that was judged hereof to have ensued to Scotsmen, at the first sight, blinded many men’s eyes; but a small wind caused that mist suddenly to vanish away; for the greatest offices and benefices within the realm were appointed for Frenchmen. Monsieur Ruby kept the great seal, Vielmort was controller; Melross and Kelso should have been a commend [commendators] to the poor cardinal of Lorraine; the freedoms of Scottish merchants were restrained in Rouen, and they compelled to pay toll and taxations, other than their ancient liberties did bear. To bring this head to pass, *to wit*, to get the matrimonial crown, the queen regent left no point of the compass unassailed.

With the bishops and priests she practised on this manner.

“Ye may clearly see, that I cannot do what I would within this realm; for these heretics and confederates of England are so bonded together, that they stop all good order; but will ye be favourable unto me in this suit, of the matrimonial crown to be granted to my daughter’s husband, then shall ye see how I shall handle these heretics and traitors ere it be long.” And in very deed, in these her promises, she meant no deceit in that behalf.

Unto the protestants, she said, “I am not unmindful how oft ye have sued me for reformation in religion, and gladly would I consent thereunto; but ye see the power and craft of the bishop of St Andrews, together with the power of the duke, and of the kirkmen, ever to be bent against me in all my proceedings; so that I may do nothing unless the full authority of this realm be devolved to the king of France, which cannot be but by donation of the crown matrimonial, which thing if ye will bring

to pass, then devise ye what you please in matters of religion, and they shall be granted.” With this commission and credit was lord James, then prior of St Andrews, direct to the earl of Argyle, with many other promises than we list to rehearse. By such dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, inflamed she them to be more fervent in her petition, than herself appeared to be: and so at the parliament, holden at Edinburgh in the month of October, the year of God 1558, it was clearly voted, no man reclaiming, except the duke for his interest; and yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a solemn mass appointed for that purpose in the pontifical. This head obtained, wherewith France and she principally shot, what faith she kept unto the protestants, in this our second book shall be declared; in the beginning whereof, we must more amply rehearse some things, that in this our first are summarily touched.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN
THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK SECOND.

THINGS DONE IN SCOTLAND, IN THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, BEGINNING IN THE
YEAR OF GGD 1558.

OUR purpose was to have made the beginning of our history from the things that were done from the year of God 1558, till the reformation of religion, which of God's mercy we once possessed; and yet, in doctrine and in the right use of administration of sacraments, do possess.

But because divers of the godly, as before is said, earnestly required, that such persons as God raised up in the midst of darkness, to oppose themselves to the same, should not be omitted, we obeyed their request,

and have made a short rehearsal of all such matters as concern religion, from the death of that notable servant of God, Mr Patrick Hamilton, unto the foresaid year, when that it pleased God to look upon us more mercifully than we deserved, and to give unto us greater boldness—albeit not without hazard and trouble—and better success in all our enterprises than we looked for, as the true narration of this second book shall witness. The preface whereof follows:

P R E F A C E.

LEST that Satan by our long silence shall take occasion to blaspheme, and to slander us the protestants of the realm of Scotland, as that our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion, than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion; we have thought expedient, so truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us—us, we say, a great part of the nobility and barons of the realm—to take the sword of just defence, against those

that most unjustly seek our destruction. And in this our confession we shall faithfully declare what moved us to put our hands to the reformation of religion; how we have proceeded in the same; what we have asked, and what presently we require of the sacred authority; to the end that our cause being known, as well our enemies as our brethren in all realms, may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are per-

secuted by France, and by their faction: as also that our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of whatsoever religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves, if they may with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but "Christ Jesus his glorious evangel to be preached, his holy sacraments to be truly ministered, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry to be suppressed in this realm;" and, finally, "The liberty of this our native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers."

While that the queen regent practised with the prelates, how that Christ Jesus his blessed evangel might utterly be suppressed within Scotland, God so blessed the labours of his weak servants, that no small part of the barons of this realm began to abhor the tyranny of the bishops: God did so open their eyes by the light of his word, that they could clearly discern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God: yea, men almost universally began to doubt whether they might—God not offended—give their bodily presence to the mass, or yet offer their children to the papistical baptism. To the which doubts, when the most godly and most learned in Europe had answered, both by word and writ, affirming, "That neither of both we might do, without the extreme perils of our souls," we began to be more troubled; for then also began men of estimation, and that bore rule amongst us, to examine themselves concerning their duties, as well towards reformation of religion, as toward the just defence of their brethren most cruelly persecuted. And so began divers questions to be moved, *to wit*, "If that with safe conscience such as were judges, lords, and rulers of the people, might serve the upper powers in maintaining of idolatry, in persecuting their brethren, and in suppressing Christ's truth?" Or, "Whether they to whom God in some case had committed the sword of justice, might suffer the blood of their brethren to be shed in their presence, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them?" By the plain scriptures it was found, "That a lively faith required a plain confession when Christ's truth is

oppugned, that not only are they guilty that do evil, but also they that assent to evil." And plain it is, that they assent to evil, who seeing iniquity openly committed, by their silence seem to justify and allow whatsoever is done.

These things being resolved, and sufficiently proven by evident scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his salvation: for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy, called the churchmen, were and are so manifest, that whosoever doth deny it, declareth himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, with fasting and supplication to God, began to seek some remedy in so present a danger. And first, it was concluded, "That the brethren in every town at certain times should assemble together, to common prayers, to exercise, and reading of the scriptures, till it should please God to give the sermon [word] of exhortation to some for comfort and instruction of the rest."

And this our weak beginning did God so bless, that within a few months the hearts of many were so strengthened, that we sought to have the face of a church amongst us, and open crimes to be punished without respect of person: and for that purpose, by common election, were elders appointed, to whom the whole brethren promised obedience: for at that time we had no public ministers of the word; only did certain zealous men, amongst whom were the laird of Dun, David Forrest, Mr Robert Lockhart, Mr Robert Hamilton, William Harlow, and others, exhort their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But short after did God stir up his servant, Paul Meffan,—his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him,*—who in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife; and so did God work with him, that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry,

The meaning of this will appear in the history.—Ed.

and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto his blessed ordinances; insomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in the which the word was openly preached, and Christ's sacraments truly ministered.

In this meantime did God send to us our dear brother, John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after his short abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh, and there, notwithstanding his long and dangerous sickness, did so encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon some public reformation; for the corruption in religion was such, that with safe conscience we could no longer sustain it. Yet because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred authority, with one consent,

after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, that by our public and common supplication, we should attempt the favour, support, and assistance of the queen, then regent, to a godly reformation: and for that purpose, after that we had drawn our oration and petition as followeth, we appointed from amongst us a man whose age and years deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any magistrate in earth, and whose faithful service to the authority in all times had been such, that in him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commission and power in all our names then present, before the queen regent thus to speak.

THE FIRST
ORATION AND PETITION
OF THE

PROTESTANTS OF SCOTLAND TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

ALBEIT we have of long time contained ourselves in that modesty—most noble princess—that neither the exile of body, tinsell [loss] of goods, nor perishing of this mortal life was able to convene us to ask at your grace reformation and redress of those wrongs, and of that sore grief, patiently borne of us in bodies and minds of so long time; yet are we now, of very conscience, and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave at your grace's feet, remedy against the most unjust tyranny used against your grace's most obedient subjects, by those that be called the estate ecclesiastical. Your grace cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and right worshipping of God; and how the clergy—as they will be termed—usurp to themselves such empire above the conscience of men, that whatsoever they

command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without farther respect had to God's pleasure, commandment, or will revealed to us in his most holy word, or else there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire and sword; by the which many of our brethren, most cruelly and most unjustly, have been stricken of late years within this realm, which now we find to trouble and wound our consciences. For we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruel murderers, seeing we are a part of that power which God had established in this realm,* or else

* The reformers here distinctly state the ground, and the only ground, on which they could lawfully resist the civil power. They felt it their duty to take up arms, not in opposition

to have given open testification of our faith with them, which now we offer ourselves to do, lest that by our continual silence we shall seem to justify their cruel tyranny; which doth not only displeas us, but your grace's wisdom most prudently doth foresee, that for the quieting of this intestine dissension, a public reformation, as well in the religion, as in the temporal government, were most necessary; and to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly, as we are informed, ye have exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility, to employ their study, diligence, and care. We, therefore, of conscience, dare no longer dissemble in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God and our salvation: neither now dare we withdraw our presence, nor conceal our petitions; lest that the adversaries hereafter shall object to us, that place was granted to reformation, and yet no man solicited for the same, and so shall our silence be prejudicial to us in time to come. And, therefore, we knowing no other order placed in this realm but your grace, and your grave counsel, set to amend as well the disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the temporal regimen, most humbly prostrate ourselves before your feet, asking your justice, and your gracious help, against them that falsely traduce and accuse us, as that we were heretics and schismatics, under that colour seeking our destruction, for that we seek the amendment of their corrupt lives, and Christ's religion to be restored to the original purity. Farther, we crave of your grace, with open and patient ears, to hear those our subsequent requests; and, to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, mercifully to grant the same, unless by God's plain word any be able to prove that justly they ought to be denied.

to the law, but to lawless violence and murder. Neither was it, at least at this period, in defence of the gospel, but of their rights and privileges as subjects and citizens. They saw many of their fellow subjects put to death at the mere will of the clergy, without being legally convicted of any crime, but because they exercised the right of judging for themselves of the meaning of God's word, and of worshipping according as they understood him to command. This was a civil right which they possessed by the law of

THE FIRST PETITION.

"*First*, Humbly we ask, that as we have, of the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Testaments, in our common tongue, as spiritual food to our souls, so from henceforth it may be lawful that we may convene, publicly or privately, to our common prayers, in our vulgar tongue; to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced, in fervent and oft prayers, to commend to God the holy church universal, the queen our sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the stability of their succession, your grace regent, the nobility, and whole estate of this realm.

"*Secondly*, If it shall happen in our said conventions any hard place of scripture to be read, of the which no profit ariseth to the conveners, that it shall be lawful to any qualified person in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory and to the profit of the auditory. And if any think that this liberty should be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy; we are content that it be provided, that the said interpretation shall underlie the judgment of the most godly and most learned within the realm at this time.

"*Thirdly*, That the holy sacrament of baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue; that the godfathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when they were received into his household by the laver of spiritual regeneration.*

the land as it stood even then. It was only the usurped authority of the church that made it unlawful to believe and worship according to the word of God; and our reformers did right to resist such usurped authority by force, when they saw that milder measures had no effect; and when they found themselves strong enough to protect their brethren who were no more guilty of any crime than themselves.—*Ed.*

* The language of this article shows that they were not fully aware of the nature of christian

“*Fourthly*, We desire, that the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, or of his most blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered to us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

“*And last*, We most humbly require, that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of prelates, and of the state ecclesiastical, may be so reformed, that the people by

baptism, which is not to be wondered at, seeing they had so much to unlearn as well as to learn. It was not long till they understood the subject better, as appears by the following extract from Knox’s Liturgy (so titled on the back), under “The order of Baptism.” “Furthermore it is evident, that baptism was ordained to be ministered in the element of water, to teach us, that like as water doth wash away the filth of the body, so inwardly doth the virtue of Christ’s blood purge our souls from that corruption and deadly poison wherewith by nature we were infected, whose venomous dregs, although they continue in this our flesh, yet by the merits of his death are not imputed unto us, because the justice (righteousness) of Jesus Christ is made ours by baptism; not that we think any such virtue or power to be included in the visible water or outward action, for many have been baptized, and yet never inwardly purged, but that our Saviour Christ, who commanded baptism to be ministered, will, by the power of his Holy Spirit, effectually work in the hearts of his elect in time convenient, all that is meant and signified by the same. And this the scripture calleth our regeneration, which standeth chiefly in these two points, in mortification, that is to say, a resisting of the rebellious lusts of the flesh, and in the newness of life, whereby we continually strive to walk in that pureness and perfection wherewith we are clad in baptism.” This, though much better than the article in the above petition, is somewhat confused, especially at the conclusion, which seems to admit some sort of baptismal regeneration. It is uncertain what hand Knox had in this composition. The copy in my possession has his name only on the back of it, and it must be a reprint, as it bears date, Edinburgh, 1635, and contains a prayer for the then reigning king Charles I. and his queen, which must be an interpolation. The volume is as large as the English prayer book; but the bulk of it consists of a metre version of the psalms in large print, many of them set to music, with the prose version in a small type in the margin. The prayers are few and short, and seem to have been intended rather as directories for prayer, than prescribed forms. Thus, under the “administration of the Lord’s supper,” we have as follows: “Then he taketh bread, and giveth thanks in these words following, *or like in effect.*” On presenting a child for baptism, it is required, that “the father, or in his absence, the god-father, shall rehearse the articles of his faith, which done, the minister expoundeth the same, as after followeth.” There are then five pages of an exposition of the apostles’ creed, under four heads, 1st, concerning God the

them have not occasion, as of many days they have had, to contemn their ministry, and the preaching [gospel] whereof they should be messengers. And if they suspect, that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travail and labour for this reformation; we are content that not only the rules and precepts of the New Testament,

Father; 2d, Jesus Christ our Lord; 3d, our faith in the Holy Ghost; 4th, what is our faith concerning the church. A short prayer precedes the baptism; no ceremony whatever is enjoined; but simply after the words, I baptize, &c., “and as he speaketh these words, he taketh water in his hand, and layeth it upon the child’s forehead, which done, he giveth thanks as followeth;” concluding with a very short prayer.

I have often wondered that our reformers did not see in the ordinance of baptism thus simply administered, something quite different from what the church of Rome calls “the sacrament that regenerates us.” They knew that the Lord’s supper was vitiated by having the most significant of the two symbols taken away. But a divine ordinance may be as much vitiated by corrupt and idolatrous additions as by mutilation. This is the case with popish baptism. To the simple application of water, and that only as a sign, which is all that Christ requires, they add salt, oil or grease, saliva, and such nastiness, with the idolatrous sign of the cross, &c., to all which combined, they ascribe the power of the Holy Ghost in effecting the regeneration of every person who is subject to such a process. This is not the ordinance that Christ instituted; and those who had received no better, ought to have been baptized with their households, when they professed the faith of the gospel, just as the apostles did to those who were converted from judaism or heathenism. Had the reformers been enlightened to have acted in this manner, it would have saved the protestant churches from the intrusion of thousands of worldly and wicked men, who had no title to christianity but what arose from their *christening*, which they regarded with such superstitious reverence, that few would have renounced it but those who had really embraced the truth. The church of Rome treats protestants as unbaptized; and such of them as are silly enough to become papists, must submit to popish baptism. Perhaps we would do well, in this at least, to take an example from an enemy. From certain irregularities in the observance of a divine ordinance in the Corinthian church, the apostle Paul told them, “This is not to eat the Lord’s Supper;” and had such fooleries been practised with regard to the other christian institution, I think he would have said, this is not baptism. I recollect of only one of the reformers who viewed the subject in this light. Henry Forrest, who was burnt in St Andrews, as already related, p. 19, when they were degrading him from his “holy orders,” said, “Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism.”—*Ed.*

but also the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly approved laws of Justinian, decide the controversy that is betwixt us and them: and if it shall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly, we ask more than these three forenamed have required, and continually do require of able and true ministers of Christ's church, we refuse not correction, as your grace, with right judgment, shall think meet. But and if all the forenamed shall damn that which we damn, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your grace, that notwithstanding the long consuetude which they have had to live as they list, they be compelled to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that the grave and godly face of the primitive church reduced [being thus restored], ignorance may be expelled, true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the church of this realm. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your grace, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Jesus Christ; in presence of whose throne judicial, ye and all other that here on earth bear authority, shall give accounts of your temporal regimen. The spirit of the Lord

(Jesus move your grace's heart to justice and equity. Amen."*)

These our petitions being proponed, the estate ecclesiastical began to storm, and to devise all manner of lies to deface the equity of our cause. They bragged as though they would have public disputation, which also we most earnestly required, two things being provided; the former, that the plain and written scriptures of God should decide all controversy: Secondly, That our brethren, of whom some were then exiled, and by them unjustly damned, should have free access to the said disputation, and safe conduct to return to their dwelling places, notwithstanding any process which before had been laid against them in matters concerning religion. But these being by them utterly denied,—for no judge would they admit but themselves. their counsels, and canon law,—they and their faction began to draw certain articles of reconciliation, promising to us, if we would admit the mass, to stand in her former reverence and estimation, grant purgatory after this life, confess prayer to saints and for the dead, and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed rents, possession, and honour, that then they would grant to us to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, so

* The reader must be struck with the great moderation of this petition, and the very small demand that was at first made by the reforming nobles. It would appear that they had not yet entertained the thought of overturning the established religion, but merely of reforming abuses in it. Had the clergy consented to reform their own lives, and to permit the preaching of the gospel, with the administration of ordinances, their order might, so far as appears, have been suffered to continue in all its gradations, and with all their endowments. But by refusing to concede what was reasonable, and comparatively small, they provoked the reformers to take higher ground, and ultimately to overthrow the Romish religion, and get that of the reformation established in its stead. But though their demand was moderate, it embraced too many particulars. They should have contented themselves with claiming their civil right to worship God as they pleased, without being subject to the interference of either church or state, prince or prelate. When they condescended on particulars, such as preaching the word, and the administration of sacraments, they concede to the civil power a right to judge of these things; a right to grant liberty of conscience in certain matters purely religious, which implies a right

to withhold such liberty, with regard to the same things; or at least with regard to other things, equally of a religious nature, not embraced by their petition. Had they obtained for instance, all that they claimed on this occasion, it would only have been the preaching of the word, and the administration of sacraments, according to the then half enlightened state of their own minds; and they would have had a new battle to fight with the civil power, whenever they saw the necessity of farther reformation. But had they taken the ground of right to worship God as they pleased, and had they carried this point, they would have had no more to do with the civil power, nor it with them, except in the mutual relation of governors and subjects, in regard to the affairs of this life, for which only civil government is instituted. By worshipping God as they pleased, I mean, of course, as they learned from his own word, their proper understanding of which was a matter to be settled among themselves, but of which the civil power had nothing to do. This is, however, a subject which our reformers did not understand, which is not surprising. It required the increasing light of more than two centuries to make it generally understood, and there are many who do not understand it yet.—*Ed.*

that it were done secretly, and not in the open assembly. But the grossness of those articles were such that with one voice we refused them; and constantly craved justice of the queen regent, and a reasonable answer of our former petitions. The queen, then regent, a woman crafty, dissimulate, and false, thinking to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permission to use ourselves godly according to our desires, and promised we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith; and did promise her assistance to our preachers, until some uniform order might be established by a parliament. To them—we mean the clergy—she quietly gave signification of her mind; promising that how soon any opportunity should serve, she should so put order in their matters, that after they should not be troubled: for some say they gave her a long purse, 40,000 pounds, says the chronicle, gathered by the laird of Earlsball. We, nothing suspecting her doubleness nor falsehood, departed, fully contented with her answer; and did use ourselves so quietly, that for her pleasure we put silence to John Douglas, who publicly would have preached in the town of Leith: for in all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far forth as

God should not be offended with us for obeying her in things unlawful.

Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called bishop of St Andrews,* apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, Walter Mylne;† a man of decrepit age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in St Andrews, the twenty-eighth day of April, the year of God 1558 years: which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency amongst the whole people; yea, even in the town of St Andrews began the people plainly to damn such unjust cruelty: and in testification that they would that his death should abide in recent memory, there was casten together a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt. The bishop and priests thereat offended, caused once or twice to remove the same, with denunciation of cursing, if any man there should lay any stone: but in vain was that wind blown; for still was the heap made, till that the priests and papists did steal away the stones by night to build their walls, and to other their private uses. We, suspecting nothing that the queen regent was consenting to the forenamed murder,

* This bishop, whom Knox generally designates the governor's bastard brother, showed himself, by the murder of this old man, a worthy successor of Cardinal Beaton. His name was John Hamilton. He was "natural son of James, the first earl of Arran, by Mrs Boyd, a gentlewoman of a very good family in the shire of Ayr; he was abbot of Paisley in the year 1525. As he had a fine genius for letters, he went over to France in pursuit of his studies, where he remained till his brother, the earl of Arran, was preferred to the regency upon the death of king James V." "We find him a member of queen Mary's privy council in the year 1566; and he performed the ceremony of baptizing her son, the prince." "He acted very cordially for the queen; and he is greatly to be applauded, and she to be condemned, for her not following the sound advice which he gave her after the unfortunate battle of Langside, not to trust her person in England. After this he was declared a traitor by the earl of Morton, then become regent; whereupon, after lurking some time among his friends and relations, he fled for security to the strong castle of Dumbarton; at the surprise of which fortress, he fell into the enemies' hands, and was hanged publicly on a gibbet in the town of Stirling, the first day of April 1570." *Keith's Scots Bishops*, p. 38. This author would not treat the memory of a bishop

so disrespectfully as to suppose he had given any cause for his execution. It is true, notwithstanding, that besides his opposition to the authority of the young king, he was accessory to the assassination of the regent Murray, one of the most calamitous events that ever befell Scotland, which he confessed in the following terms: "That he not only knew thair of, and wald not stopp it, but rather fartherit the deed thair of, quihilk he repentit, and askit God mercie for the same." *McCrie's Knox*, 1st ed. p. 325.—*Ed.*

† There is an interesting account of this aged martyr in the *Scots Worthies*. He had been a parish priest in the days of popery; but having embraced the reformed doctrine, he was condemned by cardinal Beaton in 1538. He escaped to the continent, where he married, and acquired more perfect knowledge of christian doctrine. He returned to Scotland, and lived many years in retirement, teaching and preaching as he had opportunity, till he was discovered and committed to the flames in his eighty-second year. When led to the stake, he expressed a hope that he would be the last in Scotland that would suffer for the truth in that manner; and so it happened. He no doubt saw, from the current of public opinion, that such tyranny would not be much longer endured; and the indignation excited by his death, tended very much to forward the reformation.—*Ed.*

most humbly did complain of such unjust cruelty; requiring that justice, in such cases, should be ministered with greater indifference. She, as a woman born to dissemble and deceive, began, with us, to lament the cruelty of the bishop; excusing herself as innocent in that cause; for that the sentence was given without her knowledge, because the man sometime had been a priest; therefore, the bishop's officials did proceed upon him without any commission of the civil authority, *ex officio*, as they term it.

We yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, required some order to be taken against such enormities, which she promised as before; but because short after there was a parliament to be holden, for certain affairs pertaining rather to the queen's profit particular, nor [than] to the commodity of the commonwealth, we thought good to expone our matter unto the whole parliament, and by them to seek some redress. We, therefore, with one consent, did offer unto the queen and parliament a letter in this tenor.

THE FORM OF THE LETTER GIVEN TO THE PARLIAMENT.

"Unto your grace, and unto you, right honourable lords of this present parliament, humbly mean and show your graces' faithful and obedient subjects; that where we are daily molested, slandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant persons, placeholders of the ministers of the church, who most untruly cease not to inflame [revile] us as heretics, and under that name they have most cruelly persecuted divers of our brethren, and farther intend to execute their malice against us, unless by some godly order their fury and rage be bridled and stayed; and yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unless that to read the holy scriptures in our assemblies, to invoke the name of God in public prayers, with all sobriety to inter-

pret and open the places of scripture that be read, to the farther edification of the brethren assembled, and truly according to Christ Jesus his holy institution to minister the sacraments, be crimes worthy of punishment. Other crimes we say in us they are not able to convict. And to the premises are we compelled; for that the said placeholders discharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people subject to us; and, therefore, unless we declare ourselves altogether unmindful of our own salvation, we are compelled, of very conscience, to seek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thraldom of Satan. For now it hath pleased God to open our eyes, that manifestly we see, that without extreme danger of our souls, we may in no ways communicate with the damnable idolatry, and intolerable abuses of the papistical church; and, therefore, most humbly require we of your grace, and of your right honourable lords, barons, and burgesses assembled in this present parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becomes just judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable petitions."

"First, Seeing that the controversy in religion, which long had continued betwixt the protestants of Almanie [Germany], Helvetia [Switzerland], and other provinces, and the papistical church, is not yet decided by a lawful and general council; and seeing that our consciences are likewise touched with the fear of God, as were theirs in the beginning of their controversy, we most humbly desire, that all such acts of parliament, as in the time of darkness gave power to the churchmen to execute their tyranny against us, by reason that we to them were delated as heretics, may be suspended and abrogated, till a general council, lawfully assembled, have decided all controversies in religion.* And lest that this mutation should seem to set all men at

* The calling of a general council, to decide all controversies in religion, was a hopeless expedient, though the reformers on the continent called long and eagerly for it. The pope claimed to have the sole right to call such a body together, and indeed there was no other power recognized in the Romish or Western Church. Kings might call councils in their own dominions; but none of them could call a general

one. The pope did call one, not long after this period, which, after sitting eighteen years, left matters worse than it found them; for it confirmed and established many errors and abuses which were previously matters of indifference, at least not essential parts of Roman Catholic faith and worship. This was the council of Trent, the last of its kind; and it is not probable that there shall ever be another.—*Ed.*

liberty to live as they list, we, *secondly*, require, that it be enacted by this present parliament, that the prelates and their officers be removed from place of judgment, only granting unto them, not the less, the place of accusators in the presence of a temporal judge, before whom the churchmen accusators shall be bounden to call any by them accused of heresy, to whom also they shall be bounden to deliver an authentic copy of all depositions, accusations, and process led against the person accused, the judge likewise delivering the same to the party accused, assigning unto him a competent term to answer the same, after he had taken sufficient caution *judicio sisti*.

“*Thirdly*, we require, that all lawful defences be granted to the persons accused; as if he be able to prove, that the witnesses be persons unable by law to testify against them, that then their accusations and depositions be null according to justice.

“*Item*, That place be granted to the party accused to explain and interpret his own mind and meaning; which confession we require to be inserted in public acts, and be preferred to the depositions of any witnesses, seeing that none ought to suffer for religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion.

“*Last*, We require, that our brethren be not damned for heretics, unless by the manifest word of God they be convicted to have erred from that faith which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation, and if so they be, we refuse not but that they be

punished according to justice, unless by wholesome admonition they can be reduced to a better mind.*

“These things require we to be considered of you, who occupy the place of the eternal God, who is God of order and truth, even in such sort as ye will answer in the presence of his throne judicial; requiring farther, that favourably ye will have respect to the tenderness of our consciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this commonwealth, if the tyranny of the prelates, and of their adherents, be not bridled by God and just laws. God move your hearts deeply to consider your own duties, and our present troubles.”

These our petitions did we first present to the queen regent, because that we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge, most humbly requiring her favourably to assist us in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but always [nevertheless] she kept our bill close in her pocket. When we required secretly of her grace, that our petitions should be proponed to the whole assembly, she answered, “That she thought not that expedient; for then would the whole ecclesiastical estate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time were great;” for the matrimonial crown was asked, and in that parliament granted: “but,” said she, “how soon order can be taken with these things, which now may be hindered by the kirkmen, ye shall know my good mind; and, in the mean-

* One cannot but regret to find these excellent, and otherwise enlightened men, admitting, and even pleading for the very principle on which the church of Rome condemned them. They admit that heresy is a crime to be tried by the secular judge, and of course to be punished on conviction. If persons have erred from the faith, they “refuse not but that they be punished according to justice, unless by wholesome admonition they can be reduced to a better mind.” The church of Rome demands no more; only they claim to be themselves the judges, while the reformers would appeal to the word of God, which, with persons of common sense, would no doubt give sentence in their favour against the church of Rome, upon the main points at issue between them. But we cannot put persons of common sense generally on the judicial bench, or put into their hands the sword of justice. Besides, there are many things in religion that require a higher faculty than common sense to

understand; not another intellectual faculty, but a divine influence upon those which we have. This is a qualification which secular judges do not necessarily possess. They are generally men of the world, set up to attend to the judicial part of the world’s business, and know no more of religion than other worldly men. Heresy must be in the opinion of every man, that in religion which is contrary to his own convictions. Therefore, upon the principle which our reformers pleaded for, a conscientious papist could not help regarding them as heretics, and, of course, he had a right to punish them as such. Protestants could not but regard papists as idolaters, and on that account worthy of death, which, I believe, was generally held by them as an opinion; but happily when they came into power, their humanity, and other better feelings, prevailed over their speculative principle, which would have made them persecutors to the death, as well as the papists were.—*Ed.*

time, whatsoever I may grant unto you, shall be gladly granted." We yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, were content to give place for a time to her pleasure, and pretended reason; and yet thought we expedient somewhat to protest before the dissolution of the parliament; for our petitions were manifestly known to the whole assembly, and also how for the queen's pleasure we ceased to pursue to the uttermost. Our protestation was formed in the manner following:

FORM OF THE PROTESTATION MADE IN PARLIAMENT.

"It is not unknown to this honourable parliament, what controversy is now lately risen betwixt these that will be called the prelates and rulers of the church; and a great number of us the nobility and commonalty of this realm, for the true worshipping of God, for the duty of ministers, for the right administration of Christ Jesus' holy sacrament: how that we have complained by our public supplications to the queen regent, that our consciences are burdened with unprofitable ceremonies, and are compelled to adhere to idolatry; that such as take upon them the office ecclesiastical, discharge no part thereof as becometh true ministers to do; and, finally, that we and our brethren are most unjustly oppressed by their usurped authority. And also, we suppose it is a thing sufficiently known, that we were of mind at this present parliament to seek redress of such enormities; but, considering that the troubles of the time do not suffer such reformation as we, by God's plain word, do require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desire: and yet, lest that our silence should give occasion to our adversaries to think, that we repent our former enterprise, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that most unjust tyranny, which we heretofore most patiently have sustained.

"And, *first*, we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation, according to God's word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of

Christ's church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same whensoever the sacred authority pleases to give us audience.

"*Secondly*, we protest, that neither we, nor yet any other that godly list to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible word of God, shall incur any danger in life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites as man without God's commandment or word has commanded.

"We, *thirdly*, protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all things to be reformed by an order: but rather whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of order taking, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same."

"And, *lastly*, we protest, that these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to no other end, but to the reformation of abuses in religion only; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to take us, faithful and obedient subjects, in protection against our adversaries; and to show unto us such indifference [impartiality] in our most just petitions, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to those that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants."

These our protestations publicly read, we desired them to have been inserted in the common register; but that, by labours of our enemies, was denied unto us. Not the less the queen regent said, "Me will remember what is protested, and me shall put good order after this to all things that now be in controversy." And thus, after that she by craft had obtained her purpose, we departed in good esperance [hope] of her favours, praising God in our hearts, that she was so well inclined towards godliness. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity, caused us not only to spend our goods, and

hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also, by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God John Calvin, we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge of God's word, and good will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, that by his grave counsel, and godly exhortation, he would animate her grace constantly to follow that which godly she had begun. We did further sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom of hypocrisy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind. But how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft, did suddenly appear: for how soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spew forth, and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Then began she to frown, and to look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the evangel of Jesus Christ. She commanded her household to use all abomination at Pasch; and she herself, to give example to others, did communicate with that idol, in open audience: she controlled her household, and would know where every one received their sacrament. And it is supposed, that after that day the devil took more violent and strong possession in her heart than he had before; for, from that day forward, she appeared altogether altered, insomuch that her countenance and facts [actions] did declare the venom of her heart. For incontinent she caused our preachers to be summoned; for whom, when we made intercession, beseeching her grace not to molest them in their ministry, unless any man were able to convict them of false doctrine, she could not bridle her tongue from open blasphemy, but proudly she said, "In despite of you and your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as truly as ever did St Paul." Which proud and blasphemous answer did greatly astonish us; and yet ceased we not most humbly to seek her favour, and by great diligence at last obtained, that

the summons at that time were delayed. For to her were sent Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, knight and sheriff of Ayr, to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises; to whom she answered, "It became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, further than it pleased them to keep the same." Both these noblemen faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow; wherewith she, somewhat astonished, said, "she would advise."

In this meantime did the town of Perth, called St Johnstone, embrace the truth, which did provoke her to a new fury; in which she willed the lord Ruthven, provost of that town, to suppress all such religion there. To the which, when he answered, "That he could make their bodies to come to her grace, and to prostrate themselves before her, till that she were fully satiate of their blood, but to cause them do against their conscience, he could not promise." She in fury did answer, "That he was too malapert to give her such answers;" affirming, "that both he and they should repent it." She solicited Mr James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Meffan, who, fearing God, gave secret advertisement to the man to avoid the town for a time. She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade at Pasch, to cause Montrose, Dundee, St Johnstone, and other such places as had received the evangel, to communicate with the idol of the mass; but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry. Whereat she more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to compare at Stirling, the tenth day of May, the year of God 1559. Which understood by us, we, with all humble obedience, sought the means how she might be appeased, and our preachers not molested: but when we could nothing prevail, it was concluded by the whole brethren, that the gentlemen of every country should accompany their preachers to the day and place appointed; whereto all men

were most willing. And for that purpose the town of Dundee, the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, passed forward with their preachers to St Johnstone, without armour, as peaceable men, minding only to give confession with their preachers. And lest that such a multitude should have given fear to the queen regent, the laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, passed before to the queen, then being in Stirling, to declare to her, that the cause of their convocation was only to give confession with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She understanding the fervency of the people, began to craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and the preachers also, with promise that she would take some better order. He, a man most gentle of nature, and most adict to please her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to those that then were assembled at St Johnstone, to stay, and not to come forward; showing what promise and esperance [hope] he had of the queen's grace's favours. At the reading of his letters, some did smell the craft and deceit, and persuaded to pass forward, unto the time a discharge of the former summons should be had, alleging, that otherwise their process of horning, or rebellion, should be execute against the preachers; and so should not only they, but also all such as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reason, that the queen's promise was not to be suspected, neither yet the laird of Dun's request to be contemned, and so did the whole multitude with their preachers stay.

In this meantime that the preachers were summoned, *to wit*, the second of May 1559, arrived John Knox from France, who lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to Dundee, where he earnestly required them, "That he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his faith with them:" which granted unto him, he departed unto St Johnstone with them; where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The queen, perceiving that the preachers did not compear, began to utter her malice; and, notwithstanding any request made in

the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the born, inhibiting all men, under pain of rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort; which extremity perceived by the said laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himself, for otherwise, by all appearance, he had not escaped imprisonment; for the master of Maxwell, a man zealous and stout in God's cause, as then appeared, under the cloak of another small crime, was that same day committed to ward, because he did boldly affirm, "That to the uttermost of his power, he would assist the preachers, and the congregation; notwithstanding any sentence which was, unjustly, or should be, pronounced against them." The laird of Dun, coming to St Johnstone, expounded the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the queen's craft and falsehood.* Which understood, the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magistrate, stay them from destroying the places of idolatry; the manner whereof was this: the preachers had declared before, how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry and what abomination was in the mass. It chanced, that the next day, which was the 11th of May, after that the preachers were exiled, that after the sermon, which was vehement against idolatry, that a priest in contempt would go to the mass; and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle, which stood upon the high altar. There stood beside certain godly men, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, "This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite." The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and casting at the priest, did hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image; and immediately the whole multitude that were

* There is in this place, in the other copy, inserted the summons against the friars, which is in the end of the first book.

about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle, and to all other monuments of idolatry, which they despatched, before the tenth man in the town were advertised, for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude, who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the grey and black friars; and notwithstanding that they had within them very stark [strong] guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil. And in very deed the Greyfriars was a place [so] well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to report what provision they had; their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no earl in Scotland had the better; their napery was fine; they were but eight persons in convent, and yet had eight puncheons of salt beef,—consider the time of the year, the 11th of May,—wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals effeiring [corresponding] thereto. The like abundance was not in the blackfriars; and yet there was more than became men professing poverty. The spoil was permitted to the poor; for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness' sake none should put their hand to such a reformation, that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conscience so moved them, that they suffered these hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places. The prior of Charterhouse was permitted to take with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So were men's consciences before beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, *to wit*, the black and grey friars, and the Charterhouse monks, a building of a

wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications. Which, reported to the queen, she was so enraged that she did vow "utterly to destroy St Johnstone, man, woman, and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation." We suspecting nothing such cruelty, but thinking that such words might escape her in choler, without purpose determined, because she was a woman set on fire by the complaints of those hypocrites who flocked unto her, as ravens to a carrion; we, we say, suspecting nothing such beastly cruelty, returned to our own houses; leaving in St Johnstone John Knox to instruct, because they were young and rude [raw, untaught] in Christ. But she, set on fire, partly by her own malice, partly by her friends in France, and not a little by bribes, which she and Monsieur d'Oysel received from the bishops and priests here at home, did continue in her rage. And, first, she sent for all the nobility, to whom she complained, "That we meant nothing but rebellion." She did grievously aggreage* the destruction of the Charterhouse, because it was a king's foundation; and there was the tomb of king James the first; and by such other persuasions, she made the most part grant to pursue us. And then incontinent sent she for her Frenchmen; for that was, and ever has been her joy to see Scotsmen dip one with another's blood. No man was at that time more frank against us than was the duke, led by the cruel beast, the bishop of St Andrews, and by those that yet abuse him, the abbot of Kilwinning, and Matthew Hamilton of Milburn, two chief enemies to Christ Jesus; yea, and enemies to the duke, and to his whole house, but in so far as thereby they procure their particular profit. These and such other pestilent papists ceased not to cast faggots in the fire, continually crying, "Forward upon these heretics; we shall once rid this realm of them." The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge,

† Aggreage, aggravate.—"lament" is the word used in the suppressed edition.—*Ed.*

some of us repaired to the town again, about the 22d day of May, and there did abide, for the comfort of our brethren: where, after invocation of the name of God, we began to put the town and ourselves in such strength, as we thought might best stand for our defence. And, because we were not utterly despaired of the queen's favour, we caused form a letter to her grace as follows:

"To the queen's grace, regent, all humble obedience and duty premised.

"As heretofore, with jeopard of our lives, and yet willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland, and your grace, now regent in this realm, in service to our bodies dangerous and painful; so now, with most dolorous minds, we are constrained, by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your grace, that except this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we will be compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience' sake, which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortal creatures, farther than by God's word man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. We signify more unto your grace, that if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, that we will not only notify our innocence and petitions to the king of France, to our mistress, and to her husband, but also to the princes and council of every christian realm, declaring unto them, that this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder, intended against us, against towns and multitudes, was, and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which, in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our sovereign mistress, to her husband, and unto your grace regent; providing, that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty which Christ Jesus has purchased unto us by his blood; and that we may have his word truly preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministrated unto us; without the which we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortal man; for better, we think, to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard our souls to perpetual condemnation, by deny-

ing Christ Jesus, and his manifest verity, which thing not only do they that commit open idolatry, but also all such as seeing their brethren unjustly pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do, nevertheless, withdraw from them their dutiful support. We would not your grace should be deceived by the false persuasions of these cruel beasts, the kirkmen, who affirm, that your grace needeth not greatly to regard the loss of us that profess Christ Jesus in this realm. If—as God forbid—ye give ear to their pestilent counsel, and so use against us this extremity pretended; it is to be feared, that neither ye, nor your posterity, shall at any time after this, find that obedience and faithful service within this realm, which at all times ye have found in us. We declare our judgment freely, as true and faithful subjects. God move your grace's heart favourably to interpret our faithful meaning. Farther, advertising your grace, that the self same thing, together with all things we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notify by our letters to the king of France; asking of you, in the name of the eternal God, and as your grace tenders the peace and quietness of this realm, that ye invade us not with violence, till we receive answer from our mistress, her husband, and from their advised council there. And thus we commit your grace to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St Johnstone, the 22d of May, 1559."

Sic subscribitur,

"Your grace's obedient subjects in all things, not repugning to God,

"The faithful congregation of Jesus Christ in Scotland."

In the same tenor we wrote to Monsieur d'Oysel in French, requiring of him, that by his wisdom he would mitigate the queen's rage, and the rage of the priests; otherwise that flame, which then began to burn, would so kindle, that when some men would, it could not be slockened[quenched]. Adding farther, that he declared himself no faithful servant to his master, the king of France, if for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute us and so compel us to

take the sword of just defence. In like manner we wrote to captain Serra la Bourse, and to all the other captains, and French soldiers in general, admonishing them, that their vocation was not to fight against us natural Scotsmen; neither yet that they had any such commandment of their master. We beseeched them, therefore, not to provoke us to enmity against them, considering, that they had found us favourable in their most extreme necessities. We declared farther unto them, that if they entered in hostility and bloody war against us, that the same should remain longer than their and our lives, *to wit*, even in all posterities to come, so long as natural Scotsmen should have power to revenge such cruelty, and most horrible ingratitude.

These letters were caused be spread abroad in great abundance, to the end that some might come to the knowledge of men. The queen regent's letter was laid upon her cushion in the chapel royal of Stirling, where she accustomed to sit at mass. She looked upon it, and put it in the pocket of her gown. Monsieur d'Oysel and the captains received theirs delivered even by their own soldiers—for some amongst them were favourers of the truth—who after the reading of them, began to rive their own beards; for that was the modest behaviour of Monsieur d'Oysel, when the truth was told unto him, so that it repugned to his fantasy. These our letters were suppressed to the uttermost of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the queen and priests could not be stayed, but forward they move against us, who then were but a very few and mean number of gentlemen in St Johnstone. We perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren, to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men so ready bent, that the work of God was evidently to be espied; and because we would omit no diligence to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a letter to those of the nobility—who then persecuted us—as after follows:

“To the nobility of Scotland, the congregation of Christ Jesus within the

same, desire the spirit of righteous judgment.

“Because we are not ignorant, that the nobility of this realm who now persecute us, employing their whole study and force to maintain the kingdom of Satan, of superstition and idolatry, are yet not the less divided in opinion; we, the congregation of Christ Jesus, by you unjustly persecuted, have thought good, in one letter, to write unto you severally. We say, ye are divided in opinion: for some of you think that we who have taken upon us this enterprise, to remove idolatry, and the monuments of the same, to erect the true preaching of Christ Jesus in the bounds committed to our charges, are heretics, seditious men, and troublers of this commonwealth; and, therefore, that no punishment is sufficient for us: and so, blinded with this rage, and under pretence to serve the authority, ye proclaim war, and threaten destruction, without all order of law against us. To you, we say, that neither your blind zeal, neither yet the colour of authority, shall excuse you in God's presence, who commands ‘none to suffer death till that he be openly convicted in judgment, to have offended against God, and against his law written;’ which no mortal creature is able to prove against us. For whatsoever we have done, the same we have done at God's commandment, who plainly commands idolatry, and all monuments of the same, to be destroyed and abolished. Our earnest and long request has been, and yet is, that in open assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, ‘Whether that these abominations, named by the pestilent papists, religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ or not?’ Now, this our humble request denied unto us, our lives are sought in a most cruel manner; and ye, the nobility, whose duty is to defend innocents and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men—were it of princes or emperors—do, notwithstanding, follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us, your brethren and natural countrymen; yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all such crimes as be laid to our charges. If

ye think that we be criminal because we dissent from your opinions, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Christ Jesus after his ascension, his primitive kirk, and holy martyrs, did dissent from the whole world in their days; and will ye deny but that their action was just, and that all those that persecuted them were murderers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world had not that day of theirs? Ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they; ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not; ye have councils, laws, and men of reputation that have established all things, as ye suppose; but none of all these can make any religion acceptable before God, which only depends upon his own will, revealed to man in his most sacred word. Is it not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security, in the matter of your own salvation, considering that God gives unto you so manifest tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God? For if 'the tree shall be judged by the fruit'—as Christ Jesus affirmed, 'that it must be'—then, of necessity it is, that your prelates, and the whole rabble of your clergy, be evil trees. For, if adultery, pride, ambition, drunkenness, covetousness, incest, unthankfulness, oppression, murder, idolatry, and blasphemy be evil fruits, there can none of that generation, which claim to themselves the title of kirkmen, be judged good trees; for all these pestilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in great abundance. And if they be evil trees—as ye yourselves must be compelled to confess they are—advise prudently with what consciences ye can maintain them, to occupy the room and place in the Lord's vineyard. Do ye not consider, that in so doing, ye labour to maintain the servants of sin in their filthy corruptions; and so consequently ye labour, that the devil may reign, and still abuse this realm, by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Christ Jesus and his blessed evangel be suppressed and extinguished.

“The name and the cloak of the authority—which ye pretend—will nothing excuse

ye in God's presence, but rather shall ye bear double condemnation; for that ye burden God, as that his good ordinances were the cause of your iniquity. 'All authority which God has established, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under the pain of damnation: but do ye not consider, that there is a great difference betwixt the authority which is God's ordinance, and the persons of those who are placed in authority. The authority and God's ordinance can never do wrong; for it commands, 'That vice and wicked men be punished, and virtue and virtuous and just men be maintained; but the corrupt persons placed in this authority may offend, and most commonly do, contrary to his authority. Are then corruptions of persons to be followed, by reason he is clad with the name of authority? Or, shall those that obey the wicked commandment of those that are placed in authority, be excused before God? Not so; not so; but the plagues and vengeance of God taken upon kings, their servants, and subjects, do witness to us the plain contrary. Pharaoh was a king, and had his authority of God, who commanded his subjects to murder and torment the Israelites, and at last most cruelly to persecute their lives: but was their obedience—blind rage it should be called—excusable before God? The universal plague did plainly declare, that the wicked commander, and those that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And if the example of Pharaoh shall be rejected, because he was an ethnic [heathen], then let us consider the fact of Saul: he was a king anointed of God, appointed to reign over his people, he commanded to persecute David, because, as he alleged, David was a traitor, an usurper of the crown, and likewise commanded Abimelech the high priest and his fellows to be slain; but did God approve any part of this obedience? Evident it is that he did not. And think ye, that God will approve in you that which he did damn in others? Be not deceived, with God there is no such particularity; if ye obey the unjust commandment of wicked rulers, ye shall suffer God's vengeance and just punishment with them; and, therefore,

as ye tender your own salvation, we most earnestly require of you moderation, and that ye stay yourselves, and the fury of others, from persecuting of us, till our cause be tried in open and lawful judgment.

“And now, to you that are persuaded of the justice of our cause, that sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, and that also have exhorted us to this enterprise, and yet have left us in our extreme necessity, or at least look through your fingers, in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not to you; we say, that unless—all fear and worldly respects set aside—ye join with us yourselves, that as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicate from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of the sacraments. The glory of this victory, which God shall give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you; but the fearful judgments, that apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perchance contemn, and despise the excommunication of the kirk—now by God’s mighty power erected among us—as a thing of no force; but yet doubt we nothing, but that our kirk, and the true ministers of the same, have the same power which our Master, Christ Jesus, granted to his apostles in these words, ‘Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven; and whose sins ye retain, shall be retained;’ and that, because they preach, and we believe the same doctrine which is contained in his most blessed word. And, therefore, except that ye will contemn Christ Jesus, neither can ye despise our threatening, neither yet refuse us calling for your just defence. By your fainting, and by abstracting of your support, the enemies are encouraged, thinking, that they shall find no resistance; in which point—God willing—they shall be deceived: for if they were ten thousand, and we but one thousand, they shall not murder the least of our brethren, but we—God assisting us—shall first commit our lives in the hands of God for their defence. But this shall aggravate your damnation, for ye declare yourselves both traitors to the truth once professed, and mur-

derers of us, and of your brethren, from whom ye draw your dutiful and promised support, whom—to man’s judgment—your only presence might preserve from this danger; for our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and strength of man. When the number is mean to resist them, then rage they as bloody wolves; but a party equal or able to resist them in appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your own consciences, and weigh that sentence of our Master, Jesus Christ, saying, ‘Whosoever denies me, or is ashamed of me before men, I shall deny him before my Father.’ Now is the day of his battles in this realm; if ye deny us your brethren, suffering for his name’s sake, ye do also deny him, as himself doth witness in these words, ‘Whatsoever ye did unto any of those little ones, that ye did unto me; and what ye did not to one of these little ones, that ye did not unto me.’ If these sentences be true, as concerning meat, drink, clothing, and such things as appertain to the body, shall they not be likewise true in those things that appertain to the preservation of the lives of thousands, whose blood is now sought, for professing of Christ Jesus? And thus shortly leave we you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examination of your own consciences. And yet once again, of you, who blinded by superstition persecute us, we require moderation, till our cause may be tried, which if ye will not grant unto us for God’s cause, yet we desire you to have respect to the preservation of our common country, which we cannot sooner betray in the hands of strangers, than that one of us destroy and murder another. Consider our petitions, and call for the spirit of righteous judgment.”

These our letters being divulged, some men began to reason whether of conscience they might invade us or not, considering that we offered due obedience to the authority; requiring nothing but the liberty of conscience, and our religion and fact [actions] to be tried by the word of God. Our letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of the brethren in Cunningham and Kyle, who convened at the

kirk of Craigie, where, after some contrarious reasons, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, in zeal, burst forth in those words, "Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St Johnstone: yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me, I will go, and if it were but with a pick upon my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them." These words so encouraged the rest, that all decreed to go forward, as that they did so stoutly, that when the lion herald in coat armour, commanded all men under the pain of treason to return to their houses by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we will after hear. When it was clearly understood that the prelates and their adherents, suppressing our petitions as far as in them lay, did kindle the fury of all men against us, it was thought expedient to write unto them some declaration of our minds, which we did in this form following:

"To the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland, the congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth,

"To the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after that ye in your blind fury have caused the blood of many [to] be shed, this we notify and declare unto you, that if ye proceed in this your malicious cruelty, ye shall be entreated—wheresoever ye shall be apprehended—as murderers and open enemies to God and mankind: and, therefore, betimes cease from this your bloody rage. Remove first from yourselves your bands of bloody men of war, and reform yourselves to a more quiet life, and thereafter mitigate ye the authority, which, without crime committed upon our part, ye have inflamed against us; or else be ye assured, that with the same measure that ye have measured against us; and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you; that is, as ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry, so shall we with all our force and power, which God shall grant unto us, ex-

ecute just vengeance and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war that God commanded the Israelites to execute against the Canaanites, that is, contract of peace shall never be made, till ye desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children.* And this we signify unto you in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, whose verity we profess, and evangel we will have preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatry. Take this for advertisement, and be not deceived."

These our requests and advertisements notwithstanding, Monsieur d'Oysel and his Frenchmen, with the priests and their bands, marched forward against us to St Johnstone, and approached within ten miles to the town. Then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief: the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, with the town of Dundee, were they that first hazarded to resist the enemy; and for that purpose was chosen a piece of ground, a mile or more distant from the town. In this meantime the lord Ruthven, provost of the town of St Johnstone, and a man whom many judged stout and godly in that action—as in very deed he was even to his last breath—left the town, and first departed to his own place, and after to the queen; whose defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many: and yet did God so comfort his [own], that within the space of twelve hours after, the hearts of all men were erected again. For these that were then assembled did not so much hope victory by their own strength, as by the power of him whose verity they professed, and began one to comfort another till the whole multitude were erected in a reasonable esperance [hope of success]. The day after that the lord Ruthven departed, which was the 24th of May, came the earl of Argyle, lord James, prior of St Andrews, and the lord Semple, directed from the queen regent to inquire the cause of that convocation of lieges there. To

* This was a threat which they did not execute when they had it in their power, as we shall see by and by.—*Ed.*

whom, when it was answered, that it was only to resist that cruel tyranny devised against that poor town, and the inhabitants of the same, they asked, "if we minded not to hold that town against the authority, and against the queen regent." To the which question answered the lairds of Dun and Pitarrow, with the congregation of Angus and Mearns, the master of Lindsay, the lairds of Lundie, Balwaird, and other barons of Fife, "That if the queen's grace would suffer the religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble their brethren and sisters that had professed Christ Jesus with them, that the town, they themselves, and whatsoever to them pertained, should be at the queen's commandment." Which answer understood, the earl of Argyle and the prior—who both were then protestants—began to muse, and said plainly, that they were far otherwise informed by the queen, *to wit*, "That we meant no religion, but a plain rebellion." To the which when we had answered simply, and as the truth was, *to wit*, "That we convened for no other purpose, but only to assist our brethren, who then were most unjustly persecuted; and, therefore, we desired [them] faithfully to report our answer, and to be intercessors to the queen regent, that such cruelty should not be used against us, considering that we had offered in our former letters, as well to the queen's grace, as to the nobility, our matter to be tried in lawful judgment. They promised fidelity in that behalf, which also they kept. The day after, which was the 25th day of May, before that the said lords departed, in the morning John Knox desired to speak with the same lords, which granted unto him, he was convoyed to their lodging by the laird of Balwaird; and thus he began:

THE ORATION OF JOHN KNOX TO THE LORDS.

"The present troubles, honourable lords, ought to move the hearts, not only of the true servants of God, but also of all such as bear any favour to their country, and natural countrymen, to descend within themselves and deeply to consider what shall be the end of this pretended tyranny. The rage of Satan seeketh the destruction of all those that within this realm profess

Christ Jesus; and they that inflame the queen's grace, and you the nobles against us, regard not who prevail, provided that they may abuse the world, and live at their pleasure, as heretofore they have done. Yea, I fear that some seek nothing more than the effusion of Scottish blood, to the end that your possessions may be the more patent to others. But, because that this is not the principal [matter to] which I have to speak, omitting the same to be considered by the wisdom of those to whom the care of the commonwealth appertaineth. 1st, I most humbly require of you, my lords, in my name, to say to the queen's grace regent, that we, whom she in her blind rage doth persecute, are God's servants, faithful and obedient subjects to the authority of this realm; that that religion, which she pretendeth to maintain by fire and sword, is not the true religion of Christ Jesus, but is express contrary to the same; a superstition devised by the brain of man; which I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and God's written word being admitted for judge. 2d, I farther require your honours, in my name, to say to her grace, that as of before I have written, so now I say, that this her enterprise shall not prosperously succeed in the end, albeit for a time she trouble the saints of God. For she fights not against man only, but against the eternal God and his invincible verity; and, therefore, the end shall be her confusion, unless betimes she repent and desist. These things require I of you, in the name of the eternal God, as from my mouth, to say unto her grace: adding, that I have been, and I am a more assured friend to her grace, than they that either flattering her grace, are servants of her corrupt affections or appetites, or else inflame her against us, who seek nothing but God's glory to be advanced, vice to be suppressed, and verity to be maintained in this poor realm."

They all three did promise to report his words, so far as they could, which afterwards we understood they did; yea, the lord Semple himself, a man sold under sin,

enemy to God, and to all godliness, did make such report, that the queen was somewhat offended, that any man should use such liberty in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice; for immediately thereafter, she sent her lion herald, with letters, straitly charging all men to avoid the town, under the pain of treason: which letters, after he had declared to the chief men of the congregation, he publicly proclaimed the same, upon Sunday, the 27th of May. In this meantime, came sure knowledge to the queen, to the duke, and to Monsieur d'Oysel, that the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the young sheriff of Ayr, the lairds of Craigg Wallace, Cesnock, Carnell, Bar, Garthgirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cunningham, approached for our relief; and in very deed they came in such diligence, and such a number, that as the enemy had just cause to fear, so have all they that professed Christ Jesus matter to praise God, for their fidelity and stout courage in that need; for by their presence, was the tyranny of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was such, that albeit the passages by Stirling, and six miles above, were stopped,—for there lay the queen with her bands, and caused cut the bridges upon the waters of Forth, Gудie,* and Teith, above Stirling,—yet made they such expedition through desert and mountain, that they prevented the enemy, and approached within six miles of our camp, which then lay without the town, awaiting upon the enemy, before that any assured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was of good count, five and twenty hundred men, whereof there were twelve hundred horsemen. The queen understanding how the said earl and lords, with their company approached, caused to beset all ways, that no advertisement should come to us, to the end, that we, despairing of support, might condescend to such appointment as she required; and sent first to require, that some discreet men of our number would come and speak the

duke and Monsieur d'Oysel,—who then with their army lay at Auchterarder, ten miles from St Johnstone,—to the end that some reasonable appointment might be had. She had persuaded the earl of Argyle, and all others, that we meant nothing but rebellion; and therefore had he promised unto her, that, in case we should not stand content with a reasonable appointment, he should declare himself plain enemy to us, notwithstanding that he professed the same religion with us. From us were sent the laird of Dun, the laird Innerwharthy, Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, to hear what appointment the queen would offer. The duke and Monsieur d'Oysel required that the town should be made patent, and that all things should be referred to the queen's pleasure. To the which they answered, "That neither had they commission so to promise, neither durst they of conscience so persuade their brethren. But if that the queen's grace would promise, that no inhabitant of the town should be troubled for any such crimes as might be alleged against them for the late mutation of religion, and abolishment of idolatry, and for downcasting of the places of the same; and if she would suffer the religion begun to go forward, and leave the town at her departing free from the garrisons of French soldiers, that they would labour at the hands of their brethren that the queen should be obeyed in all things." Monsieur d'Oysel perceiving the danger to be great if that a sudden appointment should not be made; and that they were not able to execute their tyranny against us, after that the congregation of Kyle—of whose coming we had no advertisement—should be joined with us; with good words dismissed the said lairds to persuade the brethren to quiet concord; to the which all men were so well minded, that with one voice they cried, "Cursed be they that seek effusion of blood, war, or dissension. Let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his evangel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be." With all expedition were sent from Stirling again,—after that the coming of the earl of Glencairn was known, for the ene-

* Gудie water flows from the lake of Men-teith, and enters the Forth a little below Leckie.—Ed.

my for fear quaked,—the earl of Argyle and lord James foresaid; and in their company a crafty man, Mr Gavin Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, who were sent by the queen to finish the appointment foresaid; but before that they came, was the earl of Glencairn and his honourable company arrived in the town; and then began all men to praise God, for that he had so mercifully heard them in their most extreme necessity, and had sent unto them such relief, as was able, without effusion of blood, to stay the rage of the enemy. The earl of Argyle and lord James did earnestly persuade the agreement, to the which all men were willing; but some did smell the craft of the adversaries, *to wit*, that they were minded to keep no point of the promise longer than they had obtained their intent. With the earl of Glencairn came our loving brother John Willock; John Knox was in the town before; these two went to the earl of Argyle and prior, accusing them of infidelity, in so far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutiful support and comfort in their greatest necessities. They answered both, “That their heart was constant with their brethren, and that they would defend that cause to the uttermost of their power. But because they had promised to labour for concord, and assist the queen in case we refused reasonable offers; of conscience and honour they could do no less than to be faithful in their promise: and therefore they required that the brethren might be persuaded to consent to that reasonable appointment; promising, in God’s presence, that if the queen did break in any jot thereof, that they, with their whole powers, would assist and concur with their brethren in all times to come.” This promise made, the preachers appeased the multitude, and obtained the end that all men did consent to the appointment foresaid, which they obtained not without great labours. And no wonder, for many foresaw the danger to follow; yea the preachers themselves, in open sermons, did affirm plainly, “That they were assuredly persuaded that the queen meant no truth: but to stop the mouth of the adversary, who did unjustly burden us with re-

bellion, they most earnestly required all men to approve the appointment, and so to suffer hypocrisy to disclose itself.” This appointment was concluded the 28th of May, and the day following, at two afternoon, departed the congregation from St Johnstone, after that John Knox had in his sermon, exhorted all men to constancy, and unfeignedly to thank God, for that it had pleased his mercy to stay the rage of the enemy, without effusion of blood, and that no brother should weary nor faint to support such as should afterwards be likewise persecuted: “For,” said he, “I am assured, that no part of this promise made shall be longer kept than the queen and her Frenchmen have the upper hand.” Many of the enemies were at the same sermon; for after that the appointment was made they had free entries into the town to provide lodgings. Before the lords departed was this bond made, whose tenor follows, as it was written and subscribed.

“At Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559, the congregation of the west country, with the congregation of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for forthsetting of his glory—understanding nothing more necessary for the same than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged, in the presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers to destroy, and away-put, all things that do dishonour to his name; so that God may be purely and truly worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregations, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation, or person troubled; and shall not spare labours, goods, substances, bodies, and lives in maintaining the liberties of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever power that shall intend the said trouble, for cause of

religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or laid to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause. In witnessing and testimony of which, the whole congregations foresaid have ordained and appointed the noblemen and persons underwritten to subscribe these presents."

Sic subscribitur,

"ARCH. ARGYLE. GLENCAIRN.
ROBERT lord Boyd. OCHILTREE.
JAMES STEWART.
MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Teringland."

The 29th day of May, entered the queen, the duke, Monsieur d'Oysel, and the Frenchmen, who, in discharging their volley of hackbuts, did well mark the house of Patrick Murray, a man fervent in religion, and that boldly had sustained all dangers in that trouble; against whose stair they directed six or seven shot, even against the faces of those that were there lying. All men escaped except the son of the said Patrick, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, who being slain, was had to the queen's presence: but she understanding whose son he was, said in mockage, "It is a pity it chanced on the son, and not on the father; but seeing that so it chanced, me cannot be against fortune." This was her happy entry into St Johnstone, and the great zeal she bore to justice. The swarm of papists that entered with her began straight to make provision for their mass; and because the altars were not so easily to be repaired again, they provided tables, whereof some before used to serve for drunkards, dicers, and carders, but they were holy enough for the priest and his pageant. The queen began to rage against all godly and honest men, their houses were oppressed by the Frenchmen, the lawful magistrates, as well provost as bailies, were unjustly, and without all order, deposed from their authority. A wicked man, void of God's fear and destitute of all virtue, [John Charteris], the laird of Kinfauns, was intruded by her provost of the town, whereat all honest men were offended; they left their own houses, and with their wives and children sought amongst their brethren some resting place for a time. She took order that four ensigns of

the soldiers should remain in the town to maintain idolatry, and to resist the congregation. Honest and indifferent men asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise? She answered, "That she was bound to no heretics to keep promise: and moreover, that she promised only to leave the town void of French soldiers, which she said she did, because that these that were left within were Scotsmen. But when it was reasoned in her contrary, that all those that took wages of France were counted French soldiers: she answered, "Princes must not straitly be bound to keep their promises. Myself," said she, "would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and heritages, if I might do it with as honest an excuse:" and then she left the town in extreme bondage, after that her ungodly Frenchmen had most cruelly entreated the most part of these that remained in the same. The earl of Argyle, and lord James foresaid, perceiving in the queen nothing but mere tyranny and falsehood, mindful of their former promise made to their brethren, did secretly convoy themselves and their companies off the town; and with them departed the lord Ruthven—of whom before mention is made—the earl of Menteith, and the laird of Tullybardine, who, in God's presence did confederate, and bind themselves together, faithfully promising one to assist another against all persons that would pursue them for religion's sake; and also that they, with their whole force and power, would defend the brethren persecuted for the same cause. The queen, highly offended at the sudden departure of the persons foresaid, sent charges to them to return under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered, "That with safe conscience they could not be partakers of so manifest tyranny as by her was committed, and of so great iniquity as they perceived devised, by her and her ungodly council the prelates."

This answer was given to her the first day of June, and immediately the earl of Argyle and lord James repaired towards St Andrews, and in their journey gave advertisement, by writing, to the laird of Dun, to the laird of Pitarrow, to the provost of

Dundee, and others, professors in Angus, to visit them in St Andrews the fourth of June, for reformation to be made there. Which day they kept, and brought in their company John Knox, who, the first day, after his coming to Fife, did preach in Crail, the next day in Anstruther, minding the Sunday, which was the third, to preach in St Andrews. The bishop, hearing of reformation to be made in his cathedral church, thought time to stir, or else never; and, therefore, assembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, besides his other friends, and came to the town upon the Saturday, at night, accompanied with a hundred spears, of mind to have stopped John Knox to have preached. The lords and gentlemen foresaid, were only accompanied with their quiet households, and, therefore, the sudden coming of the bishop was more fearful; for then were the queen and her Frenchmen departed from St Johnstone, and were lying in Falkland, within twelve miles of St Andrews; and the town at that time had not given profession of Christ, and, therefore, could not the lords be assured of their friendship. Consultation being had, many were of mind that the preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially that John Knox should not preach, for that did the bishop affirm that he would not suffer, considering that by his commandment the picture of the said John was before burnt. He willed, therefore, an honest gentleman, Robert Colvill of Cleish, to say to the lords, "That in case the said John Knox presented himself to the preaching place, in his town and principal kirk, he should gar him be saluted with a dozen of culverins, whereof the most part should light on his nose." After long deliberation had, the said John was called, that his own judgment might be had. When many persuasions were made that he should delay for that time, and great terrors given in case he should enterprise such a thing, as it were in contempt of the bishops, he answered, "God is witness that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither mind I to present myself to that place, having either respect to my own private commodity, either yet

to the worldly hurt of any creature; but to delay to preach to-morrow—unless the body be violently withholden—I cannot of conscience: for in this town and kirk began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of France, by procurement of the bishops, as ye all well enough know. How long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one have heard me say, when the body was far absent from Scotland, that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preach in St Andrews, before I departed this life. And therefore," said he, "my lords, seeing that God, above the expectation of many, has brought the body to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from the which most unjustly I was removed, I beseech your honours not to stop me to present myself unto my brethren. And as for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek; and, therefore, I cannot so fear their boast nor tyranny, that I will cease from doing my duty, when God of his mercy offereth the occasion. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek farther where I may have it." At these words, which he spoke, were the lords fully content that he should occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did entreat [commented on] "the ejection of the buyers and the sellers forth of the temple of Jerusalem," as it is written in the evangelists Matthew and John; and so applied the corruption that was then to the corruption that is in the papistry: and Christ's fact, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto, that as well the magistrates, the provost and bailies, as the commonalty, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition. The bishop advertised hereof, departed that same day to the queen, who lay with her Frenchmen, as said is, in Falk-

land. The hot fury of the bishops did so kindly her choler—and yet the love was very cold betwixt them—that without farther delay, conclusion was taken to invade St Andrews, and the two young lords, who then were very slenderly accompanied. Posts were sent from the queen with all diligence to Coupar, distant only six miles from St Andrews, to prepare lodgings and victuals for the queen and her Frenchmen. Couriers were sent before, and lodgings were assigned. Which thing understood, counsel was given to the lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to Coupar: which they did, giving advertisement to all brethren with possible expedition to repair towards them; which they also did, with such diligence, that in their assembly the wondrous work of God might be espied: for when at night the lords came to Coupar, they were not a hundred horse, and a certain footmen whom lord James brought from the coast side; and yet, before the next day at twelve hours—which was Tuesday the 13th of June—the number passed three thousand men, which by God's providence came unto the lords; from Lothian, the lairds of Ormiston, Calder, Halton, Restalrig, and Colston, who, albeit they understood at their departing from their own house no such trouble, yet were they by their good counsel very comfortable that day. The lord Ruthven came from St Johnstone, with some horsemen with him: the earl of Rothes, sheriff of Fife, came with an honest company. The towns of Dundee and St Andrews declared themselves both stout and faithful. Coupar, because it stood in greatest danger, assisted with their whole force. Finally, God did so multiply our number, that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds. The enemy understanding nothing of our force, assured themselves of victory. Who had been in Falkland the night before, might have seen embracing and kissing betwixt the queen, the duke, and the bishop. But Mr Gavin Hamilton, gaper for the bishopric of St Andrews, above all others was lovingly embraced of the queen; for he made his solemn vow, that he would fight, and that

he should never return till he had brought these traitors to her grace, either quick or dead. And thus before midnight did they send forward their ordnance, themselves did follow by three hours in the morning. The lords hereof advertised, assembled their company early in the morning upon Coupar muir; where by the advice of James Halyburton provost of Dundee, was chosen a place of ground convenient for our defence; for it was so chosen, that upon all sides our ordnance might have beat the enemy, and yet we to have stood in safety, if we had been pursued, till we had come to hand strokes. The lord Ruthven took the charge of the horsemen, and ordered them so, that the enemy was never permitted to espy our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy—as before is said—thinking to have found no resistance, after that they had twice or thrice practised with us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile before that ever their horsemen stayed, and yet they kept betwixt us and them a great water for their strength. It appeared to us that either they marched for Coupar or St Andrews; and, therefore, our horsemen in their troop, and a part of the footmen marched somewhat always before them for safety of the town. The lords, with the gentlemen of Fife, and so many of Angus and Mearns as were present, kept themselves close in a knot, near to the number of a thousand spears.

The towns of Dundee and St Andrews were arrayed in another battle [battalion], who came not to the sight of the enemy, till that after twelve hours [12 o'clock noon], that the mist began to vanish, and then passed some of their horsemen to a mountain, from the height whereof they might discern our number, which perceived by them, their horsemen and footmen stayed [halted] incontinent. Posts ran to the duke and Monsieur d'Oysel, to declare our number, and what order we kept; and then were mediators sent to make appointment; but they were not suffered to approach near the lords, neither yet to the view of our camp, which put them to

greater fear. Answer was given unto them, "That as we had offended no man, so would we seek appointment of no man; but if any would seek our lives—as we were informed they did—they should find us if they pleased to make diligence." This answer received, were sent again the lord Lindsay, and laird of Waughton, who earnestly requested us to concord, and that we would not be the occasion that innocent blood should be shed.* We answered, "That neither had we quarrel against any man, neither yet sought we any man's blood; only we were convened for defence of our own lives, unjustly sought by others." We added farther, "That if they could find the means that we and our brethren might be free from the tyranny devised against us, that they should reasonably desire nothing which should be denied for our part." This answer received, the duke and Monsieur d'Oysel, having commission of the queen regent, required, that assurance might be taken for eight days, to the end that indifferent men in the meantime might commune upon some final agreement of those things which then were in controversy. Hereto did we fully consent, albeit that in number and force we were far superior; † and for testification hereof, we sent unto them our hand-writes, and we likewise received theirs, with promise that within two or three days some discreet men should be sent unto us to St Andrews, with farther knowledge of the queen's mind. The tenor of the assurance was this:

THE ASSURANCE.

"We, James, duke of Châtelherault, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, &c. and my lord d'Oysel, lieutenant for the king in these parts, for ourselves, assisters, and partakers, being presently with us in company, by the tenor hereof promise faithfully of honour to my lords Archibald, earl of Argyle, and James, commendator of the priory of St Andrews, to their assisters, and partakers, being presently with them in company, that we, and our company foresaid, shall retire incontinent to Falkland; and shall, with diligence, transport the Frenchmen and our other folks now present with us; and that no Frenchmen, or other soldiers of ours, shall remain within the bounds of Fife, but so many as before the raising of the last army lay in Dysart, Kirkaldy, and Kinghorn, and the same to lie in the same places only, if we shall think good. And this to have effect for the space of eight days following the date hereof exclusive; that in the meantime certain noblemen, by the advice of the queen's grace, and the rest of the council, may convene to talk of such things as may make good order and quietness amongst the queen's lieges. And farther, we nor none of our assisters, being present with us, shall invade, trouble, or unquiet the said lords, nor their assisters, during the said space. And this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyalty, fidelity, and honour, to observe and keep in every point above written, but without fraud or guile. In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents with our

* Such persons are wonderfully tender and scrupulous about shedding blood, when it happens to be their own that is in danger; but it is very evident from the rest of the story, that there would have been no such delicacy had the danger been on the other side.—*Ed.*

† It was on this occasion that the congregation had it in their power to take ample vengeance on their persecutors. The queen and her party, in entire ignorance of their number and strength, had placed themselves at their mercy, and they might have attacked them with the best hope of cutting them off, and overturning the government. But they declared themselves to be only on the defensive, and would not draw a sword unless the attack was made on them, which their enemies were too wise to do. This shows that they were perfectly aware of their relation as subjects, and were determin-

ed not to rebel against their sovereign or her representative, but merely stand to the defence of their own lives, for which, I think, no reasonable man can blame them. They might, however, have made better terms for themselves by negotiation; but perhaps they had found by experience, that there were no terms which the queen would keep. They were outwitted when they consented to the truce of eight days. The queen and her councillors no doubt knew, that their entire body would not remain so long together, having nothing to do, and perhaps little to eat. And so it happened, for they dispersed; and they never again occupied such a favourable position till they got the aid of England. Their enemies made a most ungenerous use of their forbearance, for they continued to persecute them as much as ever.—*Ed.*

hands, at Gartabanks, the 13th of June, 1559.

“JAMES, DUKE.

“L. L. ENNEN, J.”*

And this received, we departed first, because we were thereto requested by the duke, and so returned to Coupar, lauding and praising God for his mercy showed; and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling place. The lords, and a great part of the gentlemen passed to St Andrews, who there abode certain days, still looking for those that were promised to come from the queen, for appointment to be made. But we perceiving her craft and deceit—for under that assurance she meant nothing else, but to convoy herself, her ordnance, her Frenchmen over the water of Forth—took consultation for deliverance of St Johnstone from these ungodly soldiers, and how our brethren, exiled from their own houses, might be restored again. It was concluded, that the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathearn, should convene at St Johnstone the 24th day of June for that purpose; and, in the meantime, were these letters written by the earl of Argyle and lord James, to the queen then regent.

“Madam,

“After the hearty commendations of service, this shall be to show your grace, that upon the 13th day of June, we were informed by them that were communers betwixt my lord duke, Monsieur d’Oysel, and us, that we should have spoken irreverently of your grace, which we beseech your grace, for the true service we have made, and are ready to make at all times to your grace; that of your goodness you will let us know the sayers thereof, and we shall do the duty of true subjects, to defend our own innocency, as we take God to witness, of the good zeal and love we bear towards you, to serve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods, desiring no other thing for our service but the liberty of our conscience, to serve the Lord our God, as we will answer to him, which

your grace ought and should give to us freely unrequired. Moreover, please your grace, that my lord duke, and the noblemen being in Stirling for the time, by your grace’s advice, solicited us to pass to the congregation convened at the town of Perth, to commune of concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to pass, as your grace knows; and there is one point that we plaint [complain] is not observed to us, which is, that no soldier should remain in the town after your grace’s departing; and suppose it may be inferred, it was spoken of French soldiers allenarly [only] yet we took it otherwise, like as we do yet, that Scotsmen, or any other nation taking the king of France’s wages, are reputed and holden French soldiers: therefore, since we of good will and mind brought that matter to your grace’s contentment, it will please your grace, of your goodness, to remove the soldiers and their captains, with others that have gotten charge of the town, that the same may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before by the bailies and council, conform to their indentments given to them by the ancient and most excellent kings of this realm, to elect and choose their officers at Michaelmas, and they to endure for the space of one year, conform to the old right and consuetude of this realm; which being done by your grace, we trust the better success shall follow thereupon to your grace’s contentment, as the bearer will declare at more length to your grace; whom God preserve.”

To St Johnstone, with the gentlemen before expressed, did convene the earl of Monteith, the laird of Glenorchy, and divers others who before had not presented themselves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was convened, a trumpet was sent by the lords, commanding the captains and their bands to avoid the town, and to leave it to the ancient liberty and just inhabitants of the same; also commanding the laird of Kinfauns, inset provost by the queen, with the captains foresaid, to cast up the ports of the town, and make the same patent to all our sovereign’s lieges, to the effect, that as well true religion now once begun therein may

* The editor of the old copy says he could not read this subscription, but, says he, the simile is Meneits, which perhaps was d’Oysel’s christian name.—Ed.

be maintained, and idolatry utterly suppressed; as also that the said town might joyse and bruick [enjoy and possess] their ancient laws and liberties unoppressed by men of war, according to their old privileges granted to them by the ancient princes of the realm, and according to the provision contained in the contract of marriage made by the nobility and parliament of this realm with the king of France, bearing, that none of our old laws nor liberties should be altered: adding thereto, if they foolishly resisted, and therein happened to commit murder, that they should be entreated as murderers. To the which they answered proudly, "That they would keep and defend that town, according to their promise made to the queen regent."

This answer received, preparation was made for the siege and assault; for amongst all it was concluded, that the town should be set at liberty, to what danger soever their bodies should be exponed. While preparation was in making, came the earl of Huntly, the lord Erskine, and Mr John Bannatyne, justice-clerk, requiring that the pursuit of the town should be delayed. To speak them were appointed the earl of Argyle, lord James, and lord Ruthven, who perceiving nothing in them but a drift of time, without any assurance that the former wrongs should be redressed, gave unto them short and plain answers, "That they would not delay their purpose an hour; and therefore willed them to certify the captains in the town, that if by pride and foolishness they would keep the town, and in so doing slay any of their brethren, that they every one should die as murderers." The earl of Huntly, displeased at this answer, departed, as highly offended, that he could not dress [effect] such an appointment, as should have contented the queen and the priests. After their departing, the town was again summoned. But the captains, supposing that no sudden pursuit should be made, and looking for relief to have been sent from the queen, abode in their former opinion. And so upon Saturday, the 25th of June, at ten hours at night, commanded the lord Ruthven, who besieged the west quarter, to shoot the first vol-

ley, which being done, the town of Dundee did the like, whose ordnaunce lay upon the east side of the bridge. The captains and soldiers within the town, perceiving that they were unable long to resist, required assurance till twelve hours [noon] upon the morn, promising, "That if ere that hour there came no relief unto them from the queen regent, that they would render the town, providing, that they should be suffered to depart the town with ensigns displayed." We, thirsting the blood of no man, and seeking only the liberty of our brethren, condescended to their desires, albeit we might have executed against them judgment without mercy, for that they had refused our former favours, and had slain one of our brethren, and had hurt two in their assistance; and yet we suffered them freely to depart without any farther molestation.

The town being delivered from their thralldom, upon Sunday the 26th of June, thanks were given to God for his great benefits received, and consultation was taken what was farther to be done. In this meantime, four zealous men, considering how obstinate, proud, and spiteful, the bishop of Murray had been before; how he had threatened the town by his soldiers and friends, who lay in the abbey of Scone, thought good that some order should be taken with him and with that place, which lay near to the town end. The lords wrote unto him,—for he lay in the said abbey, which was within two miles to St Johnstone,—“That unless he would come and assist them, they neither would spare nor save his place.” He answered by his writing, “That he would come and do as they thought expedient; that he would assist them with his force, and would vote with them against the rest of the clergy in parliament.” But because his answer was slow in coming, the town of Dundee, partly offended for the slaughter of their man, and specially bearing no good favour to the said bishop, for that he was and is chief enemy to Christ Jesus, and that by his counsel alone was Walter Milne our brother put to death, they marched forward. To stay them was first sent the provost of

Dundee, and his brother Alexander Haliburton, captain, who little prevailing, was sent unto them John Knox; but before his coming, they were entered to the pulling down of the idols and dortour.* And albeit the said Mr James Haliburton, Alexander his brother, and the said John, did what in them lay to have stayed the fury of the multitude; yet were they not able to put order universally; and therefore they sent for the lords, earl of Argyle, and lord James, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have saved the place and the kirk. But because the multitude had found, buried in the kirk, a great number of idols hid, of purpose to have preserved them to a better day,—as the papists spake,—the towns of Dundee and St Johnstone could not be satisfied, till that the whole reparation and ornaments of the kirk—as they termed it—were destroyed. And yet did the lords so travail, that they saved the bishop's palace, with the church and place, for that night: for the two lords did not depart till they brought with them the whole number of those that most sought the bishop's displeasure. The bishop, greatly offended that any thing should have been enterprised in the reformation of his place, asked of the lords his bond and handwriting, which not two hours before he had sent unto them, which delivered to his messenger, Adam Brown, advertisement was given, that if any farther displeasure chanced unto him, that he should not blame them.

The bishop's servants that same night began to fortify the place again, and began to do violence to some that were carrying away such baggage as they could come by. The bishop's gernel [granary] was kept the first night by the labours of John Knox, who by exhortation removed such as would violently have made eruption.† That same night departed from St Johnstone the earl of Argyle, and lord James, as after shall be declared. The morrow following, some of the poor, in hope of spoil, and some of

Dundee, to consider what was done, passed up to the said abbey of Scone; whereat the bishop's servants offended, began to threaten and speak proudly: and, as it was constantly affirmed, one of the bishop's sons stoggit [stabbed] through with a rapier one of Dundee, for because he was looking in at the gernel door. The bruit hereof noised abroad, the town of Dundee was more enraged than before, who, putting themselves in armour, sent word to the inhabitants of St Johnstone, "That unless they should support them to avenge that injury, that they should never after that day concur with them in any action." The multitude easily inflamed, gave the alarm, and so was that abbey and place appointed to sackage; in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the merciment of fire, whereat no small number of us were [so] offended, that patiently we could not speak to any that were of Dundee or St Johnstone. A poor aged matron, seeing the flame of fire pass up so mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and sober manner of speaking, said, "Now I see and understand that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able to save where he will punish. Since my remembrance, this place has been nothing else but a den of whoremongers. It is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins deflowered by the filthy beasts which have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man, who is called the bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God; and no man would be offended." This woman dwelt in the town, near unto the abbey, at whose words were many pacified; affirming with her, that it was God's just judgments. And assuredly, if the labours or travails of any man could have saved that place, it had not been at that time destroyed; for men of great estimation laboured with all diligence for the safety of it.

While these things were done at St

* Dortour—dormitory, bed-chamber, apartment containing a number of beds—Fr. dortoir, dormitorium.—Ed.

† Thus it appears, that so far from being active in destroying the property of the church, Knox exerted himself to protect it.—Ed.

Johnstone, the queen, fearing what should follow, determined to send certain bands of French soldiers to Stirling, of purpose to stop the passage to us that then were upon the north side of Forth; which understood, the earl of Argyle and lord James departed secretly upon the night, and with great expedition, preventing the French soldiers, they took the town,—before whose coming the rascal multitude put hands in the thieves' I should say, friars' places, and utterly destroyed them,—whereat the queen and her faction not a little afraid, with all diligence departed from Edinburgh to Dunbar. And so we with reasonable diligence marched forward to Edinburgh, for reformation to be made there, where we arrived the 29th of June. The provost for that time, the lord Seyton,—a man without God, without honesty, and oftentimes without reason,—had before greatly troubled and molested the brethren; for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the black and grey friars; for that purpose did [he] not only lie himself in the one every night, but also constrained the most honest in the town to watch these monsters, to their great grief and trouble. But he hearing of our sudden coming, abandoned his charge, and left the spoil to the poor, who had made havoc of all such things as were moveable in these places before our coming, and had left nothing but bare walls, yea not so much as door or window, whereto we were the less troubled in putting order in such places.

After that certain days we had deliberated what was to be done, and that order was taken for suppressing of all monuments of idolatry within that town, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken, to send some messengers to the queen, then regent, for she had bruited—as her accustomed manner was, and yet her daughter's is, ever to forge lies—that we sought nothing but her life, and a plain revoltment from the lawful obedience due to our sovereign, her authority, as by the tenor of these letters may be seen.

“Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphiness of Viennois, to our lovites, lyon

king of arms, &c. our sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. For as much as our dearest mother Mary, queen dowager, regent of our realm, and lords of our secret council, perceiving the seditious tumult raised by a part of our lieges, naming themselves, ‘The Congregation,’ who, under pretence of religion, have put themselves in armour; and that her grace, for satisfying every man's conscience, and pacifying the said troubles, had offered unto them to affix a parliament to be holden in January next to come,—this was a manifest lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her was once thought upon till we required it,—or sooner, if they had pleased it, for establishing of an universal order in matters of religion, by our advice and estates of our realm; and, in the meantime, to suffer every man to live at liberty of conscience, without trouble, unto the time the said order was taken, by advice of our foresaid states. And at last, because it appeared much to stand upon [much desired by] our burgh of Edinburgh, offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof choose what manner of religion they would set up and use for that time; so that no man might allege that he was forced to do against his conscience: which offer the queen's grace, our said dearest mother, was at that time, and yet is ready to fulfil: not the less, the said congregation being to receive no reasonable offers, has sinsyne, by open deed, declared, that it is not religion nor any thing thereto belonging that they seek, but only the subversion of our authority, and usurpation of our crown; in manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive Englishmen with messages unto them, and send such like into England. And last of all, some violently intromitted, withtaken, and yet uphold the irons of our cunyehous [coining-house or mint], which is one of the chief points that concerns our crown; and such like has intromitted with our palace of Holyroodhouse. Our will is herefore, that ye pass to the said market-cross of our said burgh of Edinburgh, or any other public place within the same, and there, by open proclamation in our names and authority, command

and charge all and sundry persons of the said congregation, or yet being present within our said burgh, other than the inhabitants thereof, that they within six hours next after our said charge, depart forth of the same under the pain of treason; and also, that ye command and charge all and sundry persons to leave their company, and adhere to our authority; with certification to such as do the contrary, shall be reputed and holden as manifest traitors to our crown," &c.

These letters did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused; for there is never a sentence of the narrative true, except that we stayed the irons * [coining instruments], and that for most just cause, *to wit*, because that daily there were such numbers of lions—*alias* called Hardheads—printed, that the baseness thereof made all things exceeding dear; and therefore we were counselled by the wisest to stay the irons, while farther order might be taken. She with all possible diligence posted for her faction. Mr James Balfour was not idle in the meantime. The lords, to purge them of those odious crimes, wrote to her a letter in form as after follows.

"Please your grace be advertised, it is come to our knowledge, that your grace has set forth, by your letters openly proclaimed, that we, called by name, the congregation, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together to no other purpose but to usurp our sovereign's authority, and to invade your person representing theirs at this present; which things appear to have proceeded of sinister information made by our enemies to your grace, considering that we never minded [intended] such thing, but only our purpose and mind was and is to promote and set forth the glory of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word; and according to the same, abolish and put away idolatry and false abuses, which may not stand with

the said word of God, beseeching your grace to bear patiently therewith, and interpose your authority to the furtherance of the same, as is the duty of every christian prince and good magistrate. For as to the obedience of our sovereign authority in all civil and politic matters, we are and shall be as obedient as any other your grace's subjects within the realm, and that our convention is for no other purpose but to save our preachers and their auditors from the violence and injury of our enemies, which should be more amply declared by some of us in your grace's presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives and sought our blood. Thus, we pray Almighty God to have your highness in his eternal tuition. At Edinburgh, the 2d of July 1559."

And for farther purgation hereof, it was thought necessary that we should simply expone, as well to her grace as to the whole people, what were our requests and just petitions; and for that purpose, after that safe conduct was purchased and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of our council, *to wit*, the lairds of Pitarrow and Cunninghamhead, to whom we gave commission and power, first to expone our whole purpose and intent, which was none other than before at all times we have required, *to wit*, that we might enjoy liberty of conscience. *Secondly*, That Jesus Christ might be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us. That unable ministers might be removed from ecclesiastical administration; and that our preachers might be relaxed from the horn, and permitted to execute their charges without molestation, until such time as either by a general council, lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controversies in religion were decided. And, for declaration that her grace was hereto willing, that the bands of Frenchmen, who then were a burden intolerable to the coun-

* This was a strong measure, and it would no doubt have convicted them of rebellion, had the government been able to bring them to trial; but it was adopted, not on their own account, but for the benefit of the country. The queen would have paid her French soldiers with the

base money she would have struck off, had she got the use of the instruments; and the soldiers would have compelled the people to take it at its nominal value, by which the nation would have been impoverished and ruined.—*Ed.*

try, and to us so fearful, that we durst not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, should be sent to France their native country. Which things granted, her grace should have experience of our accustomed obedience.

To these heads she did answer at the first so pleasantly, that she put both our commissioners in full esperance that all should be granted; and for that purpose she desired to speak with some of greater authority, promising, that if they would assure her of their dutiful obedience, that she would deny nothing of that which was required. For satisfaction of her mind we sent again the earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the lord Ochiltree, and the said laird of Pitarrow, with the same commission as of before. But then she began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining, that she was not sought in a gentle manner; and that they in whom she had put most singular confidence had left her in her greatest need; and such other things, pertaining nothing to their commission, proponed she, to spend and drive the time. They answered, "That, by unjust tyranny devised against them and their brethren—as her grace did well know—they were compelled to seek the extreme remedy; and, therefore, that her grace ought not to wonder, though godly men left the company where they neither found fidelity nor truth." In the end of this communing, which was the 12th of July, 1559, she desired to have talked privily with the earl of Argyle, and lord James, prior of St Andrews; for else—as she alleged—she could not but suspect that they pretended to some other higher purpose than religion. She and her crafty council had abused the duke, persuading unto him, and unto his friends, that the said earl and prior had conspired, first to deprive our sovereign her daughter of her authority, and thereafter the duke and his succession of their title to the crown of Scotland. By these invented lies she inflamed the hearts of many against us, insomuch that some of our own number began to murmur; which perceived, as well the preachers, in their public sermons, as we ourselves, by our public proclama-

tions, gave purgation and satisfaction to the people, plainly and simply declaring what was our purpose, taking God to witness, that no such crimes ever entered in our hearts as most unjustly was laid to our charge. The council, after consultation, thought not expedient that the said earl and prior should talk with the queen in any sort; for her former practices put all men in suspicion, that some deceit lurked under such coloured communing. She had before said, that if she could by any means sunder those two from the rest, she was assured shortly to come by her whole purpose; and one of her chief council in these days—and we fear but over inward [familiar] with her yet said—"That ere Michaelmas day they two should leave their heads;" and, therefore, all men feared to commit two such young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was, therefore, finally denied that they should talk with the queen, or any to her appertaining, but in places void of all suspicion, where they should be equal in number with those that should talk with them.

The queen perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that the duke's grace, and the earl of Huntly, with others by her appointed, should convene at Preston to commune with the said earl and prior, and such others as the lords of the congregation would appoint, to the number of one hundred on the side, of the which number eight persons only should meet for conference. The principals for their party were the duke, the earl Huntly, the lords Erskine and Somerville, Mr Gavin Hamilton, and the justice-clerk. From us were directed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven, lord James, Boyd and Ochiltree, the lairds Dun and Pitarrow, who, convened at Preston, spoke the whole day without any certain conclusion; for this was the practice of the queen, and of her faction, by drift of time to weary our company, who, for the most part, had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May, that we being dispersed, she might come to her purpose, in which she was not altogether deceived; for our commons were compelled to skail [disperse] for lack of

expenses, and our gentlemen, partly constrained by lack of furnishing, and partly hoping some final appointment, after so many communings, returned for the most part to their dwelling-places, for reposing of themselves. The queen in all these conventions seemed that she would give liberty to religion, provided that wheresoever she was, our preachers should cease and the mass should be maintained. We perceiving her malicious craft, answered, "That as we would compel her grace to no religion, so could we not of conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly creature, put silence to God's true messengers; neither could we suffer that the right administration of Christ's true sacraments should give place to manifest idolatry; for in so doing, we should declare ourselves enemies to God, to Jesus Christ, his eternal verity, and to the liberty and establishment of his kirk within this realm; for your request being granted, there can no kirk within the same be so established but at your pleasure, and by your residence and remaining there ye might overthrow the same." This our last answer we sent to her with the lord Ruthven and laird of Pitarrow; requiring of her grace, in plain words, to signify unto us what hope we might have of her favours toward the outsetting of religion. We also required that she would remove her Frenchmen, who were a fear to us, and a burden most grievous to the country. And that she would promise to us, in the word of a princess, that she would procure no more to be sent in, and then should we not only support, to the uttermost of our powers, to furnish ships and victuals for their transporting, but also, upon our honours, should we take her body in our protection; and should promise, in the presence of God and the whole realm, to serve our sovereign, her daughter, and her grace's regent, also faithfully and as obediently, as ever we did kings within Scotland. That, moreover, we should cause our preachers give reason of their doctrine in her audience, to any that pleased to impugn any thing that they did or taught. Finally, that we should submit ourselves to a lawful parlia-

ment, provided that the bishops, as the party accused, and our plain enemies, should be removed from judgment.

To no point would she answer directly, but in all things she was so general and so ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men. She had gotten sure knowledge that our company was skailled [dispersed]—for her Frenchmen were daily amongst us without any molestation or hurt done unto them—and, therefore, she began to disclose her mind, and said, "The congregation had reigned these two months by-past, me myself would reign now other two." The malice of her heart being plainly perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done. It was concluded that the lords, barons, and gentlemen, with their substantial households, should remain in Edinburgh that whole winter, for the establishing of the kirk there. And because it was found, that by the corruption [debasement] of our money the queen made to herself immoderate gains for maintaining of her soldiers, to the destruction of the whole commonwealth, it was thought expedient and necessary, that the printing irons [implements for stamping coin], and all things to them pertaining should be stayed, for fear she should privily cause transport them to Dunbar. In this meantime came the assured word, first, that Henry king of France was hurt, and after that he was dead. Which, albeit that it ought to have put her in mind of her own estate and wicked enterprise: for he that same time in the fulness of his glory, as she herself used to speak, had determined most cruel persecution against the saints of God in France, even as she herself was here persecuting in Scotland: and yet he so perished in his pride, that all men might see that God's just vengeance did strike him, even when his iniquity was coming to full ripeness. Albeit, we say, that this wondrous work of God in his sudden death, ought to have danted [subdued] her fury, and given unto her admonition, that the same God could not suffer her obstinate malice against his truth, long to be unpunished. Yet could her indurate heart nothing be moved to

repentance; for hearing the staying of the printing irons, she raged more outrageously nor oft before, and sending for all such as were of her faction, expounded her grievous complaint, aggreging [aggravating] the same with many lies, *to wit*, that we had declared that which before she had suspected: for what could we mean else, but usurpation of the crown, when we durst put hand to the cunye house, [mint] which was a portion of the patrimony of the crown. She farther alleged, "That we had spoiled the cunye house of great sums of money." To the which we answered, both by our letters sent to her, and to her council, and by public proclamation to the people, that we, without usurpation of any thing justly appertaining to the crown of Scotland, did stay the printing irons, in consideration that the commonwealth was greatly hurt, by corrupting of our money. And because that we were born councillors of this realm, and sworn to procure the profit of the same, we could do no less of duty and of conscience than to stay that for a time, which we saw so abused, that unless remedy were found, should turn to the detriment of the whole body of this realm. And as to her false accusation of spulie, we did remit us to the conscience of Mr Robert Richardson, master of the coin house, who from our hands received gold, silver, and metal, as well coined as uncoined; so that with us there did not remain the value of a bawbee.*

This our purgation and declaration notwithstanding, she partly by her craft and policy, and partly by the labours of the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, pro-

duced the whole number that were with her, to consent to pursue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company—which then was dispersed for new furnishing—sembled again. The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, the 25th July, we did what in us lay to give advertisement to our brethren; but impossible it was that those of the west, Angus, Mearns, Strathearn or Fife, in any number could come to us. For the enemy marched from Dunbar upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before the sun-rising upon the Monday. For they verily supposed to have found no resistance, being assured that the lords only with certain gentlemen remained with their private households. Calling upon God for counsel in that strait, we sought what was the next defence. We might have left the town, and might have retired ourselves without any danger, but then we should have abandoned our brethren of Edinburgh, and suffered the ministry thereof to have decayed, which to our hearts was so dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremity than so to do. For then the most part of the town appeared rather to favour us rather than the queen's faction, and did offer unto us the uttermost of their support, which for the most part they faithfully did keep. The same did the town of Leith, but they kept not the like fidelity. For when we were upon the field, marching forward for their support—for the Frenchmen marched near to them—they rendered themselves without farther resistance. And this they did, as is supposed, by the treason of some within themselves, and by persuasion of the laird of

* *Bawbee*. It is generally understood that this word had its origin from the head of the baby, or infant, king James VI. on the coin; but here Knox uses it several years before James was born; and Dr Jamieson, whose opinion on such a subject few will dispute, thinks this origin of the word is a mere fancy. "According to Sir James Balfour," says he, "babees were introduced in the reign of James V."—"At the time referred to it was worth three pennies; in the reign of James VI. it was valued at six; and this continued its standard valuation in the succeeding reigns, while it was customary to count by Scots money." A bawbee bears exactly the same relation to a pound Scots, that six-

pence does to a pound sterling. The thing is scarcely ever heard of now; but within my own recollection, twal (twelve) pennies was the word for a penny. Hence Churchhill, in a satyr on the Scots, says:

"How can the rogues pretend to sense,
Whose pound is only twenty pence?"

The Scots continued to count by their own money for a good while after the Revolution; for the bank of Scotland, which was established seven years after that event, made their shares a thousand pounds Scots. After the union of the two kingdoms, the Scots money was gradually superseded by the sterling.—*Ed.*

Restalrig, who of before declared himself to have been one of us, and yet, notwithstanding, that same day rendered himself undesired to Monsieur d'Oysel. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many, and yet we retired quietly to the side of Craisingate,* which place we took for resisting of the enemy.

In the meantime, divers mediators past betwixt, among whom my lord Ruthven for our part was principal. Alexander Erskine did much travail to stay us and our soldiers, that we should not join with them of Leith, till that they, as said is, had rendered themselves to the Frenchmen. The said Alexander did promise that the Frenchmen would stay, providing that we would not join with those of Leith. But after that they were rendered, we heard nothing of him but threatening and discomfortable words. Before eight hours in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reasonable number to withstand their fury. The town of Edinburgh, so many as had subjected themselves to discipline, and divers others besides them, did behave themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The gentlemen of Lothian, especially Calder, Ormiston, and Hatton, were very comfortable, as well for their counsels as for their whole assistance. Some gentlemen of Fife prevented the Frenchmen; others were stopped, by reason that the Frenchmen had possessed Leith. Always [however] the enemy took such a fear, that they determined not to invade us where we stood, but took purpose to have passed to Edinburgh, by the other side of the water of Leith, and that because they had the castle to their friend, which was to us unknown; for which we supposed the lord Erskine, captain of the same, either to have been our friend, or at least to have been indifferent. But when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the earl of Argyle, to lord James, his sister's son, and to the other noblemen that were with us, that he would declare himself both enemy to them and to the town,

and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the Frenchmen to enter in the town. This his treasonable defiance sent unto us by the laird of Ricarton, did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight nor stop the enemy, but under the mercy of the castle, and whole ordnance thereof. Hereupon was consultation taken, and in conclusion, it was found less damage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not such as we desired, than to hazard battle betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certain heads were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

I. "That no member of the congregation should be troubled, in life, lands, goods or possessions by the queen her authority, or any other justice within the realm, for any thing done in the late innovation, till a parliament—which should begin the tenth of January next—had decided things in controversy.

II. "That idolatry should not be erected, where it was at that day suppressed.

III. "That the preachers and ministers should not be troubled in their ministry, where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach, wheresoever they should chance to come.

IV. "That no bands of men of war should be laid in garrison within Edinburgh.

V. "That the Frenchmen should be sent away at a reasonable day, and that none other should be brought in the country without the consent of the whole nobility and parliament."

But these our articles were altered, and in another form disposed as after follows:

"At the Links of Leith, the 24th July, 1559, it is appointed in manner following:

"In the first, the congregation and their company, others than the inhabitants of the said town, shall remove themselves forth of the said town, the morn at ten hours before noon, the 25th of July, and leave the same void and rid of them and the said company, conform to the queen's grace's pleasure and desire.

Item. "The said congregation shall cause the irons of the coin-house, taken away by

* Craisingate—a gate (road) eastward from Edinburgh, near the Calton or Salisbury Crags.—*Macpherson.*

them, be rendered and delivered to Mr Robert Richardson; and in likewise the queen's grace's, her palace of Holyrood-house to be left, and rendered again to Mr John Balfour, or any other having her grace's sufficient power, in the same manner as it was received, and that betwixt the making of these articles and the morn at ten hours. For observing and keeping of these two articles above written, the lord Ruthven, and the laird of Pitarrow have entered themselves pledges.

Item, "The said lords of the congregation, and all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to our sovereign lord and lady's authority, and to the queen's grace regent in their place; and shall obey all laws, and loveable consuetudes of this realm, as they were used of before the using of this tumult and controversy, excepting the cause of religion, which shall be hereafter specified.

Item, "The said congregation, nor none of them, shall trouble nor molest a kirkman by way of deed, nor yet shall make them any impediment in the peaceable bruiking, joying [enjoying] and uptaking of their rents, profits, and duties of their benefices, but that they may freely use and dispone upon the same, according to the laws and consuetudes of this realm, to the tenth day of January next to come.

Item, "The said congregation, nor none of them, shall in nowise from thenceforth use any force or violence, in casting down of kirks, religious places, or reparralling* thereof, but the same shall stand skaithless of them, unto the said tenth of January.

Item, "The town of Edinburgh shall, without compulsion, use and choose what religion and manner thereof they please to the said day; so that every man may have freedom to use his own conscience to the day foresaid.

Item, "The queen's grace shall not interpone her authority, to molest or trouble the preachers of the congregation, nor their ministry—to them that please to use the same—nor no other of the said congrega-

tion in their bodies, lands, goods, or possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they possess, nor yet thole [suffer] the clergy, or any other having temporal or spiritual jurisdiction, to trouble them, in any manner of sort, privily or openly, for the cause of religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the said tenth day of January within written, and that every man in particular live in the meantime according to his own conscience.

Item, "That no man of war, French nor Scottish, be laid in daily garrisons within the town of Edinburgh, but repair thereto, to do their lesum [lawful] business, and thereafter to retire them to their garrisons."

This alteration in words and order was made without knowledge and consent of those whose counsel we had used in all such cases before; for some of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequal conditions, said, "God has wonderfully assisted us in our greatest dangers: he has stricken fear in the hearts of our enemies, when they supposed themselves most assured of victory: our case is not yet so desperate that we need to grant to things unreasonable and ungodly; which, if we do, it is to be feared that things shall not so prosperously succeed as they have done heretofore."

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid persons, the duke and the earl of Huntly, who that day were against us, desired to speak the earls Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, and others of our party, who obeying their request, met them at the Quarry Holes betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, who in conclusion promised to our lords, "That if the queen broke to us any one jot of the appointment then made, that they should declare themselves plain enemies to her, and friends to us." As much promised the duke to do, in case that she would not remove her Frenchmen at a reasonable day; for the oppression which they did was manifest to all men. This appointment made, and subscribed by the duke, Monsieur d'Oysel, and the earl of Huntly, the 25th day of July, we returned to the town of Edinburgh, where we remained till the

* Reparralling—Repairs. In the suppressed copy, Apparel is the word used.—*Ed.*

next day at noon; when after sermon, dinner, and proclamation made at the market-cross in form as follows, we departed.

THE FORM OF THE PROCLAMATION.

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased God, that appointment is made betwixt the queen regent and us, the lords and whole protestants of this realm, we have thought good to signify unto you the chief heads of the same, which be these :

First, “That no member of the congregation shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions by the queen, or by her authority, nor by any other justice within this realm, for any thing done in this late innovation, till that a parliament hath decided things that be in controversy.

Secondly, “That idolatry shall not be erected, where it is now at this day suppressed.

Thirdly, “That the preachers and ministers shall not be troubled in the ministration, where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach wheresoever they shall happen to travel within this realm.

Fourthly, “That no bands of men of war shall be laid in garrisons within the town of Edinburgh.

“These chief heads of appointment, concerning the liberty of religion, and conservation of our brethren, we thought good to notify unto you, by this our proclamation, that in case wrong or injury be done, by any of the contrary faction, to any member of our body, complaint may be made to us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to God, our faithful support to the uttermost of our powers.”

At this proclamation made with sound of trumpet, were offended all the papists: For, *first*, They alleged it was done in contempt of the authority. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed more than was contained in the appointment. And, *last*, That we, in our proclamation, had made no mention of any thing promised unto them. To such murmurs we answered, That no just authority could think itself contemned, because that the truth was by us made manifest unto all, who otherwise might have pretended ignorance. *Secondly*, That we

had proclaimed nothing, which was not finally agreed upon in word and promises betwixt us and those with whom the appointment was made, whatsoever their scribes had after written, who in very deed had altered, both in words and sentences, our articles as they were first conceived. And yet, if their own writings were diligently examined, the self same thing shall be found in substance. And *last*, To proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not necessary, knowing that in that behalf they themselves would be diligent enough: and in this we were not deceived; for, within fifteen days after, there was not a shaveling in Scotland, to whom teind, or any other rent pertained, but he had that article of the appointment by heart, “That the kirkmen should be answered of [be duly paid] teinds, rents, and all other duties, and that no man should trouble nor molest them.”

We departed from Edinburgh, the 26th of July, came first to Linlithgow, and after to Stirling, where after consultation, the bond of defence and maintenance of religion, and for mutual defence every one of other, was subscribed by all that were there present. The tenor of the bond was this:

“We foreseeing the craft and slight of our adversaries, tending all manner of ways to circumvent us, and by privy means intend to assail every one of us particularly by fair hechts [offers] and promises, therethrough to separate one of us from another, to our utter ruin and destruction: for remedy thereof, we faithfully and truly bind us, in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true religion, that none of us shall in times coming pass to the queen’s grace dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent, without consent of the rest, and common consultation thereupon. And how soon that either message or writ shall come from her to us, with utter diligence we shall notify the same one unto another, so that nothing shall proceed herein without common consent of us all. At Stirling, the first day of August, 1559.”

This bond subscribed, and we foreseeing

that the queen and bishops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to seek aid and support of all christian princes against her and her tyranny, in case we should be more sharply pursued; and because that England was of the same religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient first to prove them, which we did by one or two messengers, as hereafter, in the own place, more amply shall be declared.

After we had abidden certain days in Stirling, the earl of Argyle departed to Glasgow; and because he was to depart to his own country,—with whom also passed lord James,—to pacify some trouble which, by the craft of the queen, was raised in his absence, he required the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, and others of Kyle, to meet there, for some order to be taken that the brethren should not be oppressed, which with one consent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at Stirling.

While these things were in doing at Glasgow, letters and a servant came from the earl of Arran and the duke his father, signifying unto him, that, by the providence of God, he had escaped the French king's hands, who most treasonably and most cruelly had sought his life, or at least to have committed him to perpetual prison: for the same time, the said French king, seeing that he could not have the earl himself, gart [caused] put his younger brother—a bairn of such age as could not offend—in strait prison, where he yet remains, *to wit*, in the month of October, the year of God 1559; which things were done by the craft and policy of the queen dowager, what time the duke and his friends were most frack [active] to set forward her cause. These letters received, and the estate of his two sons known, of whom the one was escaped, and the other cast in vile prison, the duke desired communing with the earl of Argyle, who, partly against the will of some that loved him, rode to the duke from Glasgow to Hamilton, where, abiding all night, he declared his judgment to the duke and to his friends, especially to Mr Gavin Hamilton. The duke required him and the lord James to write their friendly

and comfortable letters to his son, which they both most willingly 'did, and after addressed them to their journey; but the very day of their departing, came one Butoncourt, from the queen regent, with letters, as was alleged, from the king and queen of France to lord James, which he delivered with a bragging countenance and many threatening words. The tenor of his letters was this:

“LE ROI.

“My cousin, I have been greatly astonished, having understood the troubles that are happened in these parts; and yet do more marvel that ye, of whom I had an whole [entire] confidence, and also have this honour to be so near the queen's grace, my wife, and had received of umquhille the king's grace my father, her grace and me, such graces and favours, that ye should be so forgetful as to make yourself the head, and one of the principal beginners and nourishers of the tumults and seditions that are seen there, the which because it is so strange as it is, and so against the profession that ye at all times have made, I cannot goodly [really] believe it. And [if] it be so, I cannot think but ye have been enticed and led thereto by some persons that have seduced and caused you commit such a fault, as I am assured ye repent of already, which will be a great pleasure to me, to the effect that I might lose a part of the occasion I have to be discontent with you, as I will you to understand I am, seeing you have so far deceived the expectation [hope] I had of you, and your affection towards God, and the weal of our service, unto the which ye know ye are as much and more obliged than any other of the lords there. For this cause, desiring that the matters may be dutifully amended, and [for] knowing what ye may [say] thereuntil; I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cause me know the same by effects that ye have another intention than this which the follies bypast make me now to believe; doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their first estate, and put the same to the right

and good obedience that ye know to be due unto God and unto me. Otherwise, ye may be well assured, I will put to my hand, and that in good earnest, that you and all they that have done, and do as ye do, shall feel, through their own fault, that which they have deserved and merited, even as I have given charge to this gentleman, present bearer, to make you know more largely of my part; for which cause, I pray you credit him as ye would do myself. Praying God, my cousin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.

“Written at Paris, the 17th July, 1559.”

The same messenger brought also letters from the queen our sovereign, more sharp and threatening than the former; for her conclusion was, “*Vous en senteras la poincture a jamais.*” This credit was, that the king would spend the crown of France, ere that he were not revenged upon such seditious persons; that he would never have suspected such inobedience and such defection from his own sister in him. To the which the said lord James answered, first by word and syne [afterwards] by writing, as follows:

“Sir,

“My duty remembered. Your majesty’s letter from Paris, the 17th of July last, I received, propoing in effect, that your majesty should marvel that I, being forgetful of the graces and favours shown me by the king, of blessed memory, your majesty’s father, and the queen’s grace, my sovereign, should declare myself head, and one of the principal beginners of the alleged tumults and seditions in these parts, deceiving thereby your majesty’s expectation at all times had of me; with assurance, that if I did not declare by contrary effects my repentance, I, with the rest that had put, or yet put hand to that work, should receive the reward that we had deserved and merited. Sir, it grieves me heavily that the crime of ingratitude should be laid to my charge by your highness, and the rather that I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information, of them whose part it was not so to have reported, if true service bygone had been regarded. And as touching

the repentance, and declaration of the same by certain effects, that your majesty desires I show, my conscience persuades me in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dutiful obedience towards your highness and the queen’s grace my sovereign, otherwise it should have been to repent, and also amended, according to your majesty’s expectation of me. But your highness being truly informed, and persuaded that the thing which we have done makes for the advancement of God’s glories,—as it does indeed,—without any derogation to your majesty’s due obedience, we doubt not but your majesty shall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternal God, we dare not leave the same unaccomplished, only wishing and desiring your majesty did know the same, and truth thereof, as it is persuaded to our consciences, and all them that are truly instructed in the eternal word of our God, upon whom we cast our care for all dangers that may follow the accomplishment of his eternal will, and to whom we commend your highness, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the evangel of his eternal truth, to know your majesty’s duty towards us your poor subjects, God’s chosen people, and what ye ought to crave justly of them again; for then we should have no occasion to fear your majesty’s wrath and indignation, nor your highness’ suspicion in our inobedience. The same God have your majesty in his eternal safeguard. At Dumbarton, the 12th of August, 1559.”

This answer, directed to the queen our sovereign, and to Francis her husband, the queen dowager received it, and was bold upon it, as she might well enough; for it was supposed that the former letters were forged here at home in Scotland. The answer read by her, she said, “That so proud an answer was never given to king, prince, or princess:” and yet indifferent men thought that he might have answered more sharply, and not have transgressed modesty nor truth. For where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had

purged himself, affirming, that the greatest benefit that ever he received of them, was to spend in their service, that which God by others had provided for him, no honest man would have accused him, and no man would have been able to have convicted him of a lie; "But princes must be pardoned to speak what they please."

For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the kirk in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours and bold courage in that battle, deserved immortal praise. For when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before was elected minister to that church, should continue there, the brethren requested the said John Willock to remain with them, lest that, for lack of ministers, idolatry should be erected up again. To the which he so gladly consented, that it might evidently appear, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren, and the continuance of the church there, to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen was appointed to lie in garrison at Leith,—that was the first benefit they got for their confederacy with them;—the other part was appointed to lie in the Canon-gate, the queen and her train abiding in the Abbey. Our brother John Willock, the day after our departure, preached in St Giles' kirk, and fervently exhorted the brethren to stand constant in the truth which they had professed. At this and some other sermons were the duke and divers others of the queen's faction. This liberty of preaching, with resorting of all people thereto, did highly offend the queen and the other papists. And first they began to give terrors to the duke; affirming, that he would be reputed as one of the congregation, if he gave his presence at the sermons. Thereafter they began to require that mass should be set up again in St Giles' kirk, and that the people should be set at liberty to choose what religion they would; for that—said they—was contained in the appointment, that the town of Edinburgh should choose what religion they list. For obtaining hereof were sent to the tolbooth the duke, the earl of Huntly, and the lord Seyton, to solicit all men to condescend to

the queen's mind; wherein the two last did labour that they could; the duke not so, but as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good esperance: and after many persuasions and threatenings made by the said earl and lord, the brethren, stoutly and valiantly in the Lord Jesus, gainsaid their most unjust petitions, reasoning, that as of conscience they might not suffer idolatry to be erected where Christ Jesus was truly preached, so could not the queen nor they require any such thing, unless she and they would plainly violate their faith and chief articles of the appointment; for it is plainly appointed, that no member of the congregation shall be molested in any thing that—[at] the day of the appointment—he peaceably possessed; but so it was that we, the brethren and protestants of the town of Edinburgh, with our ministers, the day of the appointment, did peaceably possess St Giles' kirk, appointed for us for preaching of Christ's true evangel, and right administration of his holy sacraments; therefore, without manifest violation of the appointment, ye cannot remove us therefrom, until a parliament have decided this controversy. This answer given, the whole brethren departed and left the foresaid earl, and lord Seyton, then provost of Edinburgh, still in the tolbooth; who perceiving that they could not prevail in that matter, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would so far condescend to the queen's pleasure, as that they would choose them another kirk within the town, or at the least be contented that mass should be said either before or after their sermons. To the which answer was given, that to give place to the devil, who was the chief inventor of the mass, for the pleasure of any creature, they could not. They were in possession of that kirk, which they could not abandon; neither could they suffer idolatry to be erected in the same, unless by violence they should be constrained so to do, and then they were determined to seek the next remedy. Which answer received, the earl of Huntly did lovingly entreat them to quietness; faithfully promising that in no sort they should be molested, so that they would be

quiet and make no farther uproar: to the which they were most willing; for they sought only to serve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their possession, according to the appointment, which by God's grace they did, till the month of November, notwithstanding the great boasting of the enemy. For they did not only convene to the preaching, daily supplications, and administration of baptism, but also the Lord's table was ministered, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences. And as God did potently work with his true minister, and with his troubled kirk, so did not the devil cease to inflame the malice of the queen, and of the papists with her; for short after her coming to the abbey of Holyroodhouse, she caused mass to be said first in her own chapel, and after in the abbey, where the altars before were casten down. She discharged the common prayers, and forbade to give any portion to such as were the principal young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuskenneth, for there she discharged the portions of as many of the canons as had forsaken papistry. She gave command and inhibition, that the abbot of Lindores should not be answered of any part of his living in the north, because he had submitted himself to the congregation, and had put some reformation to his place. By her consent and procurement was the preaching stool broken in the kirk of Leith, and idolatry was erected in the same, where it was before suppressed. Her French captains, with their soldiers in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, resorted to St Giles' Kirk in Edinburgh, and made their common deambulatours [promenades] therein, with such loud talking, as no perfect audience could be had. And although the minister was oftentimes therethrough compelled to cry out on them, praying God to rid them of such locusts; they nevertheless continued still in their wicked purpose devised and ordained by the queen, to have drawn our brethren of Edinburgh, and them in cumber [trouble], so that she might have had any coloured occasion to have broken the league with

them. Yet by God's grace they behaved themselves so, that she could find no fault with them; albeit in all these things before named, and in every one of them, she is worthily counted to have contravened the said appointment. We pass over the oppressing of our brethren in particular, which had been sufficient to have proven the appointment to have been violated plainly; for the lord Seyton, without any occasion offered unto him, broke a chase [cane or whip handle] upon Alexander Whitelaw, as they came from Preston, accompanied with William Knox, towards Edinburgh, and ceased not to pursue him, till he came to the town of Ormiston: and this he did, supposing that the said Alexander Whitelaw had been John Knox. In all this meantime, and until that more Frenchmen arrived, they are not able to prove that we broke the appointment in one jot, except that a horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cut in four pieces, because he said he would wear it in despite of the congregation. In this meantime the queen, then regent, knowing assuredly what force was shortly to come unto her, ceased not, by all means possible, to cloak the incoming of the Frenchmen, and to inflame the hearts of our countrymen against us. And for that purpose she wrote first unto my lord duke, in form as follows:

THE QUEEN REGENT'S FALSE FLATTERING
LETTER TO THE DUKE.

" My lord and cousin,

" After hearty commendation, we are informed that the lords of the westland congregation intend to make a convention and assembly of their kin and friends upon Govan Muir, beside Glasgow, on Monday come eight days, the 28th August instant, for some high purpose against us, which we can scarcely believe, considering they have no occasion upon our part so to do. And albeit ye know that the appointment was made against, or without our advice, yet we accepted the same at your desire, and have sinsyne made no cause whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Likeas we are minded yet to keep firm and stable all things promised by you in our behalf; we think, on the

other part, it is your duty to require them, that they contravene not their part thereof in no case. And in case they mean any evil towards us, and so will break their promise, we believe that ye will, to the uttermost of your power convene with us, and compel them to do that thing which they ought, if they will not; praying you to have yourself, your kin and friends, in readiness to come to us, as ye shall be advertised by proclamation, in case the congregation assemble themselves for any purpose against us, or against the tenor of the said appointment: assuring you, without they gather, and make first occasion, we shall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you will advertise us in writ, what we may lippen to [depend on] herein with this bearer, who will show you the fervent mind we bear to have concord with the said congregation, what offers we have made to them, and how desirous we are to draw them to the obedience of our sovereign authority, to whom ye shall give credit: and God keep you. At Edinburgh, the tenth day of August, 1559."

The like letter she wrote to every lord, baron, and gentleman, of this tenor:

HER LETTER TO THE BARONS.

"Trusty Friends,

"After hearty commendation, we doubt not but ye have heard of the appointment made beside Leith, betwixt my lord duke, the earl of Huntly, and Monsieur d'Oysel, on the one part, and the lords of the congregation on the other side, which appointment we have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without our advice, and is minded to observe and keep all the contents thereof, for our part. Nottheless, as we are informed, the saids lords of the congregation intend shortly to convene all such persons as will assist to them, for enterprising of such high purpose against us, our authority and tenor of the said appointment, which we cannot believe, seeing they neither have, nor shall have any occasion given thereto on our part, and yet think not reasonable, in case they think any such thing: and therefore have thought it good to give warning unto our special friends of the advertisement we have gotten, and

amongst the rest to you, whom we esteem of that number, praying you to have yourselves, your kin and folks, in readiness to come to us." And so forth, as in the other letter above sent to the duke, word after word.

After that by these letters, and by the deceitful surmising of her solicitors [agents], she had somewhat stirred up the hearts of the people against us, then she began openly to complain, that we were of mind to invade her person; that we would keep no part of the appointment; and therefore she was compelled to crave the assistance of all men against our unjust pursuit. And this practice she used, as before is said, to abuse the simplicity of the people, that they should not suddenly espy for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of war, who did arrive about the midst of August, to the number of a thousand men: the rest were appointed to come after, with Monsieur de la Broche, and with the bishop of Amiens, who arrived the nineteenth of September following, as if they had been ambassadors: but what was their negotiation the effect did declare, and they themselves could not long conceal; for, both by pen and tongue they uttered, that they were sent for the utter extermination of all these that would not profess the papistical religion in all points. The queen's practice nor craft could not blind the eyes of all men; neither yet could her subtlety hide her own shame, but that many did espy her deceit: and some spared not to speak their judgments liberally, who foreseeing the danger gave advertisement, requiring that provision might be found, before that the evil should exceed our wisdom and strength to put remedy to the same; for prudent men foresaw, that she pretended a plain conquest. But to the end, that the people should not suddenly stir, she would not bring in her full force at once, as before is said, but by continual traffic purposed to augment her army, so that in the end we should not be able to resist. But the greatest part of the nobility, and many of the people, were so enchanted by her treasonable solicitors [agents], that they could not hear, nor credit the truth plainly spoken.

The French then, after the arriving of these new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the lands and lordships according to their own fancies; for one was styled Monsieur d'Argyle, another Monsieur le Prior, the third, Monsieur de Ruthven; yea, they were assured, in their own opinion, to possess whatsoever they list; so that some asked the rentals and revenues of divers men's lands, to the end that they might choose the best. And yet in this meantime, she ashamed not [was not ashamed] to set forth a proclamation on this form:

A PROCLAMATION SET FORTH BY THE QUEEN
REGENT TO BLIND THE VULGAR PEOPLE.

"For so much as we understand that certain seditious persons have of malice, invented and blown abroad divers rumours, and evil bruits, tending thereby to stir up the hearts of the people, and so to stop all reconciliations betwixt us and our subjects, being of the number of the congregation, and consequently to kindle and nourish a continual strife and division in this realm, to the manifest subversion of the whole estates thereof; and among other purposes, have maliciously devised for that effect, and have persuaded too many, that we have violated the appointment lately taken, in so far as any more Frenchmen are since come in, and that we are minded to draw in great forces of men of war forth of France, to suppress the liberty of this realm, oppress the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods; which reports—God knows—are most vain, feigned, and untrue. For it is of truth, that nothing has been done on our part since the said appointment, whereby it may be alleged, that any point thereof has been contravened: neither yet was at that time any thing communed or concluded to stop the sending in of Frenchmen; as may clearly appear by inspection of the said appointment, which the bearer hereof has present to show. Whatever number of men of war be arrived, we have such regard to our honour, and quietness of this realm, that in case in the room of every one Frenchman that is in Scotland there were an hundred at our command, yet should not for that

any jot of what is promised be broken, or any alteration be made by our provocation; but the said appointment [be] truly and surely observed in every point, if the said congregation will, in like manner, faithfully keep their part thereof. Nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable possession of their goods and rooms [places], nor yet to enrich the crown, and far less any stranger, with your substances; for our dearest son and daughter, the king and queen, are by God's provision placed in the room, where all men of judgment may well consider they have no need of any man's goods: and for ourself, we seek nothing but dutiful obedience unto them, such as good subjects ought to give to their sovereigns, without diminution of our liberties and privileges, or alteration of our laws. Therefore, we have thought good to notify unto you our good mind foresaid, and desire you not to give ear nor credit to such vain imaginations, whereof—before God—no part ever entered in our conceit; nor suffer not yourselves to be thereby led from your due obedience; assuring you, ye shall ever find with us truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all you behaving yourselves as obedient subjects. But of one thing we give you warning, that whereas some preachers of the congregation, in their public sermons, speak irreverently and slanderously, as well of princes in general as of ourselves in particular, and of the obedience to the higher powers; inducing the people, by that part of the doctrine, to defection from their duty, which pertains nothing to religion, but rather to sedition and tumult, things directly contrary to religion: therefore we desire you to take order in your towns and bounds, that when the preachers repair there, they use themselves more modestly in these behalves, and in their preaching not to meddle [meddle] so much with civil policy and public government, nor yet name us, nor other princes, but with honour and reverence, otherwise it will not be suffered. And seeing ye have presently the declaration of our intention, we desire likewise to know what shall be your part to us, that we may understand what to lippen for [de-

pend on] at your hands; whereof we desire a plain declaration in writ, with this bearer, without excuse or delay. At Edinburgh, the 28th of August, 1559."

This proclamation she sent by her messengers through all the country, and had her solicitors in all parts, who painfully travailed to bring men to her opinion; amongst whom those were the principals, Sir John Ballantine, justice-clerk, Mr James Balfour, official of Lothian, Mr Thomas and Mr William Scotts, sons to the laird of Balwerie, Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr Gavin Hamilton, who for fainting of the brethren's hearts, and drawing them to the queen's faction, against their native country, have declared themselves enemies to God, and traitors to their commonwealth. But above all others Mr James Balfour, official for the time, ought to be abhorred; for he of an old professor, is become a new denier of Christ Jesus, and manifest blasphemer of his eternal verity, against his knowledge and conscience: seeking to betray his brethren and native country into the hands of an unfaithful nation.

The answer to this former proclamation, was made in form as follows:

To the nobility, burgesses, and commonalty of this realm of Scotland, the lords, barons, and others, brethren of the christian congregation, wish increase of all wisdom, and the advancement of the glory of God, and of the commonwealth.

"The love of our native country craveth, the defence of your honours requires, and the sincerity of our consciences compelleth us, dearest brethren, to answer some part to the last writings and proclamations set forth by the queen's grace's regent, no less to make us and our cause odious, than to abuse your simplicities to your final destruction, conspired of old, and now already put to work. And first, where she alleges that certain seditious persons have, of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours, tending thereby, as she alleges, to stir up the hearts of the people to sedition, by reason that the Frenchmen are crept in of late in our country; true it is, dear brethren, that all such as bear natural love to their country, to you, their brethren inha-

bitants thereof, to our houses, wives, bairns, the esperance of your posterity, and shortly to your commonwealth, and the ancient laws and liberties thereof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth and tears complain, the most crafty assaults devised and practised, to the utter ruin of all those things forenamed; and that so manifestly is gone to work, that even in our eyes [sight], our dearest brethren, true members of our commonwealth, are most cruelly oppressed by strangers; in so far as some are banished their own houses; some robbed and spoiled of their substances, conquest [acquired] by their just labours in the sweat of their brows; some cruelly murdered at the pleasure of these inhuman soldiers; and altogether have their lives in such fear and dread, as if the enemies were in the midst of them, so that nothing can seem pleasant unto them which they possess in the bowels of their native country, so near judges every man, and not but just cause, the practice used upon their brethren to approach next unto themselves, wives, bairns, houses, and substances, which altogether are cast at the feet of strangers, men of war, to be by them thus abused at their unbridled lust's desire. Now if it be sedition, dear brethren, to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the sorrows and sobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redress of these enormities, which elsewhere are not to be found, and they altogether do proceed of the unlawful holding of strange soldiers over the heads of our brethren; if thus to complain be sedition, then, indeed, dear brethren, can none of us be purged of that crime; for as in very heart we condemn such inhuman cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, so can we, nor dare we not, neither by mouth speaking, nor yet by keeping of silence, justify the same. Neither do we here aggrege [aggravate] the breaking of the appointment made at Leith, which always has manifestly been done; but when we remember what oath we have made to our commonwealth, and how the duty we owed to the same compels us to cry out, that her grace, by wicked and ungodly counsel, goeth most craftily about

utterly to suppress the same and the ancient laws and liberties thereof, as well against the king of France's promise, or her own duty, in respect of the high promotions that she has received thereby, which justice should have caused her to have been indeed that which she would be called, and is nothing less in verity, *to wit*, a careful mother over this commonwealth; but what motherly care she has used towards you, ye cannot be ignorant. Have ye not been, even from the first entry of her reign, ever suited and oppressed with unaccustomed and exorbitant taxations, more than ever were used within this realm? Yea, and how far was it sought here to have been brought in upon you and your posterity, under colour to have been laid up in store for the wars. The inquisition taken of all your goods, moveable and unmoveable, by way of testament; the seeking of the whole coal and salt of this realm, to have been laid up in store and gernel [granary], and she alone to have been merchant thereof, doth teach you by experience some of her motherly care. Again, what care over your commonwealth doth her grace instantly [constantly] bear, when even now presently, and of a long time bygone, by the ministry of some, who better deserved the gallows than ever did Cochran,* she doth so corrupt the layit money [lawful coin], and hath brought it to such baseness, and to such quantity of scrufe [base porous metal, mere rust], that all men that have their eyes open may perceive an extreme beggary to be brought therethrough upon the whole realm, so that the whole exchange and traffic to be had with foreign nations, a thing most necessary in all commonwealths, shall thereby be utterly extinguished; and all the gains received thereby is, that she therewith entertains strangers upon our heads; for, brethren, ye know, that her money has served for no other purpose in our commonwealth this long time bygone. And the impunity of the wicked ministers, whom lately we spoke of, has brought the

matter to such licentious enormity, and plain contempt of the commonwealth, that now they spare not plainly to break down and convert good and stark [solid] money, coined in our coinhouse, in our sovereign's lessage [nonage], into this their corrupted scrufe and baggages of hardheads and non-sounds [base hard metal pieces], most like as if she and they had conspired to destroy all the whole good coin of this realm, and consequently that part of the commonwealth. Besides all this, their clipped and roned sollis [rounded sols], which had no passages [currency] these three years bygone in the realm of France, are commanded to have course [pass or be current] in this realm, to gratify thereby her new-come-in soldiers: and all those things are done without the advice or consent of the nobility and council of this realm, and manifestly therethrough, against our ancient laws and liberties.

"*Thirdly*, Her last and most weighty proceeding, more fully declares her motherly care her grace bears to our commonwealth and us, when in time of peace, but [without] any occasion of foreign wars, thousands of strangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poor members of this commonwealth; their idle bellies fed upon the poor substance of the commonalty, conquest [acquired] by their just labours in the painful sweat of their brows, which to be true, Dunbar, North Berwick, Tranent, Prestonpans, Musselburgh, Leith, Canongate, Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, Dysart, with the depaupered souls that this day dwell therein can testify, whose oppression, as doubtless it has entered in before the justice seat of God, so ought it justly to move our hearts to have pity and compassion upon these our poor brethren, and at our powers to provide remedy for the same. And albeit her strangers had been garnished with money,—as ye know well they are not,—yet can their here lying be nowise but most hurtful to our commonwealth, seeing that the fertility of this realm has never been so plenteous, that it was able of any continuance to sustain itself, and the inhabitants thereof, without support of foreign countries; far less able, besides the same,

* The favourite of James III, who was hanged by the Scottish nobles at Lauder.—*Ed.*

to sustain thousands of strangers where-with it is burdened, to the dearthening of all victuals, as the murmur and complaint of Edinburgh this day doth testify. But to what effect the commonwealth is this way burdened, the end doth declare; for shortly after were these brought to the field against our sovereign's true lieges, even us your brethren, who, God knows, sought nought else but peace of conscience, under protection of our sovereign, and for reformation of these enormities,—for no other cause but that we would not renounce the evangel of Jesus Christ, and subdue our necks under the tyranny of that man of sin, the Roman antichrist, and his forsworn shavelings, who at all times most tyrannously oppressed our souls with hunger of God's true word, and reft our goods and substances, to waste the same upon their foul lusts and stinking harlots. But, O dear brethren, this was not the chief pretence and final scope of her proceedings, as these days do well declare; for had not God given in our hearts to withstand that oppression with weapons of most just defence, you, O St Johnstone and Dundee, had been in no better estate nor your sister of Leith is this day. For though in very deed—God is witness—we meant them nothing but in the simplicity of our hearts the maintenance of true religion, and safety of our brethren professors of the same, yet lay there another serpent lurking in the breast of our adversaries, as this day—praise to God—is plainly opened to all that list to behold, *to wit*, to bring you and us both under the perpetual servitude of strangers; for we being appointed, as ye know, touching religion, to be reasoned with in the council at the day appointed, and no occasion made to break the same on our side, as is well known, yet came there forth writings and complaints, that this day and that day we were prepared to invade her grace's person, when in very truth there were never such thing thought, as the very deed did declare: but because she was before deliberate to bring in Frenchmen to both our destructions, that ye should not stir therewith, she made you to understand, that these bands came

only for safety of her own person. O craft! brethren, O subtlety! But behold the end! They are come, yet not so many, no, not the sixth part that she desired and looked for, and how are they come? Not only with weapons to defend her grace's person, but with wives and bairns to plant in your native towns, as they have already begun in the town of Leith, the principal port and staple of all this realm, the girdle and furniture of the council and seat of justice; and here will they dwell till they may reinforce them with greater numbers of their fellow soldiers, to subdue then the rest, if God withstand not: and yet her grace feared nor ashamed not to write, that if there were an hundred Frenchmen for every one that is in Scotland, yet they should harm no man. Tell thou now, O Leith! if that be true: if this be not a crafty entry to a manifest conquest forethought of old, judge ye, dear brethren, thus to fortify our towns, and even the principal part of our realm, and to lay so strong garrisons of strangers therein, without any consent of the nobility and council of this realm, but expressly against their mind, as our writings sent to her grace bear record: if this be not to oppose the ancient laws and liberties of our realm, let all wise men see to it. And further, to take the barn yards new gathered, the girdles replenished, the houses garnished, and to sit down therein, and by force to put the just possessors and ancient inhabitants therefrom, with their wives, children, and servants, to shift for themselves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scotsmen, members of our commonwealth, and our dear brethren and sisters, born, fostered, and brought up in the bowels of our native country: if this be not the manifest declaration of their old pretence and mind to our whole Scottish nation, let your own consciences, brethren, be judge herein. Was all Leith of the congregation? No, I think not; yet were all alike served. Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: *First*, By the great and exorbitant taxations used upon you, and yet ten times greater pressed at, as ye know. *Secondly*. The utter

depravation of our coin, to conquest [obtain] thereby money to entertain strange French soldiers upon you, and to make them strongholds, lest ye should sometime expel them out of your native realm. *Thirdly*, By the daily reinforcing of the said French soldiers in strength and number, with wives and bairns, planting in your brethren's houses and possessions. Indeed, her grace is, and has been at all times careful to procure by her craft of fair words, fair promises, and sometimes buddis [bribes], to allure your simplicity to that point, to join yourselves with her soldiers, to dantone [overcome] and oppress us, that you the remnant—we being cut off—may be an easy prey to her sleights, which God, of his infinite goodness, has now discovered to the eyes of all that list to behold. But credit the works, dear brethren, if ye will not credit us; and lay the example of foreign nations, yea, even of your own brethren before your eyes: and procure not your own ruin willingly. If ye tender true religion, ye see how her grace beareth herself plain enemy thereto, and maintains the tyranny of those idle bellies, the bishops, against God's kirk. If religion be not persuaded unto you, yet cast not away the care ye ought to have over the commonwealth, which ye see manifestly and violently ruined before your eyes. If this will not move you, remember your dear wives, children, and posterity, your ancient heritages and houses: and think well these strangers will regard no more your right thereto, more than they have done your brethren of Leith, whenever occasion shall serve. But if ye purpose—as we doubt not but that all those that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed—to bruike [retain] your ancient rounes [places] and heritages, conquered most valiantly, and defended by your most noble progenitors against all strangers, invaders of the same, as the French pretend this day plainly; if ye will not be slaves unto them, and have your lives, your wives, your bairns, your substance, and whatsoever is dear unto you, cast at their feet, to be used and abused at the pleasure of strange soldiers, as you see your brethren

at this day before your eyes. If you would not have experience some day hereof in your own persons, as we suppose the least of you all would not gladly have, but rather would choose with honour to die in defence of his own native roun, than live and serve so shameful a servitude; then, brethren, let us join our forces, and both with wit and manhood resist those beginnings, or else our liberties hereafter shall be dearer bought. Let us further be persuaded, when our neighbour's house is on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himself herefrom: and if any will be so unhappy and mischievous,—as we suppose none to be,—let us altogether repute, hold, and use him—as he is indeed—for an enemy unto us, to himself, and to his commonweal. 'The eternal and omnipotent God, the true and only revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and protector against the rage and fury of the tyrants of this world; and especially from the insatiable covetousness of the Guisians' generation. *Amen.*'"

Besides this, our public letter, some men answered certain heads of her said proclamation in this manner:

"If it be sedition to speak the truth in all sobriety, and to complain when they are wounded, or to call for help against unjust tyranny before that their throats be cut, then can we not deny, but we are criminal and guilty of tumult and sedition. For we have said that our commonwealth is oppressed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyranny of strangers, and that we fear bondage and slavery, seeing that multitudes of cruel murderers are daily brought to our country without our council, or knowledge and consent. We dispute not so much whether the bringing in of more Frenchmen be violating of the appointment,—which the queen nor her faction cannot deny to be manifestly broken by them in more cases than one,—as that we would know, if that the heaping of strangers upon strangers, above us, without our consent or counsel, be a thing that may stand with the liberty of our realm, and with the profit of our commonwealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgment, that the fruits of our

country, in the most common years, are no more than sufficient reasonably to nourish the born inhabitants within the same. But now seeing that we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleasure of France, by the which the most fruitful portion of our country in corn has been wasted; what man is so blind but that he may see, that such bands of ungodly and idle soldiers can be nothing else but an occasion to famish our poor brethren? And in this point we refuse not—which is the chief—the judgment of all natural Scotsmen.

The queen regent alleged, that although there were a hundred Frenchmen for one in Scotland, yet she is not minded to trouble any in his just possession. Whereunto we answer, that we dispute not what she intends, which not-the-less by probable conjectures is to be suspected; but always we affirm, that such a multitude of Frenchmen is a burden, not only unprofitable, but also intolerable to this poor realm, especially being intreated as they are by her and Monsieur d'Oysel; for if their wages be paid out of France, then are they both—the queen regent, we say, and Monsieur d'Oysel—traitors to the queen and council; for the poor commons of this realm have sustained them with the sweat of their brows, since the contraction of the peace, and somewhat before.

What motherly affection she has declared to this realm, and to the inhabitants of the same, her works have evidently declared, even since the first hour that she has borne authority. And albeit men this day will not see what danger hangs over their heads, yet fear we that ere it be long, experience shall teach some, that we fear not without cause. The cruel murder and oppression used by them whom she now fosters, is to us a sufficient argument, what is to be looked for, when her number is so multiplied, that our force shall not be able to gainstand their tyranny.

Where she complains of our preachers, affirming that unreverently they speak of princes in general, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. and therefore that such things cannot be suffered: because

this accusation is laid against God's true ministers, we cannot but witness what trede [course] and order of doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point.

In public prayers they commend to God all princes in general, and the magistrates of this our native realm in particular. In open audience they declare the authority of princes and magistrates to be of God; and, therefore, they affirm that they ought to be honoured, feared, and obeyed, even for conscience' sake; providing that they command or require nothing expressly repugning to God's commandment and plain will, revealed in his holy word. Moreover, they affirm, that if wicked persons, abusing the authority established by God, command things manifestly wicked, that such as may and do bridle these inordinate appetites of princes, cannot be accused as resisters of the authority, which is God's good ordinance. To bridle the fury and rage of princes in free kingdoms and realms, they affirm it appertaineth to the nobility, born and sworn councillors of the same, and also to the barons and people, whose votes and consents are to be required in all great and weighty matters of the commonwealth; which, if they do not, they declare themselves criminal with their princes, and so subject to the same vengeance of God, which they deserve, for that they pollute the seat of justice, and do, as it were, make God the author of iniquity. They proclaim and cry, that the same God who plagued Pharaoh, repulsed Sennacherib, struck Herod with worms, and made the bellies of dogs the graves and sepulchres of despightful Jezebel, will not spare the cruel princes, murderers of Christ Jesus' members in this our time. On this manner they spake of princes in general, and of your grace in particular. This only we have heard one of our preachers say, rebuking the vain excuse of such as flatter themselves by reason of the authority; many now a-days, said he, will have no other religion nor faith than the queen and authority hold; but is it not possible that the queen is so far blinded, that she will have no other religion, and no other faith, than may content the cardinal of Lorraine. And may it

not likewise be abil [bè true] that the cardinal be so corrupt, that he will admit no religion which does not establish the pope in his kingdom: but plain it is, that the pope is lieutenant of Satan, and enemy to Christ Jesus, and to his perfect religion. Let men therefore consider what danger they stand in, if their salvation shall depend upon the queen's faith and religion. Farther we never heard any of our preachers speak of the queen regent, neither publicly nor privately. Where her grace declared, it will not be suffered that our preachers mell [meddle] with policy, and speak of her or of other princes but with reverence: we answer, that as we will justify and defend nothing in our preachers which we find not God to have justified and allowed in his messengers before them; so dare we not forbid them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit of God, speaking in the prophets and apostles, has reprovèd before them. Elijah did personally reprove Ahab and Jezebel of idolatry, of avarice, of murder, and such like. Isaiah the prophet called the magistrates of Jerusalem, in his time, companions to thieves, princes of Sodom, bribe-takers, and murderers; he complained that their silver was turned into dross, that their wine was mingled with water, and that justice was bought and sold. Jeremiah said, that the bones of king Jehoiakim should wither with the sun. Christ Jesus called Herod a fox, and Paul called the high priest a painted wall, and prayed unto God that he should strike him, because against justice he caused him to be smitten. Now, if the like or greater corruptions be in the world this day, who dare enterprise to put silence to the Spirit of God, which will not be subject to the appetites of wicked princes?

We have before said, that the tenth day of September was appointed for a convention to be holden at Stirling, to the which repaired the most part of the lords of the congregation. At that same time arrived the earl of Arran, who, after that he had saluted his father, came with the earl of Argyle and lord James to Stirling to the said convention, in the which divers godly men complained upon the tyranny used

against their brethren, and especially that more Frenchmen were brought in to oppress their country. After the consultation of certain days, the principal lords, with my lord of Arran, and the earl of Argyle, passed to Hamilton, for consultation to be taken with my lord duke's grace: and in this meantime came the sure word, that the Frenchmen were begun to fortify Leith, which thing, as it did more evidently discover the queen's craft, so did it deeply grieve the hearts of the whole nobility there, who, with one consent, agreed to write to the queen, in form as follows:

At Hamilton, the 19th day of September, 1559.

"Please your grace,

"We are credibly informed, that your army of Frenchmen should instantly begin to plant in Leith, to fortify the same, of mind to expel the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the congregation; whereof we marvel not a little, that your grace should so manifestly break the appointment made at Leith, but [without] any provocation made by us and our brethren. And seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the nobility and council of this realm, we esteem the same not only oppression of our poor brethren, indwellers of the said town, but also very prejudicial to the commonwealth, and plain contrary to our ancient laws and liberties: herefore desire your grace to cause the same work enterprised to be stayed; and not to attempt so rashly and manifestly against your grace's promise, against the commonwealth, the ancient laws and liberties thereof, which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender unto us, and only our pretence [object or design], otherwise, assuring your grace we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm, and most earnestly seek for redress thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your highness, your answer most earnestly we desire, whom we commit to the eternal protection of God. At Hamilton, day and year foresaid, by your grace's humble and obedient servitors," &c.

This letter was subscribed with the hands

of my lord duke, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteith, by the lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, Boyd, and by divers others, barons and gentlemen. To this request she would not answer by writ, but with a letter of credit, she sent Sir Robert Carnegie and Mr David Borthwick, two whom, amongst many others, she abused, and by whom she corrupted the hearts of the simple: they travailed with the duke, to bring him again to the queen's faction. La Broche and the bishop of Amiens were shortly before arrived; and, as it was bruited, were directed as ambassadors; but they kept close their whole commission: they only made large promises to them that would be theirs, and leave the congregation. The queen did grievously complain, that we had intelligence with England. The conclusion of their commission was to solicit my lord duke to put all in the queen's will, and then would she be gracious enough. It was answered, "That no honest men durst commit themselves to the mercy of such cut-throats as she had about her, whom, if she would remove, and join to her a council of natural Scotsmen, permitting the religion to have free passage, then should none in Scotland be more willing to serve her grace than should the lords and brethren of the congregation be."

At the same time, the duke's grace and the lords wrote to my lord Erskine, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, in form as follows:

A LETTER TO LORD ERSKINE.

"My lord and cousin,

"After our hearty commendation, this present is to advertise you, that we are credibly informed, the army of Frenchmen constantly in this realm, but [without] any advice of the council or nobility, are fortifying, or else shortly intend to fortify the town of Leith, and expel the ancient inhabitants thereof; whereby they proclaim to all that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to see, what is their pretence [design]. And seeing the faithfulness of our ancestors, and specially of your father, of honourable memory, was so recommended and experimented to the estates and council of this realm, through affection they

perceived in him towards the commonwealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key—as it were—of the council, the justice, and policy of this realm, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your house by steadfast favour and lautie [loyalty] to your commonwealth, than through the subtle persuasion of some, which caring not what after shall come of you and your house, at the present would abuse you, to the performance of their wicked enterprise and pretences against our commonwealth, utterly destroy the same. And herefore, seeing we have written to the queen's grace, to desist from that enterprise, otherwise that we will complain to the nobility and commonalty of the realm, and seek redress thereof; we likewise beseech you, as our tender friend, brother, and a member of the same commonwealth with us, that ye in nowise mell [meddle] nor assent to that ungodly enterprise against the commonwealth; and likewise, that ye would save your body, and the jewels of this country, committed to you and your predecessors' lautie [loyalty] and fidelity towards your native country and commonwealth, if ye think to be reputed hereafter one of the same, and would rather be brother to us than to strangers; for we gather by the effects the secrets of men's hearts, otherwise unsearchable unto us. This we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warn you of the danger, in case ye thole [suffer] yourself to be enchanted with fair promises and crafty councillors. For let no man flatter himself; we desire all may know, that though ye were our father,—since God has opened our eyes to see his will,—be he enemy to the commonwealth, which now is assailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he shall be known—and as he is indeed—enemy to us, to our lives, our houses, babes, heritages, and whatsoever is contained within the same. For as the ship perishing, what can be safe that is within it? So the commonwealth being betrayed, what particular member can live in quietness? And, therefore, in so far as the

said castles are committed to your credit, we desire you to show your faithfulness and stoutness, as ye tender us, and whatsoever appertains to us. And seeing we are assured ye will be assailed both with craft and force; as now by warning we help you against the first, so against the last ye shall not miss in all possible haste to have our assistance; only show yourself the man. Save your person by wisdom, strengthen yourself against force, and the almighty God assist you in both the one and the other, and open your eyes, understanding, to see and perceive the craft of Satan and his suppoistis [supporters of his cause]. At Hamilton, the 19th of September, 1559.

“By your brethren, the duke,” &c.

The duke and lords understanding that the fortification of Leith proceedeth, appointed their whole forces to convene at Stirling the 15th day of October, and that from thence they might march forward to Edinburgh, for redress of the great enormities which the Frenchmen did to the whole country, which by them was [so] oppressed that the life of all honest men was bitter unto them.

In this meantime, the lords direct their letters to divers parts of the country, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the Frenchmen should be suffered to plant in this country at their pleasure. They made mention farther, how humbly they had sought the queen regent that she would send away to France her Frenchmen, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to their commonwealth: and how that she notwithstanding did daily augment her number, bringing wives and bairns; a declaration of a plain conquest, &c.

The queen, then regent, perceiving that her craft began to be espied, by all means possible travailed to blind the people. And first, she sent forth her pestilent posts forenamed, in all parts of the country, to persuade all men that she offered all things reasonable to the congregation; and that they refusing all reason, pretended no religion, but a plain revolt from the authority. She tempted every man in particular, as

well those that were of the congregation, as those that were neutrals. She assaulted every man, as she thought most easily he might have been overcome. To the lord Ruthven, she sent the justice-clerk and his wife, who was daughter to the wife of the said lord. What was their commission and credit is no farther known than the said lord has confessed, which is, large promises of profit were offered, if that he would leave the congregation and be the queen's. To lord James, prior of St Andrews, was sent Mr John Spence of Condy, with a letter and credit as follows:

The memorial of Mr John Spence of Condy, the 30th day of September.

“Ye shall say, that the queen's grace's favour which is towards you, moves her to this, &c.

“That she well knows, that the occasion of your departure from her was the favour of the word and of the religion, with the which, albeit that she was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other lords firmly fixed thereupon, she will bear with you in that behalf, and at your own sights she will set forward that cause at her power, as may stand with God's word, the common policy of this realm, and the prince's honour.” Note—Good reader, what venom lurked here! for plain it is, that the policy which she pretendeth, and the prince's honour, will never suffer Christ Jesus to reign in this realm.

“To say, that the occasion of the assembling of these men of war, and fortifying of Leith, is, that it was given her to understand by some about her, that it is not the advancement of the word and religion which is sought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow, or alter the authority of your sister, of the which she believes still that ye are not participant; and considering the tenderness that is betwixt you and your sister, she trusts more in you in that behalf than in any living.” But before the earl of Arran arrived, and that the duke departed from her faction, she ceased not continually to cry, that the prior sought to make himself king, and so not only to deprive his sister to make himself king, but also to defraud the lord duke's

grace and his house ; but foreseeing a storm, she began to seek a new wind.

“ She farther willed to offer the away-sending of the men of war, if the former suspicion could be removed. She lamented the trouble that appeared to follow if the matter should long stand in debate. She promised her faithful labours for reconciliation, and required the same of him, requiring farther faith, favour and kindness towards his sister, and to advertise for his part what he desired, with promise that he might obtain what he pleases to desire,” &c.

To this letter and credit, the said lord

James answered as follows :

“ Please your grace,

“ I have received your highness' writing, and have heard the credit of the bearer ; and finding the business of such importance, that dangerous it were to give hastily answer, and also your petitions are such, that with my honour I cannot answer them privately by myself. I have thought good to delay the same till that I may have the judgment of the whole council : for this point I will not conceal from your grace, that amongst us there is a solemn oath, that none of us shall traffic with your grace secretly ; neither yet that any of us shall make an address for himself particularly ; which oath, for my part, I purpose to keep inviolated unto the end : but when the rest of the noblemen shall convene, I shall leave nothing that lies in my power undone that may make for the quietness of this poor realm, providing that the glory of Christ Jesus be not hindered by our concord. And if your grace shall be found so tractable as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtain of the rest of my brethren such favours towards your service as your grace shall have just occasion to stand content : for God I take to record, that in this action I have neither sought, nor yet seek any thing else than God's glory to increase, and the liberty of this poor realm to be maintained. Farther, I have shown to your messenger what things have misliked me in your proceedings, even from such a heart as I would wish to God you and all men should know. And this with hearty commendation of

service to your grace, I heartily commit your highness to the eternal protection of the omnipotent. At St Andrews, the first of October.”

Sic subscribitur,

“ Your grace's most humble and obedient servitor,

“ JAMES STEWART.”

This answer received, she raged as hypocrisy useth when it is pricked ; and perceiving that she could not work what she would at the hands of men particularly, she set forth a proclamation, universally to be proclaimed, in the tenor as follows :

“ Forasmuch as it is understood to the queen's grace, that the duke of Chatelherault has lately directed his missives in all parts of this realm, making mention that the Frenchmen lately arrived with their wives and bairns, are begun to plant in Leith, to the ruin of the commonwealth, which he and his partakers will not pass over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be every man's part ; and that the fortification of Leith is a purpose devised in France, and that therefore Monsieur de la Broche, and the bishop of Amiens are come into this country ; a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgment ; therefore her grace willing, that the occasion whereby her grace was moved so to do be made patent, and what has been her proceedings since the appointment last made in the Links beside Leith, to the effect that the truth of all things may be made manifest, every man may understand how unjustly that will [or a design] to suppress the liberty of this realm, is laid to her charge, has thought expedient to make this discourse following :

“ First, Although after the said appointment, divers of the said congregation, and that not of the meanest sort, had violently contravened the points thereof, and had made sundry occasions of new cumber, the same was in a part winked at and overlooked, in hope that they with time would remember their duty, and abstain from such evil behaviours, which conversion her grace ever sought, rather than any punishment, with such care and solici-

tude by all means, while, in the meantime, nothing was provided for her own security; but at last, by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence was then perceived: yet her grace trusts the queen of England.—let them seek as they please—will do the office of a christian princess in time of a sworn peace, through which force was to her grace, seeing so great defection of great personages, to have recourse to the law of nature; and like as a small bird being pursued, will provide some nest, so her grace could do [no] less, in case of pursuit, than to provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect choosed the town of Leith, as place convenient therefore, because it was first her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or entries thereto; and also because one time before it had been fortified. About the same time that the seeking support of England was made manifest, arrived the earl of Arran, and adjoined himself to the congregation, upon farther promise than the pretended quarrel of religion, that was to be set up by them in authority, and so to pervert the whole obedience. And as some of the congregation at that time had put to their hands and taken the castle of Broughty, and put forth the keepers thereof; immediately came from the said duke to her grace, unlooked for, a writing, beside many other things, complaining of the fortification of the said town of Leith, in hurt of the old inhabitants thereof, brethren to the said congregation, whereof he then professed himself a member; and albeit that the bearer of the said writing was an unmeet messenger in a matter of such consequence, yet her grace directed to him two persons of good credit and reputation with answer, offering, if he would cause amends be made for that which was committed against the laws of the realm, to do farther than could be craved of reason, and to that effect to draw some conference, which for lack of him and his colleagues, took no end: Not-the-less they continually sinsyne continue in their doings, usurping the authority, commanding and charging free burghs to choose provosts

and officers of their naming, and to assist them in the purpose they would be at; and that they will not suffer provisions to be brought for sustentation of her grace's house. And great part so plainly have set aside all reverence and humanity, whereby every man may know that it is no matter of religion, but a plain usurping of authority: and no doubt but simple men, of good zeal in time bygone, therewith falsely have been deceived. But as to the queen's grace's part, God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, well knows, and the world shall see by experience, that the fortification of Leith was devised for no other purpose but for recourse to her highness and her company, in case they were pursued: wherefore, all good subjects that have the fear of God in their hearts, will not suffer themselves by such vain persuasions to be led away from their due obedience, but will assist in defence of their sovereign's quarrel against all such as will pursue the same wrongously. Therefore, her grace ordains the officers of arms to pass to the market-crosses of all head burghs of this realm, and there by open proclamation to command and charge all and sundry the lieges thereof, that none of them take upon hand to put themselves in arms, nor take part with the said duke or his assisters under the pain of treason."

These letters being divulged, the hearts of many were stirred; for they judged the narration of the queen regent to have been true: others understood the same to be utterly false. But because the lords desired all men [to] judge in their cause, they set out this declaration subsequent, &c.

THE DECLARATION OF THE LORDS AGAINST

THE FORMER PROCLAMATION.

"We are compelled unwillingly to answer the grievous accusations most unjustly laid to our charges by the queen regent and her perverse council, who cease not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our dearest brethren, natural Scotsmen, as that we pretended no other thing but the subversion and overthrow of all just authority, when God knows that we thought nothing but that such authority as God approved by his word, be established, honour-

ed, and obeyed among us. True it is that we have complained—and continually must complain till God send redress—that our common country is oppressed with strangers; that this inbringing of soldiers, with their wives and children, and planting of men of war in our free towns, appeared to us a ready way to conquest; and we most earnestly require all indifferent persons to judge betwixt us and the queen regent in this case, to wit, whether our complaint be just or not. For, for what other purpose should she thus multiply strangers upon us, but only in respect of conquest; which is a thing not of late devised by her and her avaricious house. We are not ignorant that, six years ago, the question was demanded, of a man of honest reputation, what number of men was able to daunt [overawe] Scotland, and bring it to the full obedience of France. She alleged, that to say that the fortification of Leith was a purpose devised in France, and that for that purpose was Monsieur de la Broche, and the bishop of Amiens sent to this country, is a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notour to all men of free judgment. But evident it is, whatsoever she alleges, that since their arrival, Leith was begun to be fortified. She alleges, that she, seeing the defection of great personages, was compelled to have recourse to the law of nature, and like a small bird pursued, to provide for some sure retreat to herself and her company: but why does she not answer for what purpose did she bring in her new bands of men of war? Was there any defection espied before their arrival? Was not the congregation under appointment with her? which whatsoever she alleged, she is not able to prove that we had contravened in any chief point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived, yea, before that they began to fortify Leith, a place, said she, most convenient for her purpose, as in very deed it is, for the receiving strangers at her pleasure: for if she had feared the pursuit of her body, she had the Inch, Dunbar, Blackness, forts and strengths already made. Yea, but these could not serve her turn so well as Leith, because it was her daughter's property, and none

other could have title to it, and because it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the town of Leith, we shall in few words declare the truth. It is not unknown to the most part of this realm, that there has been an old hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continually seeking to possess that liberty, which by donation of ancient kings they have long enjoyed; and Leith, by the contrary, aspiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queen regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compass her own matter, and therefore secretly she gave advertisement to some of Leith, that she would make their town free, if that she might do it with any colour of justice. By which promise, the principal men of them did travail with the laird of Restalrig,—a man neither prudent nor fortunate,—to whom the superiority of Leith appertained, that he should sell his whole title and right to our sovereign, for certain sums of money which the inhabitants of Leith paid, with a large taxation more, to the queen regent, in hope to be made free in despite and defraud of Edinburgh. Which right and superiority, when she had got, and when the money was paid, the first fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitterness, to wit, that strangers shall possess their town. This is the just title that her daughter and she may claim to that town. And where she alleges that it was fortified before, we ask, if that was done without consent of the nobility and estates of the realm, as now she and her crafty council do in despite and high contempt of us the lawful heirs and born councillors of this realm.

“How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and how just cause we had, and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all those that slander us for so doing. For this we fear not to confess, that as in this our enterprise against the devil, idolatry, and the maintenance of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's

glory to be notified unto men, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained; so where power faileth of ourselves, we will seek it wheresoever God shall offer the same; and yet in so doing, we are assured, neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our duties. We heartily praise God who moved the heart of the earl of Arran to join himself with us his persecuted brethren; but how malicious a lie it is, that we have promised to set him up in authority, the issue shall declare. God we take to record, that no such thing has to this day entered in our hearts, neither yet has he the said earl, neither any to him appertaining, moved to us any such matter; which, if they should do, yet are we not so slender of judgment, that inconsiderately we would promise that which after we might repent. We speak and write to the praise of God's glory, the least of us knows better what obedience is due unto a lawful authority than she or her council doth practise the office of such as worthily may sit upon the seat of justice, for we offer and we perform all obedience which God had commanded, for we neither deny toll, tribute, honour, nor fear to her and her officers; we only bridle her blind rage, in the which she would erect and maintain idolatry, and would murder our brethren who refuse the same. But she doth utterly abuse the authority established by God: she profanes the throne of his Majesty in earth, making the seat of justice, which ought [to] be the sanctuary and refuge of all godly and virtuous persons unjustly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to thieves, murderers, idolaters, whore-mongers, adulterers, and of blasphemers of God and all godliness. This is more than evident, what men they are, and long have been, whom she by her power maintains and defends; and also what has been our conversation since it has pleased God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury she cruelly persecutes. We deny not the taking of the house of Broughty; and the cause being considered, we think that no natural Scotsman will be offended at our fact. When the assured knowledge came to us that the fortification of Leith

was begun, every man began to inquire what danger might ensue to the rest of the realm, if the French should plant in divers parts, and what were the places that might most annoy us. In conclusion it was found, that the taking of the said house by Frenchmen should be destruction to Dundee, and hurtful to St Johnstone and to the whole country; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preservation of our brethren and common country. It is not unknown what enemies those two towns have, and how gladly would some have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures that the French were of mind shortly to have taken the same place were not obscure: but whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we, as said is, have prevented the danger; and would to God that our power had been in the same manner to have foreclosed their entrance to the town of Leith: for what trouble this poor realm shall endure before that these murderers and unjust possessors be removed from the same the issue will declare. If these accusations against my lord duke's grace, and that we refused conference, be truly and simply spoken, we will not refuse the judgment of these very men, whom she alleged to be of so honest reputation. They know that the duke's grace did answer, that if the realm might be set at liberty from the bondage of these men of war which presently did oppress it, and was so fearful to him and to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent themselves from the places where she and they made residence; that he and all the congregation should come and give all dutiful obedience to our sovereign her daughter, and to her grace, as regent for the time: but to enter in conference, so long as she kept above him and his brethren that fearful scourge of cruel strangers, he thought no wise man would counsel him. And this answer we approve, adding farther, 'That she can make us no promise which she can keep or we can credit, so long as she is forced with the Frenchmen, and ruled with by the council of France. We are not ignorant that princes think it good policy to

betray their subjects by breaking of promise, be they never so solemnly made.' We have not forgotten what counsel she and Monsieur d'Oysel gave to the duke against those that slew the cardinal and kept the castle of St Andrews, and it was this—that what promise they list to require should be made unto them, but how soon the castle was rendered, and things brought to such pass as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To the which when the duke answered, 'That he would never consent to so treasonable an act, but if he promised fidelity he would faithfully keep it;' Monsieur d'Oysel said in mockage to the queen in French, 'That is a good simple nature, but I know no other prince that would so do.' If this was his judgment in so small a matter, what have we to suspect in this our cause; for now the question is not of the slaughter of a cardinal, but of the just abolishing of all that tyranny which that Roman antichrist has usurped above us, of the suppressing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermin of shavelings utterly corrupted. Now, if the slaughter of a cardinal be a sin irremissible, as they themselves affirm, and if faith ought not to be kept with heretics, as their own law speaks, what promise can she, that is ruled by the counsel and commandment of a cardinal, make to us, that can be sure? Where she accuses us, that we usurp the authority to command and charge free burghs to choose provost and officers of our naming, &c.; we will that the whole burghs of Scotland testify in that case, whether that we have used any kind of violence, but lovingly exhorted such as asked support, to choose such in office as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and justice, and were not noted with avarice and bribing. But wonder it is, with what face she can accuse us of that whereof we are innocent, and she so openly criminal, that the whole realm knows her iniquity. In that case, has she not compelled the town of Edinburgh to retain a man to be their provost most unworthy of any regimen in a well-ruled commonwealth? Has she not

enforced them to take bailies of her appointment, and some of them so meet for their office, in this troublesome time, as a souter is to steer a ship in a stormy day? She complains that we will not suffer provision to be made for her house: in very deed we repent unfeignedly, that before this we took not better order that these murderers and oppressors whom she pretends to nourish—for our destruction—had not been disappointed of that great provision of victuals which she and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole country. But as God shall assist us in time coming, we shall do diligence somewhat to frustrate their devilish purpose. What both she and we pretend, we doubt not but God—who cannot suffer the abuse of his own name long to be unpunished—shall one day declare; and unto him we fear not to commit our cause, neither yet fear we in this present to say, that against us she makes a most malicious lie, where she says, that it is no religion that we go about, but a plain usurpation of the authority. God forbid that such impiety should enter in our hearts, that we should make his holy religion a cloak and coverture of our iniquity. From the beginning of this controversy, it is evidently known what have been our requests, which if the rest of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland will cause to be performed unto us, if then in us appears any sign of rebellion, let us be reputed and punished as traitors. But while strangers are brought in to suppress us, our commonwealth, and posterity; while idolatry is maintained, and Christ Jesus his true religion despised; while idle bellies and bloody tyrants—the bishops—are maintained, and Christ's true messengers persecuted; while, finally, virtue is condemned and vice extolled; while that we, a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm, are most unjustly persecuted; what godly man shall be offended that we shall seek reformation of these enormities, yea, even by force of arms, seeing it is otherwise denied unto us? We are assured, that neither God, neither nature, neither any just law forbids us. God has made us counsellors by birth of this realm, nature binds us to love our

own country, and just law commands to support our brethren unjustly persecuted; yea, the oath that we have made, to be true to this commonwealth, compels us to hazard whatsoever God has given us, before that we see the miserable ruin of the same. If any think that it is not religion which we now seek; we answer, that it is nothing else but the zeal of the true religion which moves us to this enterprise: for as the enemies do craftily foresee that idolatry cannot be universally maintained, unless that we be utterly suppressed; so do we consider that the true religion—the purity whereof we only require—cannot universally be erected unless strangers be removed, and this poor realm purged of these pestilences, which before hath infected it. And, therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, whose cause we sustain, we require all our brethren, natural Scotsmen, prudently to consider our requests, and with judgment to discern betwixt us and the queen regent and her faction, and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceit, that either they shall lift their weapons against us their brethren, who seek nothing but God's glory, either yet that they abstract from us their just and dutiful support, seeing that we hazard our lives for the preservation of them and us, and of posterity to come: assuring such as shall declare themselves favourers of her faction, and enemies to us, that we shall repute them, whensoever God shall put the sword of justice in our hands, worthy of such punishment, as is due for such as study to betray their country into the hands of strangers."

This our answer was formed, and divulgate in some places, but not universally, by reason of our day appointed to meet at Stirling, as before it declared. In the meantime, the queen's posts ran with all possible expedition, to draw all men to her devotion; and in very deed she found more favourers of her iniquity than we suspected: for a man that of long time had been one of our number in profession, offered his service—as himself confessed—to the queen regent, to travail betwixt her grace

and the congregation for concord. She refused not his offer, but knowing his simplicity, she was glad to employ him for her advantage. The man is Mr Robert Lockhart, a man of whom many have had and still have a good opinion, as touching his religion; but to enter in the dress of such affairs, not so convenient as godly and wise men would require. He travailed not-the-less earnestly in the queen regent's affairs, and could not be persuaded but that she meant sincerity, and that she would promote the religion to the uttermost of her power. He promised in her name, that she would put away her Frenchmen, and would be ruled by the council of natural Scotsmen. When it was reasoned in his contrary, that if she was so minded to do, she could have found mediators a great deal more convenient for that purpose; he feared not to affirm, "That he knew more of her mind than all the French or Scots that were in Scotland, yea more than her own brethren that were in France." He travailed with the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, with the laird of Dun, and with the preachers, to whom he had some secret letters that he would not deliver, unless that they would make a faithful promise that they should never reveal the things contained in the same. To the which it was answered, "That in nowise they could make such a promise, by reason they were sworn one to another, and altogether in one body, that they should have no secret dress nor intelligence with the queen regent, but that they would communicate with the great council whatsoever that she proponed unto them before they did answer unto her;" as by this answer, written by John Knox unto her grace the queen regent, may be understood. The tenor whereof follows:

"Madam,

"My duty most humbly premised; your grace's servant, Mr Robert Lockhart, most instantly has required me and others to whom your grace's letters—as he alleges—were directed, to receive the same in secret manner, and to give to him answer accordingly. But because some of the number that he required, were and are upon the

great council of this realm, and therefore are solemnly sworn to have nothing to do in secret manner, neither with your grace, nor with any that come from you, or from your council, and so they could not receive your grace's letters with such conditions as the said Mr Robert required, and therefore thought he good to bring to your grace again the said letters close; and yet because as he reports, he has made to your grace some promise in my name; at his request, I am content to testify by my letter and subscription, the sum of that which I did communicate with him. In Dundee, after many words betwixt him and me, I said, that albeit divers sinister reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred nor enmity against your grace: for if it be the office of a very friend to give true and faithful counsel to them whom he sees run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not be proven enemy, but rather an unfeigned friend to your grace. For what counsel I had given to your grace, my writings—as well my letter and addition to the same, now printed, as divers others which I wrote from St Johnstone—may testify. I farther added, that such an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both persuade and obtain, that your authority and regimen should be obeyed of us in all things lawful, till ye declare yourself open enemy to this commonwealth, as now, alas, ye have done. This I willed him moreover to say to your grace, that if ye, following the counsel of flattering men, having no God but this world and their bellies, did proceed in your malice against Christ Jesus his religion, and true ministers, that ye should do nothing else but accelerate and haste God's plague and vengeance upon yourself and upon your posterity. And that—if you did not change your purpose hastily—you should bring yourself in such extreme danger, that when ye would seek remedy, it should not be so easy to be found as it had been before. This is the effect and sum of all that I said at that time, and willed him, if he pleased, to communicate the same to your grace. And the same yet again I notify

unto your grace, by this my letter, written and subscribed at Edinburgh, the 26th of October, 1559."

Sic subscribitur,

"Your grace's to command in all godliness,

"JOHN KNOX."

Postscriptum.—"God move your grace's heart yet in time to consider, that ye fight not against man, but against the eternal God, and against his son Jesus Christ, the only prince of the kings of the earth."

At the which answer, the said Mr Robert was so offended, that he would not deliver his letters, saying, "That we were ungodly and injurious to the queen regent if we suspected any craft in her." To the which it was answered by one of the preachers, "That time should declare whether he or they were deceived; and if she should not declare herself enemy to the true religion which they professed, if ever she had the upper hand, then they would be content to confess that they had suspected her sincerity without just cause. But and if she should declare her malice no less in times coming than she had done before, they required that he should be more moderate than to damn [condemn] them whose conscience he knew not." And this was the end of his travail for that time, after that he had troubled the conscience of many godly and quiet persons; for he and others who were her hired posts [agents], ceased not to blow in the ears of all men, that the queen was heavily done to; that she required nothing but obedience to her daughter; that she was content that the true religion should be forwarded, and that all abuses should be abolished; and by this mean they brought a grudge and division amongst ourselves. For many—and our brethren in Lothian especially—began to murmur, that we sought another thing than religion, and so ceased to assist us certain days, after that we were come to Edinburgh, which we did according to the former diet, the 16th day of October. This grudge and trouble among ourselves was not raised by the foresaid Mr Robert only, but by these pestilents whom before we

have expressed, and Mr James Balfour especially, whose venomous tongues, against God and his true religion, as they deserve punishment of men, so shall they not escape God's vengeance, unless that speedily they repent.

After our coming to Edinburgh the day forenamed, we assembled in council, and determined to give new advertisement to the queen's grace regent, of our convention, and in such sort; and so with common consent we send unto her our request, as follows :

THE SECOND ADMONITION TO THE QUEEN
REGENT.

“ Madam,

“ It will please your grace reduce to your remembrance, how at our last convention in Hamilton, we required your highness, in our most humble manner, to desist from the fortifying of the town of Leith, then enterprised and begun, which appeared to us—and yet does—an entry to a conquest, and overthrow to our liberties, and altogether against the laws and customs of this country, seeing it was begun, and yet continues, without any consent and advice of the nobility and council of this realm. Wherefore now, as before, according to our duty to this our commonwealth, we most humbly require your grace to cause your strangers and soldiers whosoever to depart this said town of Leith, and make the same patent, not only to the inhabitants, but also to all Scotsmen, our sovereign lady's lieges; assuring your highness, that if, refusing the same, ye declare thereby your evil mind towards the commonwealth and liberty of this realm, we will—as of before—mean and declare the cause unto the whole nobility and commons of this realm, and according to the oath which we have sworn for the maintenance of the commonwealth, in all manner of things to us possible, we will provide remedy: therefore, requiring most humbly your grace's answer in haste with the bearer, because in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring a determination of conquest, which is resumed of all men, and not without cause. And this after an humble commendation of service,

we pray Almighty God to have your grace in his eternal tuition.”

These our letters received, our messenger was threatened and withholden a whole day: thereafter he was dismissed, without any other answer but that she would send an answer when she thought expedient.

In this meantime, because the rumour ceased not, that the duke's grace usurped the authority, he was compelled with the sound of trumpet at the market-cross of Edinburgh to make his purgation in form, as follows, the 19th of October.

THE PURGATION OF THE DUKE.

“ Forasmuch as my lord duke of Chatelherault, understanding the false report made by the queen regent against him, that he and his son, my lord of Arran, should pretend usurpation of the crown and authority of this realm, when in very deed he or his son never once minded [meant] such things, but allenarly in simplicity of heart, moved partly by the violent pursuit of the religion and true professors thereof, partly by the compassion of the commonwealth and poor commonalty of this realm, oppressed with strangers, he joined himself to the rest of the nobility, with all hazard, to support the common cause of that one and of that other; has thought expedient to purge himself and his said son, in presence of you all—as he had done in presence of the council—of that said crime, of old, even by summons, laid to his charge, the second year of the reign of our sovereign lady: which malice has continued ever against him, most innocent of that crime, as your experience bears witness; and plainly protests, that neither he nor his said son seeks or suits any pre-eminence either to the crown or authority, but as far as his puissance may extend, is ready, and ever shall be, to concur with the rest of the nobility his brethren, and all others whose hearts are touched to maintain the common cause of religion and liberty of their native country, plainly invaded by the said regent, and her said soldiers, who only do forge such vain reports to withdraw the hearts of true Scotsmen from the succour they aught [owe] of bound duty to their oppressed commonwealth.

Wherefore he exhorts all men that will maintain the true religion of God, or withstand this oppression or plain conquest enterprised by strangers upon native Scotsmen, not to credit such false and untrue reports, but rather concur with us and the rest of the nobility to set your country at liberty, expelling strangers therefrom; which doing, ye shall show yourselves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was established for maintenance of the commonwealth, and true members of the same."

The 21st of October, came from the queen then regent Mr Robert Foreman, lion king of arms, who brought unto us a writing in this tenor and credit :

" After commendation, we have received your letter, of Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, which appears to us rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that bear authority; for answer thereof, we presently directed unto you this bearer, lion herald king of arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credit."

Sic subscribitur,

" MARY R."

At Leith, the 21st of }
October, 1559. }

HIS CREDIT IS THIS.

" That she wondered how any durst presume to command her in that realm, which needed not to be conquest by any force, considering it was already conquest by marriage; that Frenchmen cannot justly be called strangers, seeing they were naturalized; and therefore that she would neither make the town patent, neither yet send any man away, but as she thought expedient. She accused the duke of violating his promise; she made long protestation of her love towards the commonwealth of Scotland; and in the end commanded, that under pain of treason, all assisters to the duke, and unto us, should depart from the town of Edinburgh."

This answer received, credit heard, pre-conceived malice sufficiently espied, consultation was taken what was expedient to be done. And for the first it was concluded, that the herald should be stayed till

farther determination should be taken. The whole nobility, barons, and burghs then present, were commanded to convene in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the same 21st day of October, for deliberation of these matters, where the whole case being expounded by the lord Ruthven, the question was proponed, Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born councillors of the realm, being also but a regent, whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannously to empire above them? And because that this question had not been before disputed in open assembly, it was thought expedient that the judgment of the preachers should be required; who being called and instructed in the case, John Willock, who before had sustained the burden of the kirk of Edinburgh, being commanded to speak, made discourse as follows, affirming—

First, That albeit magistrates by God's ordinance, having of him power and authority, yet is not their power so largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his word.—And,

Secondly, That as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so are magistrates commanded to give some duty to the subjects; so that God by his word, has prescribed the office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God has appointed magistrates his lieutenants on earth, and has honoured them with his own title, calling them gods, that yet he never did so establish any, but that for just causes they might have been deprived.

Fourthly, That in deposing of princes, and those that had been in authority, God did not always use his immediate power, but sometimes he used some other means, which his wisdom thought good and justice approved, as by Asa he removed Maacha his own mother from honour and authority, which before she had bruike; by Jehu he destroyed Jehoram, and the whole posterity of Ahab; and by divers others he had deposed from authority those whom before he had established by his

own word; and hereupon concluded he, that since the queen regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was to minister justice unto them indifferently, to preserve their liberties from invasion of strangers, and to suffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached amongst them: seeing, moreover, that the queen regent was an open and obstinate idolatress, a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry, and finally, that she utterly despised the council and requests of the nobility, he could see no reason why they, the born councillors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her from all regimen and authority amongst them.

Hereafter was the judgment of John Knox required, who approving the sentence of his brother, added, *first*, That the iniquity of the queen regent, and disorder ought in nowise to withdraw neither our hearts, neither yet the hearts of other subjects, from the obedience due unto our sovereigns.

Secondly, That, and if we deposed the said queen regent rather of malice and private envy, than for the preservation of the commonwealth, and that for her sins appeared incurable, that we should not escape God's just punishment, howsoever that she had deserved ejection from honours. And,

Thirdly, He required that no such sentence should be pronounced against her, but that upon her known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the commonwealth, and submission to the nobility, place should be granted unto her of regress to the same honours, from the which, for just causes, she justly might be deprived.

The votes of every man particularly by himself required, and every man commanded to speak, as he will answer to God, what his conscience judged in that matter, there was none found, amongst the whole number, who did not by his own tongue consent to her deprivation; thereafter was their protest committed to write, and registered as followeth:

“ At Edinburgh, the 21st of October, 1559.

The nobility, barons, and burghs con-

vened to advise upon the affairs of the commonwealth, and to aid, support, and succour the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their commonwealth, and overthrow of the liberty of their native country, by the means of the queen regent, and certain strangers her privy councillors, plain contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's mind, and direct against the council of the nobility, to proceed by little and little even to the uttermost, so that the urgent necessity of the commonwealth may suffer no longer delay, and earnestly craves our supports: seeing therefore, that the said queen regent—abusing and overpassing our sovereign lord and lady's commission given and granted to her—has in all her proceedings, pursued the barons and burghs of this realm, with weapons and armour of strangers, but [without] any process or order of law, they being our sovereign lord and lady's true lieges, and never called nor convicted of any crime by any judgment lawful; as first at St Johnstone, in the month of May, she assembled her army against the town and inhabitants thereof, never called nor convicted of any crime, but that they professed the true worship of God, conform to his most sacred word; and likewise in the month of June last, without any lawful order or calling going before, invaded the persons of sundry noblemen and barons with force of arms convened at St Andrews, only for the cause of religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convicted of any crime; attour [besides] laid garrisons the same month upon the inhabitants of the said town of St Johnstone, oppressing the liberties of the queen's true lieges; for fear of which her garrisons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled off the town, and durst not resort again into their houses and heritages until they were restored by arms, they notwithstanding never being called nor convicted of any crime. And farther, that same time did thrust in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the said town provost and bailies against all order of election. And lately, in this last month of September, has she done the like in the towns of Edinburgh and Jed-

burgh, and divers other places, in sign of manifest oppression of our liberties. And last of all, declaring of her evil mind towards the nobility, commonalty, and whole nation, has brought in strangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the same; pretending a manifest conquest of our native realm and country, as the deed itself declares: in so far as she having brought in the said strangers but [without] any advice of the council or nobility, and contrary to their express mind sent to her grace in writ, has placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principal towns and ports of this realm, sending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to suppress our commonwealth, and the liberty of our native country, to make us and our posterity slaves to strangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable in commonwealths and free countries, so it is very prejudicial to our sovereign lady, and her heirs whosoever, in case our sovereign lord decess but [without] heirs of her grace's person; and to performance of these her wicked enterprises, conceived, as appears, of inveterate malice against our whole country and nation, causes—but [without] any consent or advice of the council or nobility—coin layed [alloyed] money, so base, and of such quantity, that the whole realm shall be depaupered [impoverished], and all traffic with foreign nations averted thereby; and attour [besides], her grace places and maintains, contrary to the pleasure of the council of this realm, a stranger in one of the greatest offices of credit within this realm, that is, in keeping of the great seal thereof, whereuntil [from which] great perils may be engendered to the commonwealth and liberties thereof; and farther, lately sent the said great seal forth of this realm by the said stranger, contrary the advice of the said council, to what effect God knows, and has else by his means altered the old laws and consuetude [customs] of our realm, ever observed in the graces and pardons granted by our sovereigns to all their lieges having repented of their offences committed against their highness, or the lieges of the realm, and has introduced a new captious style

and form of the said pardons and remissions, attending to the practice of France, tending thereby to draw the said lieges of this realm, by process of time, in a deceivable snare. And farther, shall creep in the whole subversion and alteration of the remaining laws of this realm, in contrary the contents of the appointment of marriage; and all peace being accorded amongst the princes, retains the great army of strangers after command sent by the king of France to retire the same, making excuse that they were retained for suppression of the attempts of the lieges of this realm, albeit the whole subjects thereof, of all estates, are and ever have been ready to give all dutiful obedience to their sovereigns, and their lawful ministers, proceeding, by God's ordinance: and the said army of strangers not being paid of wages, was laid by her grace upon the necks of the poor commonalty of our native country, who were compelled by force to defraud themselves, their wives, and their bairns, of that poor substance which they might conqueis [acquire] with the sweat of their brows, to satisfy their hunger and necessities, and with the same to sustain the idle bellies of these strangers. Through the which in all parts raise [rose] such heavy lamentation, and complaint of the commonalty, accusing the council and nobility of their sloth, that as the same oppression we doubt not has entered in before the justice-seat of God, so has it moved our hearts to reuth [pity] and compassion: and for redress of the same, with other great offences committed against the public weal of this realm, we have convened here—as said is—and as oftentimes of before have most humbly and with all reverence desired and required the said queen regent, to redress the said enormities, and specially to remove her strangers from the necks of the poor commonalty, and to desist from enterprising or fortification of strengths within this realm, against the express will of the council and nobility of the same; yet we being convened the more stark [strong], for fear of her strangers, whom we saw presume no other thing but with arms to pursue our lives and possessions, besought her grace to remove the

fear of the same, and make the town patent to all our sovereign lord and lady's lieges ; the same on nowise would her grace grant unto, but when some of our company in peaceable manner went to view the said town, there was both small and great munition shot forth at them. And seeing, therefore, that neither access was granted to be used, nor yet her grace would join herself to us, to consult upon the affairs of our commonwealth, as we that be born councillors of the same, by the ancient laws of the realm ; but fearing the judgment of the council would reform, as necessity required, the foresaid enormities, she refuses all manner of assistance with us, and by force and violence intends to suppress the liberties of our commonwealth, and of us the favourers of the same : we, therefore, so many of the nobility, barons, and provosts of burghs, as are touched with the care of the commonwealth—unto the which we acknowledge ourselves not only born, but also sworn protectors and defenders, against all whatsoever invaders of the same,—and moved by the foresaid proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable complaint of oppression of our commonalty, our fellow members of the same : perceiving farther, that the present necessity of our commonwealth may suffer no delay, being convened, as said is, presently in Edinburgh, for support of our commonwealth, and reply consulted and advised, taking the fear of God before our eyes, for the causes foresaid, which are notorious, with one consent and common vote, each man, in order his judgment being required ; in name and authority of our sovereign lord and lady, suspend the said commission granted by our said sovereigns to the said queen dowager, discharging her of all administration or authority she has or may have thereby, unto the next parliament to be set by our advice and consent ; and that because the said queen, by the foresaid faults notorious, declares herself enemy to our commonwealth, abusing the power of the said authority, to the destruction of the same : and likewise, we discharge all members of her said authority from thenceforth ; and that no coin be coined from thence-

forth, without express consent of the said council and nobility, conform to the laws of this realm, which we maintain : and ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of arms, in all the head burghs within the realm of Scotland. In witness of the which, our common consent and free vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspension with our hands, day, year, and place foresaid.

Sic subscribitur,

“ By us, the nobility and commons of the protestants of the church of Scotland.”

After that this our act of suspension was by sound of trumpet divulged at the market-cross of Edinburgh, we dismissed the herald with this answer :

“ Please your grace, we received your answer, and heard the credit of lyon king of arms, whereby we gathered sufficiently your perseverance in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and the liberty of our native country ; for safety of the which, and according to our duties, we have in our sovereign lord and lady's name suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby, being most assuredly persuaded, your doings are direct contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's will, which we ever esteem to be for the weal, and not for the hurt of this our commonwealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge us our sovereign lord and lady's lieges, true barons and lieges, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for our regent, or lawful magistrate unto us, seeing, if any authority ye have by reason of our sovereigns' commission granted unto your grace, the same, for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended by us, in the name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are of in the affairs of this our commonwealth. And forasmuch as we are determined with hazard of our lives to set that town at liberty, wherein ye have most wrongously placed your soldiers and strangers, for the reverence which we owe to your person, as mother to our sovereign lady, we require your grace to transport your person

therefrom, seeing we are accustomed * for the necessity of the commonwealth, to suit the same by arms, being denied oft the liberty thereof, by sundry requisitions made of before; attour [moreover that] your grace would cause depart with you out of the said town, any person having commission in ambassadry, if any such be, or in lieutenantship of our sovereigns, together with all Frenchmen, soldiers, being within the same, whose blood we thirst not, because of the old and ancient amity and friendship betwixt the realm of France and us, which amity, by occasion of marriage of our sovereign lady to the king of that realm, should rather increase than decrease; and this we pray your grace and them both to do within the space of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we owe unto your persons. And thus recommending our humble service to your grace, we commit your highness to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the 23d of October, 1559.

“Your grace’s humble servitors.”

The day following we summoned the town of Leith by sound of trumpet, in form as follows:

“I require and charge in the name of our sovereign lord and lady, and of the council presently in Edinburgh, that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatsoever estate or degree they be, that they depart of this town of Leith within the space of twelve hours, and make the same patent to all and sundry our sovereign lady’s lieges. For seeing that we have not such hatred at either the one or the other, that we thirst for the blood of any of the two, for that one is our natural brother, born, nourished, and brought up within the bowels of our common country, and with that other our nation has continued in long amity and alliance, and hopes that so shall do, so long as so they list to use us, and not suit to make slaves of our friends, which this strengthening of our town portends; and therefore most heartily desire the one and the other to desist from fortifying or maintaining of this town, in our sovereigns and their council’s name, and to

make the same free within the space of twelve hours.”

Defiance given, there was skirmishing, without great slaughter, preparation of scales and ladders was made for the assault, which was concluded by the common consent of the nobility and barons. The scales were appointed to be made in St Giles’ kirk, so that preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the preachers, and many godly with them. The preachers spared not openly to say, “That they feared the success of that enterprise should not be prosperous, because the beginning appeared to bring with it some contempt of God and of his word. Other places, said they, had been more apt for such preparations, than where the people convened to common prayers and unto preaching.” In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled at that time, which, and other misorder espied amongst us, gave occasion to the preachers to affirm, “That God could not suffer such contempt of his word, and abuses of his grace, long to be unpunished.” The queen had amongst us her assured espials, who did not only signify unto her what was our estate, but also what was our council, purpose, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently suspected to be the very betrayers of all our secrets; for a boy of the officials of Lothian, Mr James Balfour, was taken carrying a writing, which did open the most secret things [that] were devised in the council; yea, those very things which we thought to have been known but to a very few. By such domestical enemies were not only our purposes frustrated, but also our determinations were often overthrown and changed. The duke’s friends gave unto him such terrors, that he was greatly troubled, and by his fear were troubled many others.

The men of war—for the most part were men without God or honesty—made a mutiny, because they lacked a part of their wages: they had done the same in Linlithgow before, where they made a proclamation, “that they would serve any man to suppress the congregation, and set up the mass again.” They made a fray upon the

* Constrained—suppressed edition.

earl of Argyle's highland men, and slew one of the principal children [servants] of his chamber, who notwithstanding behaved himself so moderately, and so studious to pacify that tumult, that many wondered as well of his prudent counsel and stoutness, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly soldiers notwithstanding malign'd, and continuing in their disorder, they boasted [taunted] the laird of Tullibardine and other noblemen, who exhorted them to quietness. All these troubles were practised by the queen, and put in execution by the traitors amongst ourselves, who, albeit they then lurked, and yet are not manifestly noted, yet we doubt not but God shall utter [discover] them to their confusion, and to the example of others. To pacify the men of war, a collection was devised; but because some were poor, and some were niggards and avaricious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a cunye [mint] should be erected, that every noblemen should coin his silver work to supply the present necessity; and therefore David Forrest, John Heart, and others who before had charge of the coin-house, did promise their faithful labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the said John Heart, and others of his faction, stole away, and took with them the instruments apt for their purpose. Whether this was done by the falsehood and feebleness of the said John, or the practising of others, is yet uncertain. Rested [there remained] then no hope amongst ourselves that any money could be furnished; and therefore it was concluded, by a few of those whom we judged most secret, that Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, should be tempted, if any would support us with any reasonable sum in that urgent necessity, and for that purpose was the laird of Ormiston directed unto them in so secret a manner as we could devise; but yet our counsel was disclosed to the queen, who appointed the earl of Bothwell—as himself confessed—to await upon the returning of the said laird, as that he did with all diligence; and so being assuredly informed by what way he came, the said earl of Both-

well beset his way, and coming upon him at unawares, did take him, after that he was evil wounded in the head, for neither could he get his led horse, nor yet his steel bonnet. With him was taken the sum of 4000 crowns of the sun, which the said Sir Ralph and Sir James most lovingly had sent for our support. The bruit hereof coming to our ears, our dolor was doubled; not so much for loss of the money, as for the tinsall [loss] of the gentleman, whom we suspected to have been slain, or at the least, that he should be delivered to the queen's hands; and so upon the sudden, the earl of Arran, the lord James, the master of Maxwell, with the most part of the horsemen, took purpose to pursue the said earl Bothwell, if they might apprehend him in Crichton or Moreham, whereunto—as they were informed—he had retired himself after his treasonable fact, we call his fact treasonable, because that three days before he had sent his special servant, Mr Michael Balfour, to us to Edinburgh, to purchase of the lords of the council licence to come and speak [to] us; which we granted, after that he had promised, that in this meantime he should neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he should write his answer again, whether that he would join with us or not. He gave us farther to understand, that he would discharge himself of the queen, and thereafter would assist us: and yet in this meantime, he cruelly and traitorously hurt and spoiled the nobleman foresaid. Albeit that the departure and counsel of the earl of Arran and lord James, with their company foresaid, was very sudden and secret, yet was the earl of Bothwell, then being in Crichton, advertised, and so escaped with the money, which he took with himself, as the captain of his house, John Sommerville, who was taken without any long pursuit, confessed and affirmed. Because the noblemen that sought redress, sought rather his safety and reconciliation than destruction and hatred; they committed his house to the custody of a captain, to wit, captain Forbes, to whom, and to all the soldiers there left, was given a sharp commandment, that all things found within the said house of Crichton—which

were put in inventory in presence of the lords—should be kept till that the said earl should give answer whether he would make restitution or not; time of advertisement was granted unto him the whole day subsequent, till the going down of the sun.

In absence of the said lords and horsemen—we mean the same day that they departed, which was the last of October—the provost and town of Dundee, together with some soldiers, passed forth of the town of Edinburgh, and carried with them some great ordnance to shoot at Leith. The duke's grace, the earl of Glencairn, and the rest of the noblemen were gone to the preaching, where they continued till near twelve hours. The French being advertised by one named Clerk—who after was apprehended—that our horsemen were absent, and that the whole company were at dinner, issued, and with great expedition came to the place where our ordnance was laid. The town of Dundee with a few others resisted a while, as well with their ordnance as hackbuts; but being left of our ungodly and feeble soldiers, who fled without stroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and so to leave the ordnance to their enemies, who did further pursue the fugitives, to wit, to the midst of the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith Wynd. Their cruelty then began to discover itself; for the decrepit, the aged, women and children, found no greater favour in their fury, than did the strong men, who made resistance.

It was very apparent, that amongst ourselves there was some treason; for when, upon the first alarm, all men made haste for relief of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have saved, or at least we might have saved the ordnance, and have kept the Canongate from danger; for we were once marched forward with bold courage, but then, we say, was a shout raised amongst ourselves—God will disclose the traitors one day—affirming, “that the whole French company were entered in at Leith Wynd upon our backs.” What clamour and disorder did then suddenly arise, we list not to express with multiplication of words. The horsemen, and some of those that

should have put order to others, over-rode their poor brethren, at the entrance of the Netherbow. The cry of discomfiture arose in the town, the wicked and malignant blasphemed, the feeble—amongst whom the justice-clerk, Sir John Ballantine, was—fled without mercy. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the West-port. Mr Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, cried with a loud voice, “Drink now as ye have brewed.” The French perceiving, by the clamour of the fray, followed, as said is, to the midst of the Canongate, to no great number, but a twenty or thirty of their infants *perdus*;* for in that meantime, the rest retired themselves with our ordnance. The earl Argyle and his men were the first that stopped the flying of our men, and compelled the port to be opened after it was shut. But in very deed, lord Robert Stewart, abbot of Holyroodhouse, was the first that issued out; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At last came my lord duke, and then was no man more frank than Mr Gavin Hamilton foresaid. The French burnt a bakehouse, and took some spoil from the poor of the Canongate; they slew a drunken papist priest named Sir Thomas Selater, an aged man, a woman giving suck and her child, and of soldiers to the number of ten. Certain were taken, amongst whom captain Mowat was one, and Mr Charles Geddes, servitor to the master of Maxwell. The captain of the castle that day shot a shot at the French, declaring them thereby friends to us and enemies to them, but he suddenly repented of well-doing. The queen glad of victory, sat upon the rampart to salute and welcome her victorious soldiers; one brought a kirtel, another a petticoat, a third a pot or pan; and of envy more than womanly laughter, she asked, “Where bought ye your ware? Je pense que vous l'avez acheté sans argent?” This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this realm.

The earl Bothwell, lifted up in his own conceit by reason of this our repulse and discomfiture, utterly refused any res-

* Foot lost, D. Buchanan's ed.

titution; and so within two days after was his house spoiled, in which was nothing of any great importance, his evidents and certain clothing excepted. From that day back, the courage of many was dejected; with great difficulty could men be retained within the town; yea, some of the greatest estimation determined with themselves to leave the enterprise, many fled away secretly, and those that did abide—a very few excepted—appeared destitute of counsel and manhood. The master of Maxwell, a man stout and witty, foreseeing the danger, most gravely desired either to take such order that they might remain to the terror of the enemy, or else that they should retire themselves with their ordnances and banners displayed in order; but the wits of men being dashed, no counsel could prevail. Thus we continued from Wednesday the last of October, till Monday the fifth of November, never two or three abiding firm in one opinion the space of twenty-four hours. The pestilent wits of the queen's practisers did then exercise themselves—God shall recompense their malicious craft in their own bosom, we doubt not—for they had caused two godly and forward young men, the lairds of Fernihurst and Cessford, who once had gladly joined themselves with us, to withdraw themselves and their friends: the same they did to the earl of Morton, who promised to be ours, but did never plainly join. They enticed the captain of the castle to deny us support in case we were pursued; and, finally, the counsel of some was no less pestiferous against us than was the counsel of Ahithophel against David and his discomfited soldiers, "Render, O Lord, to the wicked according to their malice."

Upon Monday, the fifth of November, did the French issue out of Leith betimes, for keeping of the victuals, which should have come to us; we being troubled amongst ourselves, and—as said is—divided in opinion, were neither circumspect when they did issue, neither yet did we follow with such expedition as had been meet for men that would have sought our advantage; our soldiers could be scarcely dung [driven] out of the town. The earl of Arran, lord

James, and certain with them, made haste; many honest men then followed, and made such diligence, that they caused the French once to retire somewhat afraidly. The rest that were in Leith, perceiving the danger of their fellows, issued out for their succour. The earl of Arran, and lord James foresaid, being more forward nor prudent and circumspect, did compel the captains, as is alleged, to bring their men so near, that either they must needs have hazarded battle with the whole Frenchmen—and that under the mercy of their cannons also—or else they must needs retire in a very narrow corner; for our men were approached near to Restalrig. The one part of the Frenchmen were upon the north towards the sea, the other part marched from Leith to Edinburgh; and yet they march so, that we could have fought with neither companies before they could have joined. We took purpose, therefore, to retire towards the town, and that with expedition, lest that the former company of the French should either have invaded the town, before that we could have come to the rescue thereof, or else have cut us off from the entrance of the abbey of Holyroodhouse, as apparently they had done, if the laird of Grange, and Alexander Whitelaw, with a few horsemen, had not stayed both their horsemen and footmen. The company that was next us perceiving that we retired with speed, sent forth their skirmishers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took us at a disadvantage; before us having the mire [marsh] of Restalrig betwixt us and them; so that in no ways we could charge them; and we were inclosed by the park-dyke, so that in no ways could we avoid their shot: their horsemen followed upon our tails, and slew divers, our horsemen over-rode our footmen; and so, by the narrowness of the place, there was no resistance made. The earl of Arran, and lord James, in great danger, lighted among the footmen, exhorting them to have some respect to order, and to the safety of their brethren, whom, by their flying, they exposed to murder, and so were criminal of their death. Captain Alexander Haliburton, a man that feared God, tarried with certain of his soldiers be-

hind, and made resistance, till that he was first shot, and then taken. But being known, these cruel murderers wounded him in divers parts to the death; and yet, as it were by the power of God, he was brought into the town, where in few, but yet in most plain words, he gave confession of his faith, testifying, "That he doubted nothing of God's mercy, purchased to him by the blood of Christ Jesus, neither yet that he repented, that it pleased God to make him worthy to shed his blood, and spend his life in the defence of so good a cause." And thus, with dolour of many, he ended his dolour within two hours after the defeat, and did enter, we doubt not, into that blessed immortality, which abides all that believe in Christ Jesus truly. There was slain to the number of twenty-four or thirty men, the most part poor. There were taken the laird of Pitmillie, the laird of Fairnie, younger, the master of Buchan, George Lowell of Dundee, and some others of lower estate, John Dunbar, lieutenant to captain Mowat. Captain David Murray had his horse slain, and himself shot in the leg.

Few days before our first defeat, which was upon All-Halloweven, William Maitland of Lethington, younger, secretary to the queen, perceiving himself not only to be suspected as one that favoured our part, but also to stand in danger of his life, if he should remain among so ungodly a company; for, whensoever matters came in question, he spared not to speak his conscience, which liberty of tongue and gravity of judgment the French did highly disdain, which perceived by him, he conveyed himself away in a morning, and rendered himself to Mr Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, who coming to us, did exhort us to constancy, assuring us, that in the queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travailed exceedingly to have retained the lords together, and most prudently laid before their eyes the danger that might ensue their departing of the town; but fear and dolour had so seized the hearts of all, that they could admit no consolation. The earl of Arran, and lord James, offered to abide, if any reasonable company would abide with them; but men did so steal away, that the

wit of men could not stay them; yea, some of the greatest determined plainly that they would not abide. The captain of the castle, then lord Erskine, would promise unto us no favours, but said, "He must needs declare himself friend to those that were able to support and defend him;" which answer given to the lord James, his sister's son, discouraged those that before had determined to have abode the uttermost, rather then to have abandoned the town, so that the castle would have stood their friend: but the contrary declared, every man took purpose for himself. The complaints of the brethren within the town of Edinburgh were lamentable and sore: the wicked then began to spue out the venom which before lurked in their cankered hearts. The godly, as well those that were departed, as the inhabitants of the town, were so troubled, that some of them would have preferred death to life at God's pleasure. For avoiding of danger, it was concluded that they should depart at midnight. The duke made provision for his ordnance, and caused it to be sent before, but the rest was left to the care of the captain of the castle, who received it, as well that which pertained to lord James, as that of Dundee. The spiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked another to cast stones at us. One cried, 'Alas, that I might see;' another, 'Fie, give advertisement to the Frenchmen that they may come, and we shall help to cut the throats of these heretics.' And thus, as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed; for we would never have believed that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity—God move their hearts to repentance—for else we fear that he whose cause we sustain, shall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruel strangers, in whose hands they wished us to have been betrayed. We stayed not till we came to Stirling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh, for it was concluded, that their consultation

should be taken, what was the next remedy in so desperate a matter.

The next Wednesday, which was the 7th of November, John Knox preached—John Willock was departed to England, as before he had appointed—and entreated the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and eighth verses of the lxxx. psalm, where David in the person of the afflicted people of God, speaks thus:—“4. O thou Eternal, the God of hosts, how long shalt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people. 5. Thou hast fed us with the bread of tears, and he has given to us tears to drink in great measure. 6. Thou hast made us a strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laugh us to scorn among themselves. 7. O God of hosts, turn us again, make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved. 8. Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it.”

This psalm had the said John begun in Edinburgh, as it were foreseeing our calamities, which in very deed he did not obscurely speak, but plainly did admonish us, that he was assured of troubles suddenly to come; and, therefore, exhorted all men to prayers. He entreated the three first verses in Edinburgh, to the comfort of many. He declared the argument of the psalm, affirming for his judgment, that it was made by David himself, who, in the spirit of prophecy, foresaw the miserable estate of God's people, especially after that the ten tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of Judah; for it was not—said he—without cause, that Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasses, were especially named, and not Judah, *to wit*, because they came first to calamity, and were translated from their own heritage, while that Judah yet possessed the kingdom. He confessed that justly they were punished for idolatry committed; but he affirmed, that amongst them there continually remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the prophets sent, as well to call them to repentance, as to assure them of deliverance, and of the promise of God to be performed unto them. He divided the psalm in three parts, *to wit*, in a prayer. 2. In the ground whereupon their prayer was found-

ed. 3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the vow which they make to God. Their prayer was, “That God should convert and turn them, that he should make his face to shine upon them, and that he should restore them to their former dignity.” The grounds and foundations of their prayer were, 1. That God himself had become pastor and governor unto them. 2. That he had taken the protection of them in his own hand. 3. That he had chosen his habitation amongst them. 4. That he had delivered them from bondage and thralldom. 5. That he had multiplied and blessed them with many notable benedictions. Upon those two parts he gave these notes, 1st, That the felicity of God's people may not be measured by any external appearance; for oftentimes it is, that the same people, to whom God becomes not only creator, but also pastor and protector, is more severely entreated, than those nations where very ignorance and contempt of God reigneth. 2dly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with any people by his word, but there he had some of his elect, who, albeit they suffered for a time in the midst of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that God's promises are not vain. 3dly, That these prayers were indited unto the people by the Holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of the trouble, to assure them that God, by whose Spirit the prayer was indited, would not condemn the same in the midst of their calamities. The third part, containing the lamentable complaint, he entreated in Stirling, in presence of my lord duke, and of the whole council. In exposition whereof, he declared wherefore God suffered sometimes his chosen flock to be exposed to mockage, to dangers, and to apparent destruction, *to wit*, that they may feel the vehemency of God's indignation; that they may know how little strength is in themselves; that they may leave a testimony to the generations following, as well of the malice of the devil against God's people, as of the marvellous works of God in preserving his little flock by far other means than man can espy. In explaining these words, “How long,

O Lord, wilt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people;" he declared how dolorous and fearful it was to fight against that temptation, that God turned away his face from our prayers, for that was nothing else than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed to our destruction; which temptation no flesh can abide or overcome, unless the mighty Spirit of God interpose himself suddenly.

The example he gave, the impatience of Saul, when God would not hear his prayers. The difference betwixt the elect and reprobate in that temptation, he plainly declared to be, that the elect, sustained by the secret power of God's Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit he appeared to condemn their prayers, which—said he—is the sacrifice most acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as Jacob did in wrestling with his angel; but the reprobate—said he—being denied of their requests at God's hand, do either cease to pray, and altogether condemn God, who straitly commands us to call upon him in the day of our adversity, or else they seek at the devil that which they cannot obtain of God.

In the second part, he declared how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours, not to rejoice and put confidence in the self, when God gives victory; and, therefore, how necessary it was that man by affliction should be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmity, lest that puffed up with vain confidence, he make an idol of his own strength, as did king Nebuchadnezzar. He did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blind world, which, in all ages, has insolently rejoiced when God did chasten his own children, whose glory and honour, because the reprobate can never see, therefore they despise them, and the wondrous work of God in them. And yet, said he, the joy and rejoicing of the world, is but mere sorrow, because the end of it tends to sudden destruction, as the riotous banquetting of Belshazzar declareth. Applying these heads to the time and persons—he said—if none of God's children had suffered before us the same injuries that presently we sustain, these our troubles would appear in-

tolerable. Such is our tender delicacy, and self-love of our own flesh, that these things which we lightly pass over in others, we can greatly complain of, if they touch ourselves. I doubt not but that some of us have oftener nor once read this psalm, as also we have heard and read the travails and troubles of our forefathers; but which of us, either in hearing or reading their dolours and temptations did so descend into ourselves that we felt the bitterness of their passions? I think none. And, therefore, has God brought us to some experience in our own persons. But, yet, because the matter may appear obscure, unless it be more properly applied, I cannot but of conscience use such plainness, as God shall grant unto me. Our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppressed with sorrow and shame. But what shall we think to be the very cause that God has thus dejected us? If I should say, our sins and former unthankfulness to God, I speak the truth; but yet, I speak more generally than necessity requires: for when the sins of men are rebuked in general, seldom it is that man descends into himself, accusing and damning in himself that which most displeaseth God; but rather he doubts that to be a cause, which before God is no cause indeed. As for example, the Israelites, fighting against the tribe of Benjamin, were twice discomfited, with the loss of forty thousand men. They lamented and bewailed both first and last; but we find not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and sin, which was the cause that they fell in the edge of the sword, but rather they doubted that to be the cause of their misfortune, which God had commanded: for they asked, "Shall we go and fight any more against our brethren the sons of Benjamin?" By which question it is evident that they supposed that the cause of their overthrow and discomfitures was, because they had lifted the sword against their brethren and natural countrymen; and yet the express command of God that was given unto them did deliver them from all crime in that case. And yet, no

doubt but that there was some cause in the Israelites that God gave them so over into the hands of these wicked men, against whom he sent them by his own express commandment to execute his judgments. Such as do well mark the history and the estate of that people, may easily see the cause why God was offended. All the whole people had declined from God, idolatry was maintained by a common consent of the multitude; and as the text saith, "Every man did that which appeared good in his own eyes." In this meantime, the Levite complained of the villany that was done to himself, and unto his wife, which oppressed by the Benjaminites of Gibeah, died under their filthy lusts; which horrible fact inflamed the hearts of the whole people to take vengeance upon that abomination: and therein they offended not; but in this they failed, that they go to execute judgment against the wicked, without any repentance or remorse of conscience for their own former offences, and defection from God. And, farther, because they were a great multitude, and the other far inferior to them, they trusted in their own strength, and thought themselves able enough to do their purpose, without any invocation of the name of God: but after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own strength, they fasted and prayed, and being humbled before God, they received a more favourable answer, and assured promise of the victory. The like may be amongst us, albeit that suddenly we do not espy it: and to the end that every man may the better examine himself, I will divide our whole company in two sorts of men, the one are those that from the beginning of this trouble have sustained the common danger with their brethren, the other are those which be lately joined to our fellowship. In the one and the other, I fear, just cause shall be found that God should thus have humbled us. And albeit, that this appear strange at the first hearing, yet if every man shall examine himself, and speak as that his conscience dyttis [dictates] unto him, I doubt not but he shall subscribe my sentence. Let us begin at ourselves, who longest have con-

tinued in this battle. When we were a few [in] number in comparison of our enemies, when we had neither earl nor lord—a few excepted—to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our protector, defence, and only refuge. Amongst us was heard no bragging of multitude, of our strength, nor policy; we did only sob to God, to have respect to the equity of our cause, and to the cruel pursuit of the tyrannical enemy. But since that our number has been multiplied, and chiefly since my lord duke's grace with his friends have been joined with us, there was nothing heard, but "This lord will bring these many hundred spears; this man has the credit to persuade the country; if this earl be ours, no man in such a bounds will trouble us:" and this the best of us all, that before felt God's potent hand to [be] our defence, hath of late days put flesh to be our arm: but wherein yet had my lord duke's grace and his friends offended? It may be that, as we have trusted in them, so they have put too much confidence in their own strength. But granting it be not so, I see a cause most just why the duke and his friends should thus be confounded amongst the rest of their brethren. I have not yet forgotten what was the dolour and anguish of my own heart when at St Johnstone, Cupar-muir, and Edinburgh crags, these cruel murderers, that now have put us to this dishonour, threatened our present destruction: my lord duke's grace and his friends, at all these three journeys, were to them a great comfort, and unto us a great discouragement; for his name and authority did more affray and astonish us than did the force of the other; yea, without his assistance, they never could have compelled us to appoint with the queen upon so unequal conditions. I am uncertain if my lord's grace has unfeignedly repented of that his assistance to these murderers unjustly pursuing us; yea, I am uncertain if he has repented of that innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed in his default. But let it be that so he has done, as I hear that he has confessed his fault before the lords and brethren of the congregation; yet I am assured, that neither he, nor yet his friends,

did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when in their blind fury they pursued us: and, therefore, God hath justly permitted both them and us to fall in this fearful confusion at once. Us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man; and them, because they should feel in their own hearts how bitter was the cup which they made others drink before them. Rests [remains] that both they and we turn to the Eternal our God—who beats down to death to the intent that he may raise up again, to leave the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance to the praise of his own name—which if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjaminites, after that twice with ignominy they were repulsed and driven back. Yea, whatsoever shall become of us and of our mortal carcasses, I doubt not but that this cause—in despite of Satan—shall prevail in this realm of Scotland. For as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it once [ultimately] prevail, howsoever for a time it is impugned. It may be that God shall plague

some, for that they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly respects they seem to favour it; yea, God may take some of his dearest children away before that their eyes see greater troubles; but neither shall the one nor the other so hinder this action, but in the end it shall triumph.

This sermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to prayers, and to the works of charity, the minds of men began wonderfully to be erected [elated]: and immediately after dinner, the lords passed to council, unto the which the said John Knox was called to make invocation of the name of God,—for other preachers were none with us at that time,—in the end it was concluded, that William Maitland foresaid, should pass to London to expone our state and condition to the queen and council, and that the noblemen should depart to their quiet [homes], to the 16th day of December, which time was appointed to the next convention in Stirling, as in this our third book following shall be more amply declared.

“Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies, for we are brought even to the depth of the dungeon.”

THE HISTORY

OF

THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION

WITHIN

THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

THE THIRD BOOK.

OF THE PROGRESS OF TRUE RELIGION WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

AFTER this our dolorous departure from Edinburgh, the fury and the rage of the French increased; for then durst neither man nor woman that professed Christ Jesus within that town be seen; the houses of the most honest men were given by the queen to the Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The earl Bothwell, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the earl of Arran traitor, with other despiteful words, which all was done for the pleasure and by the suggestion of the queen regent, who then thought the battle was won without farther resistance. Great practising she made for obtaining the castle of Edinburgh. The French made their faggots, with other preparations, to assault the said castle either by force, or else by treason: but God wrought so potently with the captain, the lord Erskine, at that time, that neither the queen by flattery, nor the French by treason prevailed. Advertisement with all diligence passed to the duke of Guise, who then was king of France,—as concerning power to command,—requiring him then to make expedition, if he desired the full conquest of Scotland; who delayed no time, but with a new army sent away his brother, marquis d'Albufe, and his company the Marticks,* promising that

he himself should follow: but the righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those that unfeignedly sob unto him, fought for us by his own outstretched arm; for upon one night, upon the coast of Holland, were drowned of them eighteen ensigns, so that only rested [remained] the ship, in the which were the two principals foresaid, with their ladies, who violently driven back again to Dieppe, were compelled to confess, that God fought for the defence of Scotland.

From England returned Robert Melvine, who passed in company to London with the secretary a little before Christmas, and brought unto us certain articles to be answered, as by the contract that after was made, more plainly shall appear. Hereupon the nobility convened at Stirling, and returned answer with diligence: whereof the French advertised, they marched to Linlithgow, who spoiled the duke's house, and wasted his lands of Kinneil; and thereafter came to Stirling, where they remained certain days.—The duke, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, with their friends, passed to Glasgow, the earl of Arran and lord James passed to St Andrews; for charge was given to the whole nobility, protestants, to keep their own bodies, till that God should send them farther support.—The French took purpose first to assault

* Marticks, a band of French soldiers commanded by one Martique.

Fife, for at it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the town and abbey, [together] with the castle of St Andrews; and so they came to Culross, after to Dunfermling, and then to Burntisland, where they began to fortify; but desisted therefrom, and marched to Kinghorn, upon the occasion as follows.

When certain knowledge came to the earl of Arran and to lord James, that the French were departed from Stirling, they departed also from St Andrews, and began to assemble their forces at Cupar, and sent their men of war to Kinghorn, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast side, of mind to resist rather at the beginning, than when they had destroyed a part of their towns: but the lords had given an express commandment that they should hazard nothing until that they themselves were present. And for that purpose was sent unto them the lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in stoutness. In his company was the earl of Sutherland, sent from the earl of Huntly, as was alleged, to comfort the lords in their afflictions; but others whispered, that his principal commission was unto the queen regent: howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arm by the shot of an arquebus; for the men of war, and the rascal multitude, perceiving certain boats of Frenchmen landing, which came from Leith, purposed to stop their landing; and so, not considering the enemies that approached from Burntisland, unadvisedly they rushed down to Petticur—so is that bay betwixt Kinghorn called—and at the sea-coast began the skirmishing, but never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged them upon their backs, and the whole bands came directly upon their faces; and so they were compelled to give back with the loss only of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some, amongst whom were two that professed Christ Jesus, one named Paul Lambert, a Dutchman, and a French boy, fervent in religion, and clean of life, whom in despite they hanged over the steeple of Kinghorn. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord, in thy appointed time. The

cause that in so great a danger there was so small a loss, next unto the merciful providence of God, was the sudden coming of the lord Ruthven; for even as our men had given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae [hill], and did not only stay the French footmen, but also some of ours broke upon their horsemen, and so repulsed them, that they did no farther hurt to our footmen. In that rencounter was the earl of Sutherland foresaid shot in the arm, and was carried back to Cupar. The French took Kinghorn, where they lay and wasted the country about, as well papists as protestants; yea, even those that were confederate with them, such as Seafield, Balmuto, Balvery, Wemyss, and other enemies to God and traitors to their country; of them, we say, they spared not the sheep, the oxen, the cows, the horses, and some say that some of their wives and daughters got favours of the French soldiers. And so did God recompence the papists in their own bosoms, for besides the defiling of their houses, as said is, two of them received more damage than did all the gentlemen that professed the evangel within Fife, the laird of Grange only excepted, whose house of the Grange the French overthrew by gunpowder.

The queen regent, proud of this victory burst forth in her blasphemous railing, and said, "Where now is John Knox his God? My God is now stronger than his, yea even in Fife." She posted to her friends in France news that thousands of the heretics were slain, and the rest were fled, and therefore required that some nobleman of her friends would come and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information was the Marticks, with two ships, and some captains and horse, directed to come to Scotland, but little to their own advantage, as we shall after hear.

The lords of the congregation offended at the foolishness of the rascal multitude, called to themselves the men of war, and remained certain days at Cupar, unto whom repaired John Knox, and in our greatest desperation, preached unto us a most comfortable sermon: his text was, "The danger in which the disciples of Jesus Christ

stood when they were in the midst of the sea, and Jesus was upon the mountain." His exhortation was, that we should not faint, but that we should still row against these contrary blasts till that Jesus Christ should come; for, said he, I am as assuredly persuaded that God shall deliver us from this extreme trouble, as that I am assured that this is the evangel of Jesus Christ which I preach unto you this day: "The fourth watch is not yet come;" abide a little, the boat shall be saved, and Peter, who has left the boat, shall not drown. I am assured, albeit I cannot affirm [assure, *s. c.*] you, by reason of this present rage; God grant that ye may acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have seen his deliverance. In that sermon he comforted many, and yet he offended the earl of Arran; for in his discourse upon the manifold assaults that the kirk of God had sustained, he brought for example the multitude of strangers that pursued Jehoshaphat after that he had reformed religion. He entreated [spake of] the fear of the people, yea, and of the king himself at the first; but after he affirmed that Jehoshaphat was stout, and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his soldiers; he came forth in the midst of them, he spake lovingly unto them. He kept not himself, said he, inclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoiced them with his presence and godly comfort. These and the like sentences took the said earl to be spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more close and solitary than many men would have wished.

After these things, determination was taken that the earl of Arran, and lord James, with the men of war, and some company of horsemen, should go to Dysart, and there lie to wait upon the French, that they destroyed not the sea-coast, as they intended utterly to have done. The said earl, and lord James, did as they were appointed, albeit their company was very small; and yet they did so valiantly, that it passed all credibility; for twenty one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off: they had skirmishing almost every day, yea, some days from morning to

evening. The French were four thousand soldiers, besides their favourers and faction in the country. The lords were never together five hundred horsemen, with a hundred soldiers, and yet they held the French so busy, that for every horse they slew to the congregation, they lost four French soldiers.

William Kirkaldy of Grange, the day after that his house was cast down, sent his defiance to Monsieur d'Oysel, and unto the rest, declaring that unto that hour had he used the French favourably, he had saved their lives, when that he might have suffered their throats to have been cut; but seeing they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in times to come. And unto Monsieur d'Oysel, he said, "He knew that he would not get him in the skirmishing, because he knew he was but a coward; but it might be that he should quit him a common [encounter him] either in Scotland, or else in France." The said William Kirkaldy, and the master of Lindsay, escaped many dangers. The master had his horse slain under him, the said William was almost betrayed in his house at Hallyards. But yet they never ceased, but night and day they waited upon the French: they laid themselves in a secret place, with some gentlemen before the day, to wait upon the French, who used commonly to issue in companies to seek their prey; and so came forth one captain Batu with his hundred, and began to spoil; whom the said master—now lord Lindsay—and the said William suffered, without declaration of themselves, or of their company, till that they had them more than a mile from Kinghorn, and then began the horsemen to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called Glemis-house, and made for debate; some took the house, and others defended the close and yard. The hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but spears, and were compelled to alight upon their feet. The other were within dykes, and every man had a culverin; the shot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt, amongst whom were Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkaldy,

brother to the said laird, who both were supposed to have been slain. The said laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recoil, said, "Fie, let us never live after this day, that we shall recoil for French skybaldis [tatterdemalions]. And so the master of Lindsay and he burst in at the gate, and so others followed. The master struck with his spear at la Batu, and glancing upon his harness, for fierceness, stammered almost upon his knees; but recovering suddenly, fastened his spear, and bore the captain backward, who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him. They that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to Dundee to be kept. This mischance to the Frenchmen, made them to be more circumspect in straying abroad in the country, and so the poor creatures got some relief. To furnish the French with victuals, was appointed captain Cullen, with two ships, who traveled betwixt the south shore and Kinghorn for that purpose. For his wages he spoiled Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, and so much of Dysart as he might; for remedy whereof, were appointed two ships from Dundee: Andrew Sands, a stout man, and fervent in the cause of religion, was the principal. This same time arrived the Marticks, who, without delay, landed himself, his coffers, and the principal gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leaving the rest in the ships till better opportunity; but the said Andrew and his companion striking sail, and making as they would anchor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee. In them were got some horse, and much harness, with some other trifles, but of money we heard not. Hereat the French offended, avowed the destruction of St Andrews and Dundee; and so upon a Monday, in the morning, the 23d of January, they marched from Dysart, and passed the water of Leven, ever keeping the sea-coast, by reason of their ships and victuals, as said is. About twelve hours they espied ships—which were seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known—Monsieur d'Oysel affirmed them to be French ships, and so the soldiers triumph-

ed, shot their volley for salutation, and marched forward unto Kincaig, fearing no resistance.

But shortly after, the English ships met with captain Cullen, and seized him and his ships, which made them a little to muse. But suddenly came Mr Alexander Wood, who had been upon the admiral, and assured Monsieur d'Oysel, that they were Englishmen, and that they were the fore-runners of a greater number that followed, who were sent for support of the congregation. There might have been seen the riving of a beard,* and might have been heard such despite, as cruel men used to spue forth when God bridles their fury. Weariness and the night constrained them to lodge there: they slept scarcely, because their ships were taken, in the which were their victuals and ordnance, which they intended to have placed in St Andrews. They themselves durst not stray abroad to seek; and the laird of Wemyss' carriage, which likewise was coming with furnishing unto them, was stayed; and, therefore, bytimes in the morning they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward. The storm, which had continued near the space of a month, broke in the very time of their retiring, whereby many thought they would have been stayed, till that reasonable company might have been assembled to have fought them; and for that purpose did William Kirkaldy cut the bridge of Tullibody. But the French, expert enough in such facts [works], took down a roof of a parish kirk, and made a bridge over the said water, called Devon; and so they escaped, and came to Stirling, and thereafter to Leith: yet in their retreat they lost divers, among whom there was one whose miserable end we must rehearse. As the French spoiled the country in their returning, a captain or soldier, we cannot tell (which), but he had a red cloak and a gilt morion, entered upon a poor woman, that dwelt in the Whiteside, and began to spoil.

* Riving of a beard tearing of whiskers.—*Ed.*

The poor woman offered unto him such bread as she had ready prepared, but he, in no ways therewith content, would have the meal, and a little salt beef, which the poor woman had to sustain her own life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the merciless man, but he would have whatsoever he might carry. The poor woman perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped down in her tub, for the taking forth of such stuff as was within it, first coupit [turned] up his heels, so that his head went down: and, thereafter, whether by herself, or if any other company came to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life; God so punishing his cruel heart, who could not spare a miserable woman in that extremity. "Let all such soldiers receive such reward, O Lord, seeing that thou art the revenger of the oppressed."

And now, because that from this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we in our greatest extremity received, by God's providence, from our neighbours in England, we think it expedient simply to declare by what instruments that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to pass, that the queen and council of England showed themselves so favourable unto us.

As John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue our enterprise; so when he came to Dieppe, mindful of the same, and revolving with himself what remedy God would please to offer, he took the boldness to write to Sir William Cecil, secretary of England, with whom the said John had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open farther of his mind. The tenor of his first letter follows.*

"The spirit of judgment, wisdom, and sanctification, I wish unto you by Jesus Christ.

"As I have no pleasure with long writing to trouble you—right honourable—

whose mind I know to be occupied with most grave matters, so mind I not greatly to labour by long preface to conciliate your favours, which I suppose I have already—howsoever rumours bruit the contrary—as it becometh one member of Christ's body to have of another. The contents, therefore, of these my presents shall be absolved in two points. In the former, I purpose to discharge, in brief words, my conscience towards you: and in the other, somewhat must I speak in my own defence, and in defence of that poor flock of late assembled in the most godly reformed church and city of the world, Geneva. To you, Sir, I say, that as from God ye have received life, wisdom, honours, and this present estate in the which now you stand, so ought you wholly to employ the same to the advancement of his glory, who only is the author of life, the fountain of wisdom, and who most assuredly doth, and will honour and glorify them, that with simple hearts do glorify him; which, alas, in times past you have not done, but being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world in the way of perdition: for to the suppressing of Christ's true evangel, to the erecting of idolatry, and to the shedding of the blood of God's most dear children, have you by silence consented and subscribed. This your most horrible defection from the truth known, and once professed, hath God to this day mercifully spared. Yet to man's judgment he hath utterly forgotten and pardoned the same: he hath not entreated you as he hath done others, of like knowledge, whom, in his anger, but yet most justly according to their deserts, he did shortly strike after their defection. But you, guilty in the same offences, hath he fostered and preserved, as it were in his own bosom, during the time of that most miserable thraldom of that professed enemy of God, mischievous Mary: and now hath he set you at such liberty, as the fury of God's enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly against his honour, you take pleasure to conspire with them. As the benefit which you have received is great, so must God's justice require of you a thankful heart; for seeing that his mercy hath

* This paragraph, the letter to Sir William Cecil, and the paragraph that follows it, are wanting in the suppressed copy.—*Ed.*

spared you, being traitor to his majesty ; seeing farther, that amongst your enemies he hath preserved you ; and, last, seeing that you, worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honours, and dignity, of you must he require—because he is just—earnest repentance for your former defection, a heart mindful of his merciful providence, and a will so ready to advance his glory, that evidently it may appear, that in vain you have not received these graces of God ; to performance whereof, of necessity it is, that carnal wisdom and worldly policy—to which both, you are bruited too much inclined—give place to God's simple and naked truth. Very love compels me to say, that except the Spirit of God purge your heart from that venom, which your eyes have seen to have been destruction to others, that you shall not long escape the reward of dissemblers. Call to mind what you heard proclaimed in the chapel of St James, when this verse of the first psalm was entreated, “ Not so, O wicked, not so, but as the dust which the wind tosseth, &c.” And consider, that now you travel in the same way which then they did occupy ; plainly to speak, now are you in that estate and credit, in the which you shall either comfort the sorrowful and afflicted for righteousness' sake, or else you shall molest and repugn the Spirit of God speaking in his messengers. The comforters of the afflicted for godliness have promise of comfort in their greatest necessities ; but the troublers of God's servants—how contemned that ever they his servants appear before the world—are threatened to leave their names in execration to the posterities following. The examples of the one and the other are not only evident in scriptures, but also have been lately manifested in England. And this is the conclusion of that, which to yourself, I say ; except that in the cause of Christ's evangel, ye be found simple, sincere, fervent, and unfeigned, you shall taste of the same cup, which politic heads have drunken in before you.*

“ The other point concerning myself, and that poor flock now dispersed, and as I hear say rudely entreated, is this : by divers messengers I have requested such privileges as Turks commonly do grant to men of every nation, to wit, that freedom should be granted unto me peaceably to travel through England, to the end that with greater expedition I might repair towards my own country, which now begins to thirst for Christ's truth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered in the realm without license demanded ; and yet I understand that it hath been so rejected, that the solicitors thereof did hardly escape imprisonment, and some of that poor flock I hear to be so extremely handled, that those that most cruelly have shed the blood of God's most dear children, find this day amongst you greater favours than they do. Alas, this appeareth much to repugn to christian charity ; for whatsoever hath been my offence, this I fear not to affirm in their cause, that if any which have suffered exile in these most dolorous days of persecution, deserve praise and commendation, for peace, concord, sober and quiet living, it is they. And as for me, how criminal soever I be in God's presence, for the multitude of my sins ; yet before his justice seat I have a testimony of a clear conscience, that since my first acquaintance with England, willingly I never offended person within it—except in open chair [pulpit or seat], to reprove that which God condemneth, can be judged offence ;—but I have, say you, written a treasonable book against the regimen and empire of women : if that be my offence, the poor flock is innocent, except such as this day do fastest cry treason. For, Sir,—in God's presence I write,—with none in that company did I consult before the finishing of the same ; and therefore in Christ's name I require that the blame may lie upon me alone. The writing of that book will I not deny, but to prove it treasonable, I think it shall be hard : for, Sir, no

* Perhaps this is the most uncourtly letter that ever was written to a courtier. But it is remarkable for downright plain-dealing. Knox addresses Sir William as one who had made a profession of the gospel ; but it would appear

that he had made shipwreck of the faith in the vortex of this world's politics ; and taking this to have been the case, we cannot be surprised that he made no answer to such a letter.—*Ed.*

more do I doubt of the truth of my principal proposition than that I doubt that this was the voice of God which first did pronounce this penalty against women, "In dolour shalt thou bear thy children." It is bruited, that my book is, or shall be written against; if so be, Sir, I greatly fear that flatterers shall rather hurt than help the matter which they would seem to maintain; for except my error be plainly shown and confuted by better authority than by such laws as from year to year may and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest that in so doing, I shall appear to betray a verity which is not subject to the mutability of the time: and if any think me either enemy to the person or yet to the regimen of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge, and the power of his most potent hand—raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy to suppress such as fight against his glory—I will obey, albeit that both nature and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to such regimen. More plainly to speak, if queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful unto her which both nature and God's law do deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be: but if—God's wondrous work set aside—she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws or ordinances of men; then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment. And this in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, before whom both you and I shall stand to make account of all counsel we give, I require you to signify unto her grace in my name; adding, that only humility and dejection of herself before God, shall be the firmity and stability of her throne, which I know shall be assaulted more ways than one. If this ye conceal from her grace, I will make it patent to the world that thus

far I have communicated with you, having also farther to speak, if my weak judgment may be heard. Alas, Sir, is my offence—although at that time, and in that matter, I had written ten books—so heinous, that I cannot have license by preaching of Christ Jesus, to refresh these thirsty souls, which long have lacked the water of life. No man will I presently accuse, but I greatly fear, that the leprous have no pleasure to behold fair [their] faces in the clear glass. Let no man be afraid that I require to frequent the court, either yet of any continuance to remain in England; but only thirst in passing through to my own native country, to communicate with you and some others such things as willingly I list not to commit to paper, neither yet to the credit and knowledge of many; and then in the north parts to offer God's favours to such as I suppose do mourn for their defection. And this, I trust, shall be no less profitable to her grace, and to all godly within England, than it shall be pleasing to me in the flesh.

"This is the third time that I have begged license to visit the hungry and thirsty among you, which, if now be denied, as before God I have a testimony, that so much I seek not myself, as the advancement of Christ's evangel, and the comfort of such as whom I know afflicted; so shall the godly understand that England, in refusing me, refuseth a friend, how small that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart deeply to consider your duty unto God, and the estate of that realm in which, by his appointment, ye now serve.

"Yours to command in godliness,

"JOHN KNOX."

From Dieppe, the 10th }
of April, 1559. }

To this letter was no answer made; for shortly thereafter the said John Knox made forward to Scotland by sea, where he landed the 3d of May, and had such success as in the second book is declared. The said John being in St Andrews after Cupar muir, entered in deep discourse with the laird of Graunge; the dangers were evident, but the support was not easy to be

seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as follows: "If England would foresee their own commodity, yea, if they would consider the dangers wherein they themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel; for France has decreed no less the conquest of England than of Scotland." After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two that support should be craved of England; and for that purpose, the said laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Henry Percy, and after rode from Edinburgh and spake with him, to whom he made so plain demonstration of the danger appearing to England, that he took upon him to write to secretary Cecil, who with expedition returned answer back again, giving him to understand that our enterprise altogether misliked not the council, albeit they desired farther resolution of the principal lords: which thing understood, it was concluded to write unto him plainly our whole purpose. The tenor of our letter was this:

The first letter to Sir William Cecil from the lords of the congregation:

"The contents of a letter directed by you, right worshipful, to Sir Henry Percy, was notified unto us by Mr Kirkcaldy of Grange, this Sunday the 25th of July, by the which we perceive, that the said Grange, of zeal and faithful heart, which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great and—before the world—dangerous enterprise, has travailed with you, as with an unfeigned favourer of Christ's true religion, and of the liberty of our country, for knowledge of your minds towards us, in case we be assaulted by any foreign invasion, or greater power than we be well able to resist. Your comfortable answer to this question we have considered, to our joy and comfort, as also your motions and what ye demand; to wit, what we, the protestants within this realm, do purpose? To what end we mean to direct our actions? How we will, and how we shall be able to accomplish the same? What doubts we have of any adverse power? And finally, in case support should be sent from you, what manner of amity might en-

sue betwixt these two realms, &c.? To the which in brief we answer, that our whole and only purpose, as God knoweth, is to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, the true preaching of his holy evangel, within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sort of external idolatry; to bridle the fury—to our power—of those that cruelly heretofore have shed the blood of our brethren; and to our uttermost to maintain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thralldom of strangers, as God shall assist us. How we be able to accomplish these premises, is to us unknown; only our hope is good that he that hath begun this good work in us, and hath by his power to this hour confounded the faces of our adversaries, will perform the same to his glory, which chiefly we seek in this our enterprise. Because we suppose, that neither our present danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which France maketh against us, be hid from you nor the council, we omit that part. As touching the assurance of a perpetual amity to stand betwixt these two realms; as no earthly thing of us is more desired, so crave we of God to make us the instruments by which this unnatural debate, which long hath continued betwixt us, may once be composed, to the praise of God's name, and to the comfort of the faithful in both realms. And if your wisdoms can foresee and advise the means and assurances how the same may be brought to pass, persuade yourselves, not only of our consents and assistance, but also of our constancy, as men may promise, to our lives' end; yea, and farther, of a charge and commandment by us, to be left to our posterity, and that the amity betwixt us, in God contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever. As for the revolting from you to France, which you seem to fear and suspect, at their pleasure, we utterly abhor that infidelity; for now doth the voice of God continually sound in our ears, 'That such as profane the terrible and fearful name of our God, shall not escape vengeance.' Our confederacy, amity, and league, shall not be like the pactions made by worldly men for worldly profit; but as we

require it for God's cause, so will we incall [invoke] his name for the observation of the same. Moreover, if we should lack any thing to temporal commodity, yet should we never have occasion to return to them; for we now feel and perceive the weight of their yoke, and intend, by the grace of God, to cut away such instruments as by whom before this realm was abused. True it is, that as yet we have made no mention of any change in authority, neither yet are we minded to do any such thing, till extreme necessity compel us thereto: but seeing it is more than evident, that France and the queen regent here, with her priests, pretend nothing but the suppressing of Christ's evangel, the ruin of us, and the subversion of this poor realm; committing our innocence to God, and to the judgment of all godly and natural men, we are determined to seek the next remedy, in which we heartily desire your counsel and assistance. And this far we have enterprised, to make you participant of our purpose; because in the said letter, you required of the said Mr Kirkcaldy some farther assurance than his own word or writing, which we doubt not but ye shall shortly receive from more than from us. We dare not hastily make the whole assembly, neither of lords, neither of barons, privy in this case, for dangers that may ensue by policy and craft of the adversaries; your wisdoms, we doubt not, will communicate these only, with such as you know favourers of such a godly conjunction. It should much help in our opinion, if the preachers both in persuasion and public prayers—as ours do here—would commend the same unto the people. And thus, after our humble commendation to the queen's majesty, whose reign we desire to be prosperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of his church, we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent."

From Edinburgh, the 17th }
of July, 1559. }

With this our letter, John Knox wrote two, one to the said secretary, and another to the queen's majesty herself, in tenor as after follows:

"John Knox his second letter to Mr Cecil, for deliverance of another to the queen of England.

"With my humble commendation, please you, Sir, to deliver this other letter inclosed to the queen's grace. It containeth in few and in simple words my confession, what I think of her authority, how it is just, and what may make it odious in God's presence. I hear that there is a confutation, set forth in print, against 'The first Blast.' God grant that the writer have no more sought the favours of this present estate, no less the glory of God, and the stable commodity of this country, than did he, who enterprised in that 'Blast,' to utter his conscience. When I shall have time—which now is somewhat precious unto me—to peruse that work, I will communicate my judgment with you.

"The time is now, Sir, that all that either thirst Christ Jesus to reign in this isle, or yet the hearts of the inhabitants of the same to be joined together in love unfeigned, ought rather to study how the same might be brought to pass, than vainly to travail for the maintainance of that, whereof already we have seen the danger, and felt the smart. If the most part of women be wicked, and such as willingly we would not should reign over us; and if the most godly, and such as have rare graces be yet mortal, we ought to take heed, lest in establishing one judged godly and profitable to her country, we make an entrance and title to many, of whom not only shall the truth be impugned, but also shall the country be brought in bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your country, eyes to foresee, and wisdom to avoid the dangers appearing.

"By divers letters, I have required license to have visited the north parts of England, but as yet I have received no favourable answer. The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the less comfort shall the faithful there receive, the weaker shall the queen's grace be. If I were not to her grace an unfeigned friend, I would not instantly beg such liberty, which to me I know shall neither be profitable nor pleas-

ing in the flesh. The estate of things here common, I doubt not ye know. Some things I have—as oft I have written—which gladly I would communicate, which I mind not to commit to paper and ink; find, therefore, the means, that I may speak with such one as you will credit in all things. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you.

“I heartily beseech you to have my service humbly commended to the queen’s grace; adding, that whosoever maketh me odious to her grace, seeketh somewhat besides the glory of God, and her grace’s prosperity; and, therefore, cannot be assured and unfeigned friends. From, &c.*”

The letter sent by the said John, to the queen’s majesty of England, being inclosed in the foresaid Mr Cecil’s letter.

“To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queen of England, &c., John Knox desireth the perpetual comfort of the Holy Spirit.

“As your grace’s displeasure against me, most unjustly conceived, has been, and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almost intolerable; so is the testimony of a clear conscience to me a stay and uphold, that in desperation I sink not, how vehement that ever the temptations appear: for, in God’s presence, my conscience beareth me record, that maliciously, nor of purpose, I never offended your grace, nor your realm; and, therefore, howsoever I be judged of man, I am assured to be absolved of him, who only knoweth the secrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a book against the usurped authority, and unjust regimen of women; neither yet am I minded to retreat, or call back any principal point, or proposition of the same, till truth and verity do farther appear. But why, that either your grace, or yet any such as unfeignedly favour the liberty of England, be offended at the author of such a work, I can perceive no just occasion. For, first, my book touched not your grace’s person in special, neither yet is it prejudicial to any liberty of the realm, if

the time of my writing be indifferently considered. How could I be enemy to your grace’s person, for deliverance whereof I did more study, and enterprise farther, than any of those that now accuse me? And, as concerning your regimen, how could, or can I envy that which most I have thirsted, and for which—as oblivion will suffer—I render thanks unfeignedly unto God, that is, ‘That it hath pleased him of his eternal goodness, to exalt your head—which sometimes was in danger—to the manifestation of his glory, and extirpation of idolatry.’ And as for my offence, which I have committed against England, either in writing that, or any other work, I will not refuse, that moderate and indifferent men judge and discern betwixt me and those that accuse me, to wit, whether of the parties do most hurt to the liberty of England. I that affirm, ‘That no woman may be exalted over any realm, to make the liberty of the same thrall to a strange, proud, and cruel nation; or, they that approve whatsoever pleases princes for the time.’ If I were as well disposed to accuse, as some of them—to their own shame—have declared themselves; I nothing doubt, but that in few words I shall let reasonable men understand, that some that this day lowly crouch to your grace, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did, in your adversity, neither show themselves faithful friends to (your) grace, neither yet so loving and careful over their own native country, as they would be esteemed. But omitting the accusation of others, for my own purgation, and your grace’s satisfaction, I say, that nothing contained in my book is, nor can be prejudicial to your grace’s just regimen, providing that you be not found ingrate unto God, ingrate you shall be proved in the presence of his throne—howsoever that flatterers justify your faction—if you transfer the glory of that honour, which ye now stand in, to any other thing, than to the dispensation of his mercy, which only maketh that

* This letter, and the following one to queen Elizabeth, are both wanting in the suppressed edition. It is probable that they were purpose-

ly omitted, that the queen might not take offence by having Knox’s plain dealing with both her and her secretary exposed to her subjects.—Ed.

lawful to your grace, which nature and law deny to all women. Neither would I that your grace should fear, that this your humiliation before God should in any case infirm or weaken your grace's just and lawful authority before men. Nay, madam, such unfeigned confession of God's benefits received shall be the establishment of the same, not only to yourself, but also to your seed and posterity; where, contrariwise, a proud conceit and elevation of yourself, shall be the occasion, that your reign shall be unstable, troublesome, and short. God is witness, that unfeignedly I both love and reverence your grace; yea, I pray, that your reign may be long, prosperous, and quiet; and that for the quietness which Christ's members, before persecuted, have received under you.

But if I should flatter your grace I were no friend, but a deceiveable traitor; and, therefore, of conscience I am compelled to say, that neither the consent of people, the process of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve; but whatsoever he approveth by his eternal word, that shall be approved, and whatsoever he condemneth shall be condemned, though all men on earth would hazard the justification of the same. And, therefore, madam, the only way to retain and keep these benefits of God, abundantly of late days poured now upon you, and upon your realm, is unfeignedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeserved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation. Forget your birth and title which thereupon doth hang; and consider deeply, how for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to idolatry. Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes, that you have declined from Christ Jesus in the day of his battle. Neither yet would I that ye should esteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, to wit, that God hath covered your former offence, hath preserved you when you were most unthankful; and in the end, has exalted and raised you up, not only from the dust, but also from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for the comfort of his kirk. It appertaineth to you, therefore, to

ground the justice of your authority, not upon that law, which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternal providence of Him, who, contrary to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. If thus in God's presence ye humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regimen, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel. But, if the premises—as God forbid—neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regimen upon your own law,—flatter you who so list—your felicity shall be short. Interpret my rude words in the best part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your grace.

“By divers letters I have required license to visit your realm, not to seek myself, neither yet my own ease or commodity; which if ye now refuse and deny, I must remit my cause to God, adding this for conclusion, that commonly it is seen, ‘That such as refuse the counsel of the faithful—appear it never so sharp—are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition.’ The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart to understand what is said, give unto you the discretion of spirits,* and so rule you in all your actions and enterprises, that in you God may be glorified, his kirk edified, and you yourself, as a lively member of the same, may be an example of virtue and godly life to all others. So be it. Of Edinburgh, the 28th day of July, 1559.”

These letters were directed to [by, s. c.] Alexander Whitelaw, a man that often has hazarded himself, and all that he had, for the cause of God, and for his friends being in danger for the same cause. Within a day or two after the departure of the said Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Henry Percy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Alnwick the third of August, for such affairs as he would not write, nor

* Perhaps discernment of spirits.

yet communicate with any, but with the said John himself. While he was preparing himself for his journey—for secretary Cecil appointed to have met him at Stamford—the Frenchmen came furiously forth of Dunbar, of purpose to have surprised the lords being in Edinburgh, as in the second book before is declared, which stayed the journey of the said John, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger, and then was he, having in his company, Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of the evangel of Jesus Christ, directed from the lords, with full commission and instructions to expone their whole case and estate wherein they stood. Their passage was from Pittenweem by sea; they arrived at Holy Island, and being advertised that Sir Henry Percy was absent from the north, they addressed themselves to Sir James Crofts, then captain of Berwick, and warden of the east marches of England. They show unto him their credit and commission; he received them gently, and comforted them with his faithful counsel, which was, “That they should travel no farther, neither yet should they be seen in public, and that for divers considerations. *First*, The queen regent had her espyellis [spies] in England. *Secondly*, The queen and the council that favoured our action, would that all things should be secret so long as they might. And *last*, said he, I think it not expedient, that in such rarity of preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the lords. And, therefore, said he, ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I shall promise to you upon my honour, to have answer to you, and to the lords again, before ye yourselves can be at London. And where that your letters cannot express all things so fully, as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not only by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will inform the council sufficiently of all things.” The said John and Mr Robert followed his counsel—for it

was faithful and proceeded of love at that time;—they tarried with him very secretly within the castle of Berwick two days. In which time returned Alexander Whitelaw foresaid, with answer to the lords, and to master Knox. The tenor of which letter was this:

MASTER CECIL'S LETTER TO JOHN KNOX.

“Master Knox,

“*Non est masculus neque femina, omnes enim, ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christu Jesu.* Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, et erit Dominus fiducia ejus.*’ I have received your letters, at the same time that I thought to have seen yourself about Stamford. What is now hitherto the cause of your let, I know not. I forbear to descend to the bottom of things, until I may confer with such one as you are; and, therefore, if your chance shall be hereafter to come hither, I wish you furnished with good credit, and power, to make good resolution. Although my answer to the lords of the congregation be somewhat obscure, yet upon farther understanding you shall find the matter plain. I need to wish you no more prudence than God's grace, whereof God send you plenty. And so I end.

Sic subscribitur,

“Yours as a member of the same body in Christ,

“M. CECIL.”

From Oxford, the 28th }
of July, 1559. }

Albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing till that he had spoken the lords whom he found at Stirling, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the council of England—for Alexander Whitelaw took sickness betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the lord Seyton, as in the former book is declared;—the answer sent by Mr Cecil was so general, that many amongst us despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and, therefore were determined that they would request no farther. John Knox laboured in the

* There is neither male nor female, for, as saith Paul, they are all one in Christ Jesus. I suppose the right honourable secretary of state

meant this for an answer to Knox's obnoxious book against the government of women.—*Ed.*

contrary; but he could prevail no farther, but that he should have license and liberty to write as he thought best. And so took he upon him to answer for all, in form as follows:

ANSWER TO MR CECIL'S WRITING.

Two causes impeded me, right worshipful, to visit you at any part in England. Former, no signification of your mind and pleasure was made to me, for only did Sir Henry Percy will me to come and speak him, which conveniently at that time I could not do, by reason that the Frenchmen—which was the second cause of my stay—did then most furiously pursue us, while [until] our company was dispersed; and then durst I not be absent for divers inconveniences: neither did I think my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter, which I most desired—was opened and proponed; to the which I would have wished, that a more plain and special answer should have been made. For, albeit Mr Whitelaw, by his credit, Mr Kirkcaldy by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had received from Sir James Crofts, did persuade your good minds; yet could not the council be otherwise persuaded, but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose. It is not unknown what favour we three do bear to England; and, therefore, I wish, that rather your pen than our credit, or any thing written to any of us, should assure the lords and others, of your good mind—who are now in number but five hundred. Unless that money be furnished without delay to pay the soldiers for their service bypast, and to retain another thousand footmen with three hundred horsemen, till some stay be had in this danger, these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life before that ever they compone, either with the queen regent, either yet with France: but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see a greater forwardness. To support us will appear excessive [expensive], and to break promise with France will appear dangerous. But the loss of expenses, in my opinion, ought

not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth that against us they will spend their crown; so did my own ears hear Buttincourt brag. But most assuredly I know, that unless by us they thought to make an entrance to you, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money—and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support—some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if you lie by as neutrals, what will be the end you may easily conjecture. And, therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plain answer, what the gentlemen here may lippen to [depend on], and [that] what the queen's majesty will do, may be without delay put in execution. Rest in Christ Jesus. Of St Johnstone, the 28th day of, &c."

Answer with great expedition was returned to this letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent from the lords to Berwick, for the receiving of money for the first support, with promise, that if the lords of the congregation meant no otherways than before they had written, and if they would enter in league with honest conditions, they should neither want men nor money to their just cause. Upon this answer, was directed from the lords to Berwick, Mr Henry Balnavis, a man of good credit in both the realms, who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs till November next; when John Cockburn of Ormiston being sent for the second support, and receiving the same, unhappily fell in the hands of the earl Bothwell, was wounded, taken and spoiled of a great sum, upon which mischance followed all the rest of our troubles before rehearsed.

In the second book preceding, we have declared how secretary Lethington was directed to England: but one thing we have before past by. In that, our greatest dejection, this order was taken, that the duke's grace, the earl of Glencairn, lord

Boyd, lord Ochiltree, and their friends, should remain together at Glasgow, for comfort of the country, and for giving of answers as occasion should require; and that the earl of Arran, the lord James, the earl of Rothes, the master of Lindsay, and their adherents, should continue together within Fife for the same cause, that advertisements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the negotiation of secretary Lethington with the queen and council of England—in the which he travailed with no less wisdom and faithfulness, than happy success—many things occurred, that required the resolution of the whole lords, amongst which there was one whereof before no mention is made.

After that the queen and council of England had concluded to send their army into Scotland for expelling of the French, the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick with full instruction, power, and commission, to do in all things concerning the present affairs of Scotland, as might the queen and council in their own proper persons do. Hereupon the said duke required such a part of the lords of Scotland, as had power and commission from the whole, to meet him at such day and place as pleased them to appoint. This advertisement came first to Glasgow by the means of the master of Maxwell. Which read and considered by the lords, conclusion was taken that they should meet at Carlisle, and that was the procurement of the said master of Maxwell for his ease. Hereupon were letters directed from the lords lying in Glasgow, to lord James, requiring him with all possible expedition to repair towards them, for the purpose foresaid. Which letters read and advised upon, commandment was given to John Knox to make the answer. For so it was appointed at the division of the said lords, that he should answer for the part of them that were in Fife; and Mr Henry Balnavis for the part of them that abode at Glasgow. The said John Knox answered as follows:

TO THE LORD DUKE'S GRACE, AND THE LORDS
AT GLASGOW.

“After humble commendation of my service: albeit I have written oftener than

once to Mr Henry Balnavis, what things have misliked [dissatisfied] me in your slow proceedings, as well in supporting your brethren, who many days have sustained extreme dangers in these parts, as in making provision how the enemy might have been annoyed, who lay in few numbers near to your quarters in Stirling. And in making likewise provision how the expectation of your friends—who long have awaited on your answer—might have been satisfied: albeit, I say, that of these things I have before complained, yet, of very conscience, I am compelled to signify unto your honours, that unless of these and other enormities I shall espy some redress, I am assured that the end shall be such as godly men shall mourn, that a good cause shall perish for lack of wisdom and diligence. In my last letters to Mr Henry Balnavis, I declared, that your especial friends in England wondered that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being considered. If the fault be in my lord duke and his friends, I wrote also, that the greatest loss would be his and theirs in the end. And now I cannot cease, both to wonder and lament, that your whole council was so destitute of wisdom and discretion as to charge this poor man, the prior, to come to you to Glasgow, and thereafter to go to Carlisle, for such affairs as are to be entreated. Was there none amongst you that did foresee what inconveniences might ensue his absence from these parts? I cease to speak of the dangers in [from] the enemy. Your friends have lain in the Frith now fifteen days bypast,—what was their former travail is not unknown,—they have never received comfort of any man, him only excepted, more than they had lain upon the coast of their mortal enemy. Do ye not consider, that such a company shall need comfort and provision from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth that carefully will travail in that or in any other weighty matters in these parts? Did ye not farther consider, that he had begun to meddle with the gentlemen who had declared themselves unfriends heretofore; and also that order would have been taken with such as have been neutral: now, by reason

of his absence, the one shall escape without admonition, and the other shall be at their former liberty. I am assured that the enemy shall not slip, neither in that nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole cause, and specially to hurt this part of the country to revenge their former folly. If none of these former causes should have moved you to have considered, that such a journey at such a time was not meet for him, neither yet for them that must accompany him; yet discreet men would have considered, that the men that have lain in their jacks, and travelled their horses continually the space of a month, required some longer rest, both to themselves, but especially to their horses, before they had been charged to such a journey than yet they have had. The prior may for satisfaction of your unreasonable minds enterprize the purpose; but I am assured he shall not be able to have six honest men in all Fife to accompany him; and how that either stands with your honours or with his safety, judge ye yourselves: but yet wonder it is, that ye did not consider to what pain and faschery [trouble] shall ye put your friends of England, especially the duke of Norfolk and his council, whom ye shall cause to travel the most wearisome and fascheous gait [difficult road] that is in all England. In my opinion, whosoever gave you that counsel, either wanted right judgment in things to be done, or else had over much respect to his own ease, and over small regard to the travel and danger of their brethren. A common cause requires a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionably; but prudent and indifferent men espy the contrary in this cause, especially of late days; for the weakest are most grievously charged, and they to whom the matter most belongs, and to whom justly greatest burden is due, are exemed in a manner both from travel and expenses. To speak the matter plainly, wise men wonder what my lord duke's friends do mean, that they are so slack and backward in this cause: in other actions they have been judged stout and forward, and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appear desti-

tute of both grace and courage. I am not ignorant, that they that are most inward of their counsel are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to his cause: but wonder it is, that he and his other friends should not consider that the tinsel [loss] of this godly enterprise shall be the rooting out of them and their posterity from this realm. Considering, my lords, that by God's providence ye are joined with the duke's grace in this common cause, admonish him plainly of the danger to come; will [press] him to beware of the counsel of them that are plainly infected with superstition, with pride, and with the venom of particular profit: which, if he do not at your admonition, he shall smart before he be aware. And if ye cease to put him in mind of his duty, it may be that for your silence ye shall drink some portion of the plague with him. Take my plain speaking, as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being also uncertain when I shall have occasion to write hereafter. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, assist you with the Spirit of wisdom and fortitude, that to his glory, and to your lordships and our common comfort, ye may perform that thing which godly once was begun. *Amen.*"

Sic subscribitur,

"Your grace's to command in godliness,
"JOHN KNOX."

From St Andrews, the 6th of }
February, in haste, 1559. }

Upon the receipt of this letter, and consultation held thereupon, new conclusion was taken, to wit, that they would visit the said duke of Norfolk at Berwick, where he was. Thus far have we digressed from the style of the history, to let the posterity that shall follow understand, by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship that after we found in England. Now we return to our former history.

The parts of Fife set at freedom from the bondage of those bloody worms, solemn thanks were given in St Andrews unto God for his mighty deliverance. Short after the earl of Arran and lord James apprehended the lairds of Wemyss, Seafield,

Balgony, Dury, and others that assisted the French; but they were set shortly at freedom, upon such conditions as they minded never to keep, for such men have neither faith nor honesty. Mr James Balfour, who was the greatest practiser, and had drawn the band of the Balfours, escaped. The English ships daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Frith, whereat the French and queen regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay near to Edinburgh. Let Mr David Borthwick witness what favours his wife and place of Adistoun found of the French, for all the service that he had made to the queen regent.

In the midst of February were directed to England, from the duke's grace and the congregation, the lord James, the lord Ruthven, the master of Maxwell, the master of Lindsay, Mr Henry Balnavis, and the laird of Pittarrow, who, with their honest companies and commission, departed by sea all, except the master of Maxwell, to Berwick; where there met them the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to the queen's majesty of England, and with him a great company of the gentlemen of the north, with some also of the south, having full power to contract with the nobility of Scotland, as that they did, upon such conditions as in the same contract are specified. And because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make false report of that our fact [work], we have faithfully and truly inserted in this our history the said contract, as well that which was made at Leith, during the siege, as that which first was made at Berwick, that the memory thereof may abide to our posterity, to the end that they may judge with indifference, whether that we have done any thing prejudicial to our commonwealth, or yet contrary unto that dutiful obedience which true subjects owe to their superiors, whose authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms committed to their charge, and not to oppress and betray the same to strangers. The tenor of our contract follows:

THE CONTRACT MADE AT BERWICK.

"James, duke of Chatelherault, earl of

Arran, lord Hamilton, second person of the realm of Scotland, and heir apparent to the crown, the council, nobility, and principal estates of the same; to all and sundry to whose knowledge these presents shall come, greeting. We have well considered, and be fully persuaded, in what danger, desolation, and misery, the long enmity with the kingdom of England has brought our country heretofore: how wealthy and flourishing it shall become, if these two kingdoms, as they be joined in one island by creation of the world, so may be knit in one constant and assured friendship. These considerations grounded upon a most infallible truth, ought no less to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us: but the present dangers hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of those of whom we have always best deserved, has caused us to weigh them more earnestly than they did. The misbehaviour of the French ministers here has of late years been so great; the oppression and cruelty of the soldiers, the tyranny and ambition of their superiors and rulers, so grievous to the people; the violent subversion of our liberty, and conquest of the land, whereat they have, by most crafty and subtle means, continually pressed, so intolerable to us all, that at last, when we could not obtain redress by humble suits and earnest supplications presented to the queen dowager, who both for duty's sake, and place she did occupy, ought to have been most careful of our estate; we have been by very necessity constrained, not only to assay our own forces, but also to implore the queen's majesty's of England's aid and support, which her majesty has most genteely granted upon certain covenants specified in a treaty passed at Berwick betwixt the duke of Norfolk, his good grace, lieutenant of her majesty, on that one part, and certain our commissioners on that other part. Whereof the tenor follows:

"At Berwick, the twenty-seventh day of February, the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine years; it is appointed and finally contracted betwixt the noble and mighty prince, Thomas

duke of Norfolk, earl Marshal of England, and lieutenant to the queen's most excellent majesty of the said realm in the north, in the name and behalf of her highness on the one part, and the right honourable lord James Stewart—now earl of Murray—Patrick lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Teregles, knight, William Maitland of Lethington younger, John Wiseheart of Pittarow, and Mr Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, in name and behalf a noble and mighty prince James, duke of Chatelherault, second person of the realm of Scotland, and the remanent lords of his part, joined with him in this cause, for the maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country on the other part, in form as hereafter follows: that is to say, that the queen's majesty having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberty thereof, and unite the same unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the same realm, and the pactions, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for, and in the name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, the said duke of Chatelherault being declared, by act of Parliament in Scotland to be heir apparent to the crown thereof, and the nobility and subjects thereof into her majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the same in their old freedoms and liberties, and from conquest, during the time that the marriage shall continue betwixt the queen of Scots and the French king, and one year after. And for expelling out of the same realm of such as presently and apparently goeth about to practise the said conquest, her majesty shall with all speed send into Scotland a convenient aid of men of war on horse and foot, to join with the power of Scotsmen, with artillery, munition, and all other instruments of war meet for the purpose, as well by sea as by land, and not only to expel the present power of French within that realm oppressing the same, but also to stop, as far as

conveniently may be, all greater forces of French to enter therein for the like purpose; and shall continue her majesty's aid to the said realm, nobility, and subjects of the same, unto the time the French—being enemies to the said realm—be utterly expelled thence: and shall never transact, compone, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any league with them, except the Scots and the French shall be agreed, that the realm of Scotland may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor shall leave the maintenance of the said nobility and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies' hands, as long as they shall acknowledge their sovereign lady and queen, and shall endeavour themselves to maintain the liberty of their country, and the estate of the crown of Scotland. And if in case any forts or strengths within the realm be won out of the hands of the French at this present, or at any time hereafter by her majesty's aid, the same shall be immediately demolished by the Scotsmen, or delivered to the said duke and his party foresaid at their option and choice; neither shall the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the said duke, nobility, and estates of Scotland. For the which causes, and in respect of her majesty's most genteel clemency and liberal support, the said duke and all the nobility, as well such as be now joined, as such as shall hereafter join with him, for defence of the liberty of that realm, shall to the uttermost of their power, aid and support her majesty's army against the French and their partakers, with horsemen and footmen, and with victuals, by land and by sea, and with all manner of other aid to the best of their power, and so shall continue during the time that her majesty's army shall remain in Scotland.

Item. They shall be enemies to all such Scotsmen and French, as shall in anyways show themselves enemies to the realm of England, for the aiding and supporting the said duke and nobility, to the delivery of the realm of Scotland from conquest.

Item. They shall never assent nor permit, that the realm of Scotland shall be

conquered, or [otherwise, *s. c.*] knit to the crown of France, than it is at this present only by marriage of the queen their sovereign to the French king, and by the laws and liberties of the realm, as it ought to be.

“*Item.* In case the Frenchmen shall at any time hereafter invade, or cause be invaded the realm of England, they shall furnish the number of two hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen, at the least, or such part of either of them, at the choice of the queen’s majesty of England; and shall conduct the same to pass from the borders of Scotland next England, upon her majesty’s charges, to any part upon the realm of England, for the defence of the same. And in case the invasion be upon the north parts of England, on the north part of the water of Tyne, towards Scotland, or against Berwick, on the north side of the water of Tweed, they shall convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and shall join with the English power, and shall continue in good and earnest pursuit of the quarrel of England, during the space of thirty days, or so much longer as they were accustomed to remain in the fields for the defence of Scotland, at the commandment of their sovereigns, at any time bypast. And also the earl of Argyle, lord justice of Scotland, being presently joined with the said duke, shall employ his force and good will, where he shall be required by the queen’s majesty, to reduce the north parts of Ireland to the perfect obedience of England, conform to a mutual and reciprocal contract, to be made betwixt her majesty’s lieutenant, or depute of Ireland being for the time, and the said earl; wherein shall be contained what he shall do for his part, and what the said lieutenant, or depute, shall do for his support, in case he shall have to do with James Mackonell, or any others of the isles of Scotland or realm of Ireland: for performance and sure keeping whereof, they shall for their part enter to the foresaid duke of Norfolk the pledges presently named by him, before the entry of her majesty’s army within Scotland, to

remain in England for the space of six months, and to be exchanged upon deliverance of new hostages of like or as good conditions as the former; or being the lawful sons, brethren, or heirs of any of the earls, or barons of parliament, that have, or hereafter shall show themselves and persist open enemies to the French in this quarrel, and so forth from six months to six months, or four months to four months, as shall best please the part of Scotland. And the time of the continuance of the hostages shall be during the marriage of the queen of Scots to the French king, and one year after the dissolution of the same marriage, until farther order may be had betwixt both the realms for peace and concord.

“And, furthermore, the said duke, and all the nobility, being earls and barons of the parliament, joined with him, shall subscribe and seal these articles and counts, within the space of twenty or thirty days at the uttermost, next following the day of the delivery of the said hostages; and shall also procure and persuade all others of the nobility that shall join themselves hereafter with the said duke, for the causes above specified, likewise to subscribe and seal these articles, at any time after the space of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them on the part of the queen’s majesty of England.

“And, finally, the said duke, and nobility joined with him, certainly perceiving, that the queen’s majesty of England is thereunto moved only upon respect of princely honour and neighbourhood, for the defence of the freedom of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister intent, do, by these presents, testify and declare, that [neither] they, nor any of them, mean by this compt to withdraw any due obedience to their sovereign lady the queen, nor in any lawful thing to withstand the French king, her husband and head, that during the marriage shall not tend to the subversion and oppression of the just and ancient liberties of the said kingdom of Scotland; for preservation whereof, both for their sovereign’s honour, and for the continuance of the kingdom in

ancient estate, they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands, and lives. And for performance of this present contract for the part of England, the queen's majesty shall confirm the same, and all clauses therein contained, by her letters patent, under the great seal of England, to be delivered to the nobility of Scotland, upon the entrance of the pledges aforesaid within the ground of England. In witness whereof, the said duke of grace of Norfolk has subscribed these presents, and thereunto has affixed his seal, the day, year, and place foresaid; which contract we find honest, reasonable, and that our said commissioners therein have considerably respected the commonwealth of this realm, of us and our posterity; and, therefore, do ratify, allow, confirm, and approve the same, with all clauses and articles therein contained, by these presents. In witness hereof, to the same, subscribed with our hands, our seals of arms, in like cases accustomed, are appended. At the camp, forenent Leith, the tenth day of May, 1560 years. Follow

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS.

"The Duke of CHATTELHERAULT,
 Earl of ARRAN,
 Earl of HUNTLY,
 Earl of GLENCAIRN,
 Earl of MORTON,
 Earl of ROTHES,
 Earl of MONTEITH,
 Earl of ARGYLE,
 Lord OGLVIE,
 Lord BORTHWICK,
 Lord JAMES STEWART,
 Lord of St JOHN,
 Lord JOHN of Aberbrothock,
 Lord BOYD,
 Lord SOMMERVILLE,
 Lord OCHILTREE,
 Lord ROBERT STEWART,
 ALEXANDER GORDON,
 GAVIN HAMILTON, of Kilwinning,
 JAMES STEWART of St Colm's-inch,
 Abbot of KINLOSS,
 Abbot of CULROSS."

The instructions given, subscribed to the said commissioners that went to Berwick, are these as follow:

"1. And for the first, if it shall be asked of you by the said duke of Norfolk's grace, and others the queen's majesty's ap-

pointed commissioners, if our pledges be in readiness? Ye shall answer, that they are, and in St Andrews the 24th of this instant, and shall be ready to deliver in hostages for security of our promise, and part of contract, they offering and making security for their part by the queen's majesty's subscription and great seal, and delivering the same unto you; providing that they choose and make their election of the pledges as is convenient.

"2. *Secondly*, If the said commissioners shall demand of you, what enterprise the army of England shall take upon hand at their first coming? Ye shall answer, in general the expulsion of the French soldiers forth of this realm: and first and in special forth of the town of Leith, seeing their great forts are there.

"3. *Item*. If it shall be asked of you, at what place our friends and brethren of England shall meet, and at what day, what number, and what noblemen in company? Ye shall refer all these things to their election and choice.

"4. *Item*. If it be demanded of you, how the army shall be furnished with victuals, and especially the horsemen? Ye shall answer, that with their advice a sufficient order shall be taken therein.

"5. *Item*. If it be required, how the munition shall be carried, and oxen furnished to that effect? Ye shall answer, as we have given in commission to Lethington, which we ratify.

"6. *Item*. If it shall be asked, who shall be lieutenant to the army of Scotland? Ye shall answer, my lord duke's grace.

"7. *Item*. If it shall be inquired, what number our whole army extends to? Ye shall answer, they will—God willing—be five thousand men.

"8. *Item*. If it shall be required, what manner of way Leith shall be assaulted? Ye shall desire all preparations to be in readiness, and the advice to be taken after the placing of armies, and view of the strength shortly.

"9. *Item*. If it shall be asked of the castle of Edinburgh, if they will stand friends or not? Ye shall declare our diligence made, and to be made shortly here-

unto; but for the present to assure them of nothing.

“10. *Item.* If it be asked, in case the castle be unfriended, where the army shall be placed? Ye shall answer, for the first in Musselburgh and Tranent, and these parts, till the battery, and all the preparations be in readiness.

“11. *Item.* In case it be inquired of all bylayers, and in special of my lord of Huntly in the north? Ye shall answer in general, a good hope is had of the most part thereof; and touching my lord Huntly in special, ye shall show how he has sent writings to my lord of Arran, with a servant of credit, to assure him of his assistance; and for that cause has desired letters of suspension of the queen dowager’s commission to be sent to him, to be used by him in these parts; and other letters to arrest the clergy rents and hires both in these parts, with proclamations to cause all men to be in readiness to pass forward, for maintaining of religion, and expulsion of strangers. My lord has written to him, that he may come to him in proper person, whereof the answer is not returned yet.

“12. *Item.* If it shall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in case Stirling be kept? We refer the answer hereof to your discretion.

“13. *Item.* If it shall be asked, that their layed [leaden, *s. c.*] money shall have passage for their vivors? Ye shall reason the commodity and incommody thereof with the council.

“14. *Item.* If it shall be asked, what pioneers shall be had? Ye shall answer, their number being expressed, and money in readiness to pay them, they shall have sufficiency.

“15. *Item.* If they desire, that we declare our cause unto the princes of Almanie [Germany], and the king of Denmark, desiring their assistance? Ye shall answer, that we think the same good, and shall speedily take order therewith.

“16. *Item.* If it shall be asked of you to confirm for us, and in our name, the things past and granted by our former commissioner the young laird of Lethington? Ye shall in all points for us, and

in our name, confirm the same, so far as it shall make either for the weal and conjunction of the two realms, or this present cause, or yet for the security of our part for the fulfilling of the same: and also ye shall accept their offers tending to the same fine [end], and such security on that part, as ye may purchase, and especially such as we heretofore expressed. Given at Glasgow, the 10th of February, 1559.

“*Item.* We give and grant you full power to augment, or diminish these said heads and articles, as ye think the weal of the cause shall require in all points.

Sic subscribitur,

“JOHN of Monteith,
ANDREW of Rothes,
R. BOYD,
WILLIAM MURRAY, of Tullybardin,
JOHN ERSKINE of Dud,
JAMES HAMILTON,
ALEXANDER GORDON,
ARCHIBALD ARGYLE,*
GLENCAIRN,
OCHILTREE,
JAMES HALIBURTON.”

Short after this contract were our pledges delivered to Mr Winter, admiral of the navy that came to Scotland, a man of great honesty, so far as ever we could espy of him, who were safely conveyed to Newcastle; and so the English army by land began to assemble towards the borders; whereof the French and queen regent assured, they began to destroy what they could in the towns and country about; for the whole victuals they carried to Leith, the mills they broke, the sheep, oxen and cows, yea, and the horse of poor labourers, they made all to serve their tyranny. And, finally, they left nothing which the very enemy could have devised, except that they demolished not gentlemen’s houses, and burnt not the town of Edinburgh, in which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted understand that he took care of them.

Before the coming of the land army, the French past to Glasgow, and destroyed the

* It is *Alexander Argyle* in the suppressed edition, but it must be a misprint.—*Ed.*

country thereabout. What tyranny the Marticks used upon a poor Scottish soldier it is fearful to hear, and yet his fact may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poor men, and so were they slow to depart [out, *s. c.*] of the town; for albeit the drum struck, the ensign could not be got. There was a poor craftsman, who bought for his victuals a gray loaf, and was eating a morsel of it, and was putting the rest of it in his bosom. The tyrant came to him, and with the poor caitif's own whinger first struck him on the breast, and after cast it at him, and so the poor man staggering and falling, the merciless tyrant ran him threw with his rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the stair. "Lord, thou wilt yet look, and recompense such tyranny, how contemptible so ever the person was."

The second of April, the year of God 1560 years, the army by land entered into Scotland, the conducting whereof was committed to the lord Gray, who had in his company the lord Scroope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Percy, Sir Francis Lake, with many other captains and gentlemen, having charge, some of footmen, and some of horsemen. The army by land were estimated at ten thousand men. The queen regent passed to the castle of Edinburgh, and some others of her faction. At Preston [Prestonpans] met them the duke's grace, the earl of Argyle—Huntly came not till the siege was confirmed—lord James, the earls of Glencairn and Monteith, lords Ruthven, Boyd, Ochiltree, with all the protestant gentlemen of the west, Fife, Angus, and Mearns; so that for few days the army was great.

After the deliberation of two days had at Inveresk, the whole camp marched forward with ordnance, and all preparations necessary for the siege, and came to Restalrig. Upon the Palm Sunday even, the French had themselves in battle array upon the Links without Leith, and had sent forth their skirmishers, who beginning before ten hours, continued skirmishing till after four hours at afternoon, when then was given upon them a charge by some horsemen of Scotland, and some of Eng-

land; but because the principal captain of the horsemen of England was not present, the whole troops durst not charge, and so was not the overthrow and slaughter of the French so great as it once appeared to have been; for the great battle was once at the trot: but when they perceived that the great force of horsemen stood still, and charged not, they returned and gave some rescue to their fellows that fled; and so there fell only in that defeat about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory so suddenly, lest that man should glory in his own strength. The small victory that was got put both the English and Scots in over great security, as the issue declared. The French inclosed within the town, the English army began to plant their pavilions betwixt Leith and Restalrig; the ordnance of the town, and especially that which lay upon St Antony's steeple, did them great annoyance; against which place was bent eight cannons, which shot so continually, and so just, that within few days that steeple was condemned, and all the ordnance that was on it dismounted, which made the English more negligent than it became good men of war to have been; for perceiving that the French made no pursuit without their walls, they took an opinion that they would never issue more, and that made some of the captains for pastime to go up to the town of Edinburgh: the soldiers, for their ease, laid their armour beside them, and, as men without danger, fell to the dice and cards; and so upon the Pasche Monday, at the very hour of nine [noon, *s. c.*], the French issued both upon horse and foot, and with great violence entered within the English trenches, slew and put to flight all that were therein. The watch was negligently kept, and so were the succours slow, and long in coming; for the French, before that any resistance was made unto them, approached near to the great ordnance. But then the horsemen trooped together, and the footmen got themselves in array, and so repulsed the French back again to the town; but the slaughter was great, some say it double exceeded that which the French received the first day. And this

was the fruit of their security and ours, which after was remedied; for the Englishmen most wisely considering themselves not able to siege the town round about, devised to make mounds at divers quarters of the town, in the which they and their ordnance lay in as good strength as they did within the town. The common soldiers kept the trenches, and had the said mounds for their safeguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit than they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen, but principally of the horsemen, is worthy of all praise: for, where was it ever heard, that eight thousand—they never exceeded that number that lay in camp—should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and lay so near unto them in daily skirmishing the space of three months and more. The horsemen night and day kept watch, and did so valiantly behave themselves, that the French got no advantage from that day back to the day of the assault, whereof we shall shortly hear. In this meantime was this other bond made of all the nobility, barons, and gentlemen professing Christ Jesus in Scotland, and of divers others that joined with us, for expelling of the French army, amongst whom the earl of Huntly was principal. The bond follows:

THE LAST BOND AT LEITH.

“At Edinburgh, the 27th day of April, in the year of God 1560 years, we, whose names are underwritten, have promised and obliged ourselves faithfully, in the presence of God, and by these presents promise, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we may do, shall set forward the reformation of religion, according to God’s word, and procure, by all means possible, that the truth of God’s word may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word: and suchlike, deeply weighing with ourselves the misbehaviour of the French ministers here, the intolerable oppression committed by the French men of war upon the poor subjects of this

realm, by maintenance of the queen dowager, under colour and pretence of authority, the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest in which the country presently stands by reason of divers fortifications upon the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attempted by them; promise that we shall, every one with other, as well as altogether, with the queen of England’s army, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concur, join together, take and hold plain part for expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our liberty, forth of this realm, and recovery of our ancient liberties and freedoms, to the end that in time coming we may, under the obedience of the king and queen our sovereigns, be only ruled by the laws and customs of the country and born men of the land; and that never one of us shall have privy intelligence by writing, message, or communication with any of our said enemies or adversaries in this cause, but by the advice of the rest—at least of five—of the council. Attour yet [besides], we shall tender the common cause as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular, and that the causes of every one of us now joined together, being honest and lawful, shall be all our causes in general; and he that is enemy to the causes foresaid, shall be enemy to us all, in so far, that whatsoever person will plainly resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concur as a good and true member of this commonwealth, we shall fortify the authority of the council to reduce them to their duty. Likeas we shall fortify the authority foresaid of the council, in all things tending to the furtherance of the said causes: and if any particular debate, quarrel, or controversy shall arise, for whatsoever causes bygone, present, or to come, betwixt any of us—as God forbid—in that case, we shall submit ourselves and our said questions to the decision of the council, or to arbitrators to be made by them, &c. Providing always, that this be not prejudicial to ordinary jurisdiction of judges, but that men may pursue their actions by order of law civilly or criminally, as they please.”

This contract and bond came not only to the ears, but also to the sight of the queen dowager, whereat she stormed not a little, and said, "The malediction of God I give them that counselled me to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm. It was said to me, that the English army could not lie in Scotland ten days; but now they have lain near a month, and are more like to remain than they were the first day they came." They that gave such information to the queen, spake as worldly wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the country being almost in all the parts thereof wasted, the victuals next adjacent to Leith either brought in to their provision or else destroyed, the mills and other places—as before is said—being cast down, it appeared that the camp could not have been furnished except it had been by their own ships, and as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been nothing comfortable: but God confounded all worldly wisdom, and made his own benediction as evident to appear as if in a manner he had fed the army from above: for all kind of victuals there was more abundant, and of more easy prices in the camp at all times that it lay—after that eight days were past—than either they had been in Edinburgh any two years before, or yet have been in that town to this day, the twentieth of May, 1566. The people of Scotland so much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the substance that they had, to have been rid of that chargeable burden, which our sins had provoked God to lay upon us in giving us into the hands of a woman, whom our nobility in their foolishness sold to strangers, and with her the liberty of this realm. "God, for his great mercy's sake, preserve us yet from farther bondage, in the which we are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our nobility will yet remain blind still, and will follow her affections, come after whatsoever may." But to return to our history.

The camp abounding in all necessary provision, order was taken for confirmation of the siege, and so the trenches were

drawn as near the town as they well might. The great camp removed from Res-talrig to the west side of the Water of Leith; and so were the cannons planted for the battery, and did shoot at the south-west wall; but by reason the wall was earth, the breach was not made so great upon the day but that it was sufficiently repaired in the night; whereof the Englishmen beginning to weary, determined to give the breach an assault, as that they did upon the 7th of May, 1560, beginning before the day-light, and continuing till it was near seven hours. And albeit the English and Scots, with great slaughter of soldiers of both, were repulsed, yet was there never a sharper assault given by so few hands; for they extended not beyond a thousand men that assaulted the whole two quarters of the town, and yet they damped the whole block-houses; yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the east and west block-houses: but they wanted backing, for their ladders wanted six quarters of their just height; and so while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not come to support them, and so were they by multitudes driven back again, when it was once thought that the town was won.

Sir James Crofts was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day, for he was appointed, with a sufficient number of the most able men, to have assaulted the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where, at low water—as at the time of the assault it was—the passage was easy: but neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before, at their first coming in, spoken with the queen regent at the front blockhouse of the castle of Edinburgh. Whether she had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by suspicion of that day, in the which he deceived the expectation of many, and, so far as man could judge, was the cause of that great repulse; for some ascribed the shortness of the ladders to him: but that omitted, which might have proceeded of negligence, his absence from the pursuit of his quarter, was the cause that the French, which were

appointed there to defend, seeing no pursuit, came to the relief of their fellows; and so the two joined together, with great slaughter gave the repulse to our company. The Frenchmen's harlots, of whom the most part were Scottish whores, did no less cruelties than did the soldiers; for besides that they charged their pieces, and ministered unto them other weapons, some continually cast stones, some carried chimleys [grates] of burning fire, some brought timber and other impediments of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men, but especially when they began to turn their backs. Now, although in all this we acknowledge the secret work of God, who by such means would beat down as well the pride of England as of Scotland, yet ought neither the feebleness nor falsehood of man to be excused, neither yet the cruelty of the adversaries be concealed. The queen regent sat at the time of the assault—which was both terrible and long—upon the fore-wall of the castle of Edinburgh, and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a gaff of laughter, and said, "Now will I go to the mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen." And so was friar Black ready for that purpose, whom she herself a little before had deprehended with his harlot in the chapel: but whoredom and idolatry agree well together, and that our court can witness this day, the 16th of May, 1566.

The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their carcases before the hot sun along their wall, where they suffered them to lie more days than one: unto the which, when the queen regent looked, for mirth she hopped, and said, "Yonder are the fairest tapestry that ever I saw, I would that the whole fields betwixt this place and you were strewed with the same stuff." This fact was seen of all, and her words were heard of some, and misliked of many; against the which John Knox spake openly in pulpit, and boldly affirmed, "That God should revenge that contumely done to his image, not only in

the furious and godless soldiers, but even in such as rejoiced thereat." And the very experience declared that he was not deceived, for within few days after—yea some say the same day—began her belly and loathsome legs to swell, and so continued, till that God did execute his judgments upon her, as after we shall hear.

The defeat received, it was fully persuaded to the queen regent and her faction, that the siege would rise, and that the English army would depart: and so began the papists wondrously to brag, and yet God did frustrate their expectation; for the army determined to remain till new advertisement came from the queen and council.

The duke of Norfolk, who then lay at Berwick, commanded the lord Grey to continue the siege, and promised, "That he should not want men so long as they were to be had betwixt Trent and Tweed, for so far was he lieutenant." He farther promised his own presence, in case he should be required; and for assurance thereof, he sent his own pavilions, such as seldom before had been seen in Scotland, with his officers and provision: and with expedition were sent two thousand fresh men, whereby the camp, greatly comforted, began to forget the former discomfiture, and to sustain the daily skirmishing as they did before, in the which the French, after the day of the assault, did ever receive the hurt and the repulse, as the slaughter of many that came to the Cole-raik [Cockill-raik, *sup. ed.*] did witness. The greatest damage that either English or Scots received after that day, was the slaughter of two gentlemen, the one master of household to my lord James, Robert Colvin of Cleish, a man stout, modest, and wise, who was shot in the thigh with a falcon or hackbut of Croicke, and departed the misery of this life within two hours after. The other was Alexander Lockhart, brother to the laird of Bar, who rashly discovering himself in the trenches, was shot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life.

While the siege thus continued, a sudden fire chanced in Leith, which devoured

many houses and much victual; and so began God to fight for us, as the lord Erskine said to the queen regent in plain words, "Madam," said he, "I can see no more, but seeing that men may not expel unjust possessors forth of this land, God himself will do it; for yon fire is not kindled by man." Which words offended the queen regent not a little; whose sickness daily increasing, great craft she used that Monsieur d'Oysel might have been permitted to have spoken with her: belike she would have bade him farewell,—for their old familiarity was great,—but that denied, she wrote as it had been to her surgeon and apothecary, showing her grace's sickness, and requiring some drugs. The letter being presented to the lord Grey, he espied the craft, for few lines being written above and so much white paper left, he said, "Drugs are more abundant and fresher in Edinburgh than they can be in Leith, there lurketh here some other mystery;" and so he began to try, and by holding the paper to fire, he perceived some writing to appear, and so began he to read; but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burned the bill, and said to the messenger, "Albeit I have been her secretary, yet tell her I shall keep her counsel; but say to her, such wares will not sell till a new market."

The answer received, she was nothing content; and then travailed she earnestly, that she might speak with the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, and with the lord James. After deliberation it was thought expedient that they should speak [with, *sup. c.*] her, but not all together, lest that some of the Guyse's practice had lurked under the colour of such friendship. Her regret was unto them all, "That she had behaved herself so foolishly, as that she had compelled them to seek the support of others than of their own sovereign, and said, that she sore repented that ever it came to that extremity; but she was not the wyte [to be blamed], but the wicked counsel of her friends on the one part, and the earl of Huntly on the other part: for if he had not been, she would have agreed with them at their communing at Preston."

They gave unto her both the counsel and the comfort which they could in that extremity, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction, for these ignorant papists that were about her, understood nothing of the mystery of our redemption. Upon their motive was John Willock sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainly show unto her as well the virtue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ, as the vanity and abomination of that idol the mass. She did openly confess, "That there was no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ;" but of the mass we heard not her confession. Some say she was anointed of [after] the papistical manner, which was a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance for her former superstition: yet, howsoever it was, Christ Jesus got no small victory over such an enemy. For albeit before she had avowed, that in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Christ Jesus should either die or be banished the realm; yet was she not only compelled to hear that Christ Jesus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed, but also she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers of the realm, and to approve the chief head of religion, wherein we dissent from all papists and papistry. Short thereafter she finished her unhappy life; unhappy, we say, to Scotland, from the first day she entered into it unto the day she departed this life, which was the ninth of June, the year of God 1560 years. God, for his great mercy's sake, rid us from the rest of [the, *s. c.*] Guysan blood. *Amen, Amen.* For of the tyranny of the Guysan blood in her, that for our unthankfulness, now reigneth above us, we have had sufficient experience; but of any virtue that ever was espied in king James the fifth—whose daughter she is called—to this hour we have never seen any sparkle to appear.

Upon the 16th day of June, after the death of the queen regent, came into Scotland Monsieur Randame, and with him the bishop of Vallance in commission from France, to entreat of peace: from England

there came Sir William Cecil, chief secretary, and doctor Witton. Their negotiation was longsome, for both England and we fearing deceit, sought by all means that the contract should be sure. And they upon the other part, meaning to gratify such as had sent them—who meant nothing but mere falsehood—protracted time to the uttermost: yea, while that they of Leith were very scanty of victuals, and these of the Inch had perished, had it not been that by policy they got a ship with victuals, and some invention,* which was upon Mid-summer even, whereof they made no small triumph, which also for a season stayed the appointment, yet in the end peace was concluded, in form as follows:

“The articles transacted and agreed by the reverend father in God, John, bishop of Vallance, and Monsieur Rاندame, deputies to the king and queen of Scotland, upon the matters presented to them, by way of petition, for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland.

“In the first, upon the complaint and petition of the said nobility and people of this country, ament the number of men of war sustained by their majesties in these parts in time of peace; it is humbly requested by the said deputies, that they would provide opportune remedy thereupon, to the solace and relief of the country. The said deputies considering the said desire to be just, and conform to reason, concluded, concorded, and affirmed, that the king and queen shall procure no French men of war, nor no other nation to come to these parts in time coming, but [except] if strangers would pretend to enter into this realm with an army or navy, to occupy the same; in the which case provision shall be made by their majesties, the judgments and council of the estates of the realm being had thereto. And that the French men of war, now being in the town of Leith, shall be sent to France the same time that the army and navy of the Englishmen and Scotsmen be

scailed [dispersed] and departed both by sea and land, the which shall be done in the best manner may be, as at more length consideration shall be had thereupon: and as to the bands of Scottish men of war being at the said place, they shall be broken, and the men of war licensed to depart. Moreover, as to the forts of Dunbar and Incheith, there shall remain in them a hundred and twenty Frenchmen allenarly [only], which shall be parted and distributed in these two places, and there shall remain no more in Dunbar but threescore men of war, so it be not affirmed by the captains chosen to that effect by both the parties, that for keeping of the same, a greater number is not needful; also to depart when the estate of the realm can find a sure and good remedy, upon the expenses made in the said places, to keep the same from peril of invasion, or deprivation thereof from them that would pretend to occupy the same, they shall show the same to their majesties as hastily as may be done; and in the meantime the number of the said men of war shall not be augmented. And in like manner, it shall not be lesum [lawful] to the said men of war to do any injury to any person, nor yet to maintain or defend any Scotsman, of what quality soever he be, against the will and authority of the magistrates of the realm, or to receive them in the said places, that the minister of justice may not put hands on them; nor yet shall intromit with them any manner of way, with the quarrels and discords of the lords, or other particular men of this realm: but they themselves shall be obliged, in case of any quarrel, to be punished after the laws and consuetude of this realm, and to answer for themselves before the judges ordinaries for the same. Last of all, that from this time forth they be not compelled to take on credit, they shall be every month satisfied of their wages, so that two Scottish lords chosen by the council; may present it, at weapon showing, and musters of the said men of war, and also to visit the said forts, to see if the number of them be eiked [men added to them]; and it shall not be lawful to the said men of war to take any victuals

* It seems that this word should be munition, and it is so in the suppressed edition—*Ed.*

for their sustenance, to the munition of the said places, but by payment of ready money, numerat [told down], and with the pleasure to them that deliver the same to them; and, therefore, the said lords oblige them to give them so much as is needful to them, they having to pay therefore.

“*Item.* Upon the petition presented to the said lords deputies anent the demolition of the fortifications, the said deputies consented, concorded, and affirmed, that the fortification of Leith shall be demolished, and that two or three or four captains shall be chosen to [by, *sup. c.*] both the parties, to visit the castle of Dunbar, and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortification made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men is required to the keeping thereof, the reparation and fortification thereof shall be demolished, so soon as may be done, and shall remain only untouched, that thing which [we, *sup. c.*] may make the said castle more sure, and in least danger from invasion.* Providing not the less that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the same. Moreover, in times coming, the king and queen shall make no more new forts within this realm, and shall not augment them that are else made, nor shall repair them that are demolished, without counsel and consent of the estates, nor yet shall transport to these parts any artillery, munition of war, powder, or victuals, but so much as may go [serve, *s. c.*] for keeping of the said places by the space of six months or one year.

“*Item.* Anent the petition made anent the debts contracted by the French men of war in this country, the said concorded, that the king and queen shall cause restore all that which happens to be found given and granted to the king’s lieutenant and his captains, and other officers, for the nourishment, sustenance, and maintenance

of the said Frenchmen, or that which is found owing by the lieutenant for service of his majesty, that may appear by writ, or confession of parties.

“*Item.* Upon the petition made anent the convention of estates of this realm, the said deputies consented, concorded, &c. that the estates of the realm may convene and hold parliament the twentieth day of the month of July next to come; upon the which day the parliament shall be continued [adjourned], as use is, unto the first day of the month of August following. Providing always, that before they begin to treat any thing in the said parliament, all tumult of war be discharged and cease, that they that are present may be free without fear of men of war or others; and that in the meantime a messenger be sent by the said deputies to the king and queen, to certify them of these things agreed, treated, and concorded, requesting their majesties humbly to be contented with the same. And the said convention shall be as lawful in all respects, as the same had been ordained and done by express commandment of their majesties; providing that no matter therein be treated before the said first day of August.

“*Item.* Upon the article presented anent war and peace, the said deputies consent, concord, &c. that the king and queen neither make peace nor war in these parts, but by the judgment, counsel, and consent of the three estates, according to the ordinance and consuetude of the country; and as was observed by their predecessors.

“*Item.* Upon the petition presented to the said deputies anent the government and regimen of the policy, they have consented, &c. that twenty-four worthy men of this realm be chosen by the three estates, of the which the king and queen shall choose seven, and the estates seventeen; which in their majesties’ absence shall take

* This part of the article is not very intelligible. Spotswood, who gives only a short abridgment of these conditions, gives the following as what he understood to be their meaning relative to Dunbar and Inchkeith:—“That a garrison of threescore Frenchmen be permitted to remain in the castle of Dunbar, and as many in the isle

of Inchkeith, until the estates should find means to maintain the said forts on their own charges from all peril of foreign invasion; the said soldiers in the meantime living obedient to the laws of the realm, and taking nothing from the subjects without payment of ready money.”—*Ed.*

order, and make an ordinary council for administration foresaid, so that no man, of whatsoever quality he be, shall have the power to order any thing to be done touching the said business, without the mediation, authority, and consent of them: as [consequently] that the said counsellors shall convene together, as often as they may, but they shall convene no less than twelve together; and when any matter of importance occurs, they shall be all called to consult, and take order by them, or the most part of them, if need be. And if it happens any of the said seven chosen by the king and queen to decease, their majesties shall choose another forth of the said number of twenty-four, in place of him that deceases. And if any of the said seventeen chosen by the estates dies, the remnant forechosen by them shall name another of the said number of twenty-four. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the said estates, that other two be augmented to the said number of twelve, then and in that case the king and queen shall choose one, and the estates another. And so was this article agreed under condition, that is to say, that the same be no prejudice in time coming to the king and queen, and rights of the crown. And the said deputies offered their labours to make mediations to the king and queen, for maintaining pensions and expenses of the said counsellors, and ordinary officers of the said council, to be provided of the rents and profits [revenues, *sup. c.*] of the crown.

“*Item.* Upon the petition made to the said deputies, anent the officers of this realm, &c. they consented and concorded, &c. that in time coming the king and queen shall not depute any strangers in the administration of the civil and criminal justice, and likewise in the office of chancellor, keeper of the seal, treasurer, comptroller, and other like offices, and shall not use them, but shall be content with their own subjects born within this realm. Moreover, it shall not be lawful to put the offices of treasurer, comptroller, into the hands of any kirkman, or others which are not able to exercise the said offices, the which comptroller and treasurer shall be provided of

sufficient commission to use the said offices. But it shall not be lawful to them to dis-pone, or sell wards of marriages, or other casualties, or any other thing whatsoever they be pertaining to their offices, without counsel and consent of the said council, to that effect that the council may know that all things be done to the profit of the king and queen; and yet they will not bind, or astriect the king and queen by this article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

“*Item.* They concorded, that in the first convention and parliament of the estates of this realm, there shall be constituted, ordained, and established a law of oblivion, which afterwards shall be confirmed by the king and queen’s majesties: by the which all remembrance of bearing of armour, and other things which have been done, shall be buried, earthed, and forgot, from the sixth day of the month of March, in the year of God 1558 years. And by the same law, they which have contravened the laws of this realm shall be exempt, and free of all pains contained therein, such like as if it had never been contravened; providing that the privileges of the said law be not extended to them, which the estates of the realm shall think unworthy thereof.

“*Item.* It is agreed and concluded, that in the said convention, or parliament, the estates of the realm, as [the, *s. c.*] use is, and of the manner is required, shall be called; in the which all they that have used to convene, and be present, may come without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any person, so that the said shall oblige them, that where in time coming any sedition, or convention of men of war shall happen to be, without the command of the council, being of the number of twelve, the realm and country shall repute the causers thereof, and them that convene as rebels, and shall pursue them as such like, that they may be punished by the laws of the realm, so that the king and queen shall not be compelled in times coming to send any men of war, or strangers in these parts, for obtaining of due obedience of their subjects.

“*Item.* They offered to concord and

agree, that there shall be a general peace and reconciliation among all lords and subjects of this realm; so that they that are called of the congregation, and they which are not of the same, shall put no reproach to others of the things which are done from the said sixth day of March, 1558.

“*Item.* They offered, concorded, and affirmed, that the king and queen shall not pursue, revenge, nor make any persecution of the things that have been done, nor yet shall they suffer the same to be done by their subjects, Frenchmen, but shall have all things in oblivion, as if the same had never been done. And such like, the lords of this realm of Scotland shall do in all business betwixt them and the Frenchmen in these parts. And if, by sinister information, or any other occasion, their majesties have conceived an evil opinion against their subjects, they shall utterly forget and change the same; nor they shall not deprive any of them, nor divide any of them, or of their subjects, of the offices, benefices, or estates which they have bruiked [possessed] in the said realm before, by reason of any things they have meddled with, from the said sixth day of March 1558. And farther, shall make no occasion of deprivation, or deposing of them by any other colour without cause, but rather they shall esteem and treat them in time coming as good and obedient subjects, providing that the said lords and other subjects, on their part, make to their majesties whole obedience, such like as other natural and faithful subjects ought to their sovereigns.

“*Item,* It is concorded and agreed, that it shall be lawful to none of the lords of the nobility of Scotland, or any others, to make convocation of men of war, but in the ordinary causes approved by the laws and consuetude of the realm; and that none of them shall cause any men of war, strangers, to come in these parts, and much less shall attempt to do any thing against the king and queen, or against the authority of the council and other magistrates of the realm; and they which have presented the said petition shall be obliged thereunto. And in case any of them, or

others, find occasion to invade, or take armour against any man, as he pretends, after that he has communicated the matter with the council of the realm, he shall present his complaint to their majesties; and generally they shall oblige them, under the said pains, to do the things which pertain to good and faithful subjects, for the quietness and tranquillity of the realm, and rights of their sovereigns.

“*Item,* It is agreed, &c. that if any bishops, abbots, or any other kirkmen, shall complain or allege them to have received any injuries, either in their persons or goods, the complaint shall be seen and considered by the estates in the said convention and parliament, and there shall be made redress as they shall find according to reason: and, in the meantime, no man shall stop them, but they shall bruik their goods; nor shall do any skaith, injury, or violence to them. And if any does contravene to this article, he shall be pursued by the lords, as a perturbur of a good commonwealth.

“*Item,* It is concorded, &c. that the said lords shall oblige them to observe, and cause to be observed, all and sundry points and articles agreed in this treatise: and if it happens that any of them, or any other, would contravene the same, the remanent lords and residue of the whole people, shall be enemies to him, and shall pursue him till he be chastised and punished according to his demerits.

“*Item,* It is concorded, &c. that all the whole realm may know that the king and queen are not willing to [keep, *s. c.*] any remembrance of any of the troubles and differences bygone, and so far as concerns the nobility and other subjects of the realm, that their majesties desire to treat them humanely, and to be favourable unto them; the said deputies have promised and concorded, that the duke of Chatelherault, and all other noblemen of Scotland, shall be remitted, and put again in all their goods and benefices, which they had and enjoyed in France, that they may bruik [possess] and enjoy the same in the same manner as they did before the differences, the sixth day of March 1558 years foresaid, even as

the said controversies had never chanced : and also, that all capitulations and articles agreed upon in times bygone, and specially they that were appointed in the king and queen's contract, shall be observed and kept, as well for the part of their majesties as for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland. And as concerning David, son to the said duke of Chatelherault, now being in Bois de Vincent, liberty shall be granted to him to return to Scotland, and to do as he pleases. Moreover, when the said deputies expounded, that some time it might chance that the king might mister of [have occasion for] his great guns and artillery in France, the said lords having consideration thereof, concorded, that no other artillery be transported or translated out of this realm but they which were sent and brought in from the day of the decease of Francis king of France, of good memory, to these parts ; and that all other artillery and munition be reponed in places where they were taken forth, and in special [those] that have the arms of Scotland, shall be put in the places where they were taken forth off ; and there shall be noblemen of Scotland appointed therefore, and two for the part of the king's majesty are to be deputed, to recognise the same before the shipping thereof.

“ And, moreover, that where for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland, certain articles concerning the religion and other points were presented, which the said deputies would not touch, but considering the weight and importance of them, remitted the same to be recognised and decided by their majesties ; the said lords and nobility promised, that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next convention and parliament, to be sent to their majesties, which shall expone to their highnesses the things which shall be thought needful for the estate of their business ; and for the forementioned and other articles and points undecided with the said deputies, to the effect that they may know their majesties' intention and benevolence upon the things which shall be expounded for the part of the country, the which also shall have with them a confirmation and

ratification by the estates of the realm of the articles which are concorded and agreed by the said deputies, to whom also the same time, or before, shall be given and delivered a like confirmation and ratification made by their majesties, so being that the said estates send their ratification foresaid.

“ The proclamation of these things above written and made, the 8th day of July, the year of God 1560.

“ To the loving of the most puissant lord, and comfort of all Christians, the most puissant prince and princess, and most christian king and queen Francis and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of France and Scotland, and by the most puissant princess Elizabeth, by the same grace queen of England, &c. it is concorded, and reconciliation of peace and amity made, which is to be observed inviolable amongst them, their subjects, realms and countries, forasmuch as in name of the said prince and princess, it is commanded and straightly charged to all manner of persons under their obedience, or being in their service, from this time forth, to desist from all hostility both by sea and land, and to keep a good peace the one with the other, and with charge to the breakers under their great peril.”

These things transacted, and the peace proclaimed, as said is, sudden provision was made for transporting of the French to France, of whom the most part were put into the English ships, who also carried with them the whole spoil of Leith ; and that was the second benefit which they received of their late promised liberty, the end whereof is not yet come. The English army by land departed the 16th of July, the year of God 1560 years. The most part of our nobility protestants, honourably convoyed them, as in very deed they had well deserved ; but the lord James would not leave the lord Grey, with the other noblemen of England, till that they entered into Berwick ; after whose returning, the council began to look as well upon the affairs of the commonwealth as upon the matters that might concern the stability of religion. As before we have heard, the

parliament was concluded to begin the 20th of July, and to be continued till the 1st of August next; and therefore the lords made the greater expedition, that all things might be put in convenient order; but before all things, the preachers exhorted them—for then in Edinburgh were the chief part of the ministers of the realm—to be thankful unto God, and next to provide, that the ministers might be distributed as the necessity of the country required. A day was stated, when that the whole nobility, and greatest part of the congregation, assembled in St Giles' kirk in Edinburgh, where, after the sermon made for that purpose, public thanks were given unto God for his merciful deliverance, in form as follows:

THANKSGIVING FOR OUR DELIVERANCE, WITH PRAYERS.

“ O eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has not only commanded us to pray, and promised to hear us, but also willeth us to magnify thy mercies and glorify thy name when thou showest thyself pitiful and favourable unto us, especially when thou deliverest us from desperate dangers: for so did thy servants Abraham, David, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah, yea, thy whole people of Israel omitted not the same, when thou by thy mighty hand didst confound their enemies, and didst deliver them from fear and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord, in how miserable estate stood this poor country, and we the just inhabitants of the same not many days past, when idolatry was maintained, when cruel strangers did empire, when virgins were deflowered, matrons corrupted, men's wives violently and villanously oppressed, the blood of innocents shed without mercy; and finally, when the unjust commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as a law. Out of those miseries, O Lord, could neither our wit, policy, nor strength, deliver us; yea, thou didst show to us, ‘ how vain was the help of man where thy blessing giveth not victory.’ In those our anguishes, O Lord, we sobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, we proclaimed thy name, as thy troubled flock, persecuted for thy truth's sake. Mercifully hast thou

heard us, O Lord, mercifully, we say, because that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates, was there any cause why that thou shouldst have given unto us so joyful and sudden a deliverance: for neither of us both ceased to do wickedly, even in the midst of our greatest troubles; and yet hast thou looked upon us so pitifully as that we had given unto thee most perfect obedience. For thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty; thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel; and thou hast of thy mercy set this our perishing realm at a reasonable liberty. O give us hearts—thou Lord that only givest all good gifts—with reverence and fear, to meditate thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the same unthankfully to slip out of our wavering minds. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord, that whatsoever we have received shall fall in oblivion with us, and so turn to our condemnation, unless thou, by the power of thy Holy Spirit, keep and retain us in recent and perpetual memory of the same. We beseech thee, therefore, O Father of mercies, that as of thy undeserved grace thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, that so it will please thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun: and albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majesty to show us thy favour; O yet, for Christ Jesus thy only well beloved Son's sake—whose name we bear, and whose doctrine we profess—we beseech thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this thy verity, which now we profess: but seeing that thou hast mercifully heard us, and hast caused thy verity to triumph in us; so we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly name may be glorified in us thy creatures. And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy presence, O Lord, than is ingratitude, and violation of an oath, and covenant made in thy name; and seeing that thou hast made our confederates of England the instruments by whom we are now set at this liberty, to whom we in thy name have promised mutual faith again; let us never fall to that

unthankfulness, O Lord, that either we declare ourselves unthankful unto them, or profaners of thy holy name. Confound thou the counsels of those that go about to break that most godly league contracted in thy name, and retain thou us so firmly together, by the power of thy Holy Spirit, that Satan have never power to set us again at variance or discord. Give us thy grace to live in that christian charity which thy Son our Lord Jesus hath so earnestly commanded to all the members of his body; that other nations, provoked by our example, may set aside all ungodly war, contentions, and strife, and study to live in tranquillity and peace, as it becomes the sheep of thy pasture, and the people that daily look for our final deliverance, by the coming again of our Lord Jesus; to whom, with thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and praise, now and ever. Amen."

Hereafter were the commissioners of burghs, with some of the nobility and barons, appointed to see the equal distribution of ministers, to change and transport as the most part should think expedient. And so was John Knox appointed to Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman—who the most part of the troubles had remained in Ayr—was appointed to St Andrews, Adam Heriot to Aberdeen, Mr John Rowe to St Johnstone, Paul Meffan—to whom was no infamy then known—to Jedburgh, William Christison to Dundee, and David Ferguson to Dunfermline, and Mr David Lindsay to Leith. There were nominated for superintendants, Mr John Spottiswood for Lothian, Mr John Winram for Fife, Mr John Willock for Glasgow, the laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr John Carswell for Argyle and the Isles. These to be elected at the days appointed, unless that the countries wherein they were to be appointed could in the meantime find out men more able or sufficient, or else show such causes as might inhabill them [make them unfit] from that dignity.

The parliament approaching, due advertisement was made, by the council, to all such as by law and ancient custom had, or might claim to have vote therein. The as-

sembly was great, notwithstanding that some, as well of those that were called spiritual as temporal lords contemptuously did absent themselves: and yet the chief pillars of the papistical kirk gave their presence, such as the bishops of St Andrews, Dumblane, and Dunkeld, with others of the inferior sort, besides them that had renounced papistry and openly professed Jesus Christ with us, such as the bishop of Galloway, the abbots of Lindores, Culross, St Colmes-inch, Newbottle, and Holyroodhouse, the prior of St Andrews, Coldingham, and St Mary Isle, the sub-prior of St Andrews, and divers others, whom we observed not.

At the same time of parliament, John Knox publicly taught the prophet Haggai; the doctrine was proper for the time. In application whereof he was so special, and so vehement, that some, having greater respect to the world than to God's glory, feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God." God be merciful to the speaker; for we fear that he shall have experience that the building of his own house—the house of God being despised—shall not be so prosperous, and of such firmness, as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together to consult what things were to be proponed to that present parliament; and after deliberation, was this subsequent supplication offered.

"The barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others, true subjects of this realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same, to the nobility and states of parliament presently assembled within the said realm, desire grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the increase of his Holy Spirit, &c.

"Please your honours to reduce to remembrance how divers and sundry times, we—with some of yourselves—most humbly suited at the feet of the late queen regent, freedom and liberty of conscience, with a godly reformation of abuses, which, by the malice of Satan and negligence

of men, are crept in, in the religion of God, and are maintained by such as take upon them the name of clergy. And albeit that our godly and most reasonable suit was then disdainfully rejected, whereof no small troubles have ensued, as your honours well know, yet seeing that the same necessity yet remaineth that then moved us; and moreover, that God of his mercy has now put into your hands to take such order as God thereby may be glorified, this commonwealth quieted, and the policy thereof established. We cannot cease to crave of your honours the redress of such enormities as manifestly are, and of long time have been, committed by the place holders of the ministry, and others of the clergy within this realm. And, *first*, seeing that God of his great mercy, by the light of his word, has manifested to no small number of this realm, that the doctrine of the Roman kirk received by the said clergy, and maintained through their tyranny by fire and sword, containeth in itself many pestiferous errors, which cannot but bring damnation to the souls of such as therewith shall be infected; such as are the doctrine of transubstantiation; of the adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, as they term it; of the merits of works, and justification that they allege cometh thereby; together with the doctrine of the papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed, which all either repugn to the plain scriptures, or else have no ground of the doctrine of our master Jesus Christ, his prophets, nor apostles.

First, We humbly therefore crave of your honours, that such doctrine and idolatry as by God's word are both condemned, so may they be abolished by act of this present parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors.

Secondly, Seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Roman harlot and her sworn vassals; and also because that the true discipline of the ancient kirk is utterly now amongst that sect extinguished:—for who within the realm are more corrupt in life and manners than are

they that are called the clergy, living in whoredom, adultery, deflowering virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abominations, without fear of punishment;—we humbly therefore desire your honours to find remedy against the one and the other.

Thirdly, Because that man of sin most falsely doth claim to himself the titles of, "The vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the head of the kirk, that he cannot err, that all power is granted unto him," &c.; by the which usurped authority, he takes upon him the distribution and possession of the whole patrimony of the kirk, whereby the true ministers of the word of God long time have been altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the schools not provided, and the poor not only defrauded of their portion, but also most tyrannously oppressed; we likewise hereof desire remedy.

And lest that your honours should doubt in any of the former premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, that in all the rabble of the clergy there is not one lawful minister, if God's word, the practice of the apostles, the sincerity of the primitive kirk, and their own ancient laws shall judge of lawful election. We farther offer ourselves to prove them all thieves and murderers, yea, rebels and traitors to the lawful authority of emperors, kings and princes; and, therefore, unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. How maliciously they have murdered our brethren, for no other cause, but for that they have offered unto us the light of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and in what hazard their tyranny has brought this whole realm, the ages after will consider. If ye look in them for any other fruit in times to come, than ye have seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived. Now has God, beyond all expectation of man, made yourselves, who sometimes were suppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cause of God; at last, he has so subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppress the verity, as heretofore they have done. We, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ,

crave of your honours, that either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such other things as we justly have to lay to their charges, or else that—all affection laid aside—ye pronounce them such by censement [judgment] of this parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused: especially, that they may be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge, or cure within the kirk of God; and so from henceforth never to join vote in parliament. Which if ye do not, then, in the fear of God, and by the assurance of his word, we forewarn you, that as ye leave a grievous yoke, and a burden intolerable upon the kirk of God within this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom after, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give you upright hearts, seeking his glory; and true understanding what this day he who has delivered you from bondage, both spiritual and temporal, craveth of you by his servants: and your answer most humbly we require.*

This our supplication being read in audience of the whole assembly, divers men were of divers judgments; for as some there were that uprightly favoured the cause of God, so were there many that for worldly respects abhorred a perfect reformation—for how many within Scotland that have the name of nobility, are not unjust possessors of the patrimony of the kirk—and yet were the barons and ministers called, and commandment given unto them, to draw, in plain and several heads, the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire that pre-

sent parliament to establish, as wholesome, true, and only necessary to be believed and received within that realm. Which they willingly accepted, and within four days presented this confession as it followeth, without alteration of any one sentence:

“The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the protestants within the realm of Scotland, published by them in parliament, and by the estates thereof ratified and approved, as wholesome and sound doctrine, grounded upon the infallible truth of God’s word.*

“Matthew xxiv. And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached through the whole world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.”

THE PREFACE.

“The estates of Scotland, with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Jesus his holy evangel, to their natural countrymen, and unto all other realms and nations, professing the same Lord Jesus with them, wish grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous judgment, for salutation.

“Long have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger. But such has been the rage of Satan against us, and against Christ Jesus his eternal verity lately born among us, that to this day no time has been granted unto us, to clear our consciences, as most gladly we would have done: for how we have been tossed a whole year bypast, the most part of Europe, as we suppose, does understand.

* There is reason to think that Knox had the chief hand in drawing up this summary of christian doctrine, which was done in four days. Had it been the work of a numerous assembly or council, it would have taken as many months, and would not have been so well done. With the exception of the preface, it is to be found entire in the Statute Book, or acts of the Scots parliament, with which I have compared it, and have found about thirty verbal differences, not one of which affects the sense. I had begun to mark them on the margin of my copy with a view to take them in as various readings; but most of them being mere typographical errors,

or mistakes in copying, sometimes in the one and sometimes in the other, I have satisfied myself with correcting my copy where the error appeared to be in it, as I have done all along by comparing it with the London suppressed edition. It is worthy of remark that the act of parliament has in the side margin, a profusion of scripture references, in proof of the doctrines laid down, not one of which is in the Glasgow MS. copy. David Buchanan has given them in his margin; but the suppressed edition has them not, neither have any of the modern ones.—*Ed.*

But seeing that of the infinite goodness of our God—who never suffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded—above expectation, we have obtained some rest and liberty, we could not but set forth this brief and plain confession of such doctrine as is proponed unto us, and as we believe and profess, partly for satisfaction of our brethren, whose hearts we doubt not have been, and yet are wounded by the spiteful railing of such as yet have not learned to speak well; and partly for stopping of the mouths of impudent blasphemers, who boldly condemn that which they have neither heard nor understood: not that we judge that the cankered malice of such is able to be cured by this simple confession; No, we know that the sweet savour of the evangel is, and shall be death to the sons of perdition. But we have chief respect to our weak and infirm brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, lest that they be troubled and carried away by diversity of rumours which Satan sparseth [spreadeth] contrary to us, to the defacing of this our godly enterprise; protesting, that if any man will note in this our confession any article or sentence repugning to God's holy word, that it would please him, of his gentleness, and for christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writ, and we of our honours and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, that is, from his holy scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss. For God we take to record in our consciences, that from our hearts we abhor all sects of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's evangel, which is the only food of our souls; and, therefore, so precious unto us, that we are determined to suffer the extremity of worldly danger, rather than that we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same; for hereof we are most certainly persuaded, 'That whosoever denies Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him, in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before his holy angels;' and, therefore, by the assistance of the mighty Spirit of the same Lord Jesus,

we firmly purpose to abide to the end in the confession of this our faith.

I. OF GOD.

"We confess and acknowledge one only God, to whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we put our trust, who is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible, one in substance, and yet distinct in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and in earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable Providence, to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice, has appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory.

II. OF THE CREATION OF MAN.

"We confess and acknowledge this our God to have created man—to wit, our first father Adam—of whom also God formed the woman to his own image and similitude, to whom he gave wisdom, lordship, justice, free will and clear knowledge of himself; so that in the whole nature of man there could be noted no imperfection; from which honour and perfection man and woman both fell; the woman being deceived by the serpent, and man obeying the voice of the woman, both conspiring against the sovereign majesty of God, who in express words had before threatened death, if they presumed to eat of the forbidden tree.

III. OF ORIGINAL SIN.

"By which transgression, commonly called original sin, was the image of God utterly defaced in man, and he and his posterity of nature became enemies to God, slaves to Satan, and servants to sin, inasmuch that death everlasting has had, and shall have power and dominion over all that has not been, are not, or shall not be regenerate from above, which regeneration is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost working in the hearts of the elect of God an assured faith in the promises of

God, revealed to us in his word; by which faith they apprehend Jesus Christ, with the graces and benefits promised in him.

IV. OF THE REVELATION OF THE PROMISE.

“For this we constantly believe, that God, after the fearful and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did seek Adam again, call upon him, rebuke his sin, convict him for his sin, and in the end made unto him a most joyful promise, to wit, ‘That the seed of the woman shall break down the serpent’s head;’ that is, ‘should destroy the works of the Devil;’ which promise, as it was repeated and made more clear from time to time, so was it embraced with joy, and most constantly retained of all the faithful from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to David, and so forth to the incarnation of Jesus Christ, who all—we mean the faithful fathers under the law—did see the joyful days of Christ Jesus, and did rejoice.

V. THE CONTINUANCE, INCREASE, AND PRESERVATION OF THE KIRK.

“We most constantly believe, that God preserved, instructed, multiplied, honoured, decorated, and from death called to life his kirk in all ages, from Adam, till the coming of Christ Jesus in the flesh: for Abraham he called from his father’s country, him he instructed, his seed he multiplied, the same he marvellously preserved, and more marvellously delivered from the bondage [and tyranny, *statute book*] of Pharaoh; to them he gave his laws, constitutions, and ceremonies; them he possessed in the land of Canaan; to them after judges, and after Saul, he gave David to be king; to whom he made promise, ‘That of the fruit of his loins should one sit for ever upon his regal seat.’ To this same people from time to time he sent prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatry. And albeit [that, *stat. b.*] for their stubborn contempt of justice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as before was threatened by the mouth of Moses, insomuch that the whole city was destroyed, the temple burnt with fire, and

the whole land left desolate the space of seventy years; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to Jerusalem, where the city and temple were re-edified, and they, against all temptations and assaults of Satan, did abide till the Messias came, according to the promise.

VI. OF THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST JESUS.

“When the fulness of time came, God sent his Son, his eternal wisdom, the substance of his own glory, into this world, who took the nature of manhood, of the substance of a woman, to wit, of a virgin, and that by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and so was born the just seed of David; the Angel of the great council of God; the very Messias promised, whom we acknowledge and confess; Emanuel, very God and very man, two perfect natures united and joined in one person. By which our confession, we damn [condemn, *stat. b.*] the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutiches, Nestorius, and such others, as either [did, *stat. b.*] deny the eternity of his Godhead, or the verity of his human nature, or confound them, or yet divide them.

VII. WHY IT BEHOVED THE MEDIATOR TO BE VERY GOD AND VERY MAN.

“We acknowledge and confess, that this most wondrous conjunction betwixt the Godhead and manhood in Christ Jesus, did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence also our salvation springeth and dependeth.

VIII. ELECTION.

“For that same eternal God, and Father, who, of mere mercy, elected us in Christ Jesus his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor, and great Bishop of our souls. But, because that the enmity betwixt the justice of God and our sins, was such, that no flesh by itself, could, or might have attained unto God, it behoved that the Son of God should descend unto us, and take himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, and so became the perfect Media-

tor betwixt God and man; giving power to so many as believe in him, to be the sons of God, as he himself doth witness: 'I pass up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God;' by which, most holy fraternity, whatsoever we have lost in Adam, is restored to us again. And for this cause are we not afraid to call God our Father, not so much in that he has created us—which we have common with the reprobate—as for that he has given to us his only Son to be our brother, and given unto us grace to embrace him for our only Mediator, as before is said. It behoved, farther, the Messias and Redeemer to be very God and very man, because he was to lie under the punishment due for our transgressions, and to present himself in the presence of his Father's judgment, as in our person, to suffer for our transgression and inobedience, by death to overcome him that was author of death. But, because the only Godhead could not suffer death, neither [yet, *stat. b.*] could the only manhood overcome the same; he joined both together in one person, that the imbecility of the one should suffer and be subject to death, which we had deserved, and the infinite and invincible power of the other, to wit, of the Godhead, should triumph, and purchase unto us life, liberty, and perpetual victory. And so we confess, and most undoubtedly believe.

IX. CHRIST'S DEATH, PASSION, BURIAL, &c.

"That our Lord Jesus Christ offered himself a voluntary sacrifice unto his Father for us; that he suffered contradiction of sinners; that he was wounded and plagued for our transgressions; that he being the clean and innocent Lamb of God, was damned in the presence of an earthly judge, that we might be absolved before the tribunal seat of our God: that he suffered not only the cruel death of the cross—which was accursed by the sentence of God—but also, that he suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, which sinners had deserved. But yet we avow, that he remained the only well-beloved and blessed Son of his Father, even in the midst of his anguish and torment, which he suffered in

body and soul, to make the full satisfaction for the sins of his people. 'After the which, we confess and avow, that there remains no other sacrifice for sins; which if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow, that they are blasphemers against Christ's death, and the everlasting purgation and satisfaction purchased unto us by the same.

X. RESURRECTION.

"We undoubtedly believe, that inso-much as it was impossible that the dolours of death should retain in bondage the Author of Life, that our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, died, and buried, who descended into hell, did rise again for our justification, and destroying him who was author of death, brought life again to us that were subject to death, and to the bondage of the same. We know that his resurrection was confirmed by the testimony of his very enemies: by the resurrection of the dead, whose sepulchres did open, and they did arise and appeared to many within the city of Jerusalem. It was also confirmed by the testimony of angels, and by the senses and judgments of his apostles and others, who had conversation, and did eat and drink with him after his resurrection.

XI. ASCENSION.

"We nothing doubt, but that the self same body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, dead, and buried, and which did rise again, did ascend into the heaven for the accomplishment of all things: where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath resumed all power in heaven and earth; where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, inaugurate in his kingdom, advocate and only mediator for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongst the brethren shall possess, till that all his enemies be made his footstool, as that we undoubtedly believe they shall be in the final judgment, to the execution whereof, we certainly believe, that the same, our Lord Jesus, shall visibly and apparently return as that he was seen ascend. And then we firmly believe, that the time of refreshing and restitution of all things shall come, insomuch that those that from

the beginning have suffered violence, injury, and wrong, for righteousness' sake, shall inherit that blessed immortality promised from the beginning; but contrarywise, the stubborn, cruel, inobedient oppressors, filthy persons, adulterers, and all sorts of unfaithful men, shall be cast into the dungeon of utter darkness, where their worm shall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguished; the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgment to be executed in the same, is not only to us a bridle whereby our carnal lusts are restrained, but also such inestimable comfort, that neither may the threatening of worldly princes, neither yet the fear of temporal death and present danger move us to renounce and forsake that blessed society, which we the members have with our head and only mediator Christ Jesus, whom we confess and avow to be the Messias promised, the only head of the church, our just lawgiver, our only high priest, advocate, and mediator. In which honours and offices, if a man or angel presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them, as blasphemous to our sovereign and supreme governor Christ Jesus."

XII. FAITH IN THE HOLY GHOST.

"This our faith, and the assurance of the same, proceeds not from flesh and blood, that is to say, from no natural powers within us, but is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, whom we confess God equal with the Father and with the Son; who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all verity, by his own operation, without whom we should remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Son Christ Jesus. For of nature we are so dead, so perverse and blind, that neither can we feel when we are pricked, see the light when it shines, nor assent to the will of God when it is revealed, only [unless, *s. b.*] the spirit of the Lord Jesus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darkness from our minds, and boweth our stubborn hearts to the obedience of his blessed will: and so as we confess that God the Father created us when we were not; as his Son, our Lord Jesus redeemed us when we were enemies

to him: so also we confess that the Holy Ghost does sanctify and regenerate us, without all respect to any merit proceeding from us, be it before or be it after our regeneration. To speak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly spoil ourselves of all honour and glory of our own creation and redemption; so do we also of our regeneration and sanctification: for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one good thought; but he who has begun the good work in us, is only he that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glory of his undeserved grace.

XIII. THE CAUSE OF GOOD WORKS.

"So that the cause of good works, we confess to be, not our free will, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, brings forth such good works as God hath prepared for us to walk in: for this we most boldly affirm, that blasphemy it is to say, that Christ Jesus abides in the heart of such as in whom there is no spirit of sanctification. And therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppressors, cruel persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthy persons, idolators, drunkards, thieves, and all workers of iniquity, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the spirit of sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jesus, so long as they obstinately continue in their wickedness: for how soon that ever the spirit of the Lord Jesus—which God's elect children receive by true faith—takes possession in the heart of any man, so soon does he regenerate and renew the same man; so that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and begins to love that which before he hated; and from thence comes that continual battle which is betwixt the flesh and the spirit in God's children, while the flesh and natural man—according to their own corruption—lusts for things pleasing and delectable to itself, grudges in adversity, is lifted up in prosperity, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the majesty of God. But the Spirit of God, which giveth witnessing to our spirit, that we are the sons of God, makes us to resist the devil, to ab-

hor filthy pleasures, to groan in God's presence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption; and finally, to triumph over sin, that it reign not in our mortal bodies. This battle has not the carnal man, being destitute of God's Spirit; but do follow and obey sin with greediness, and without repentance, even as the devil and their corrupt lusts do prick them: but the sons of God—as before is said—do fight against sin, do sob and mourn, when they perceive themselves tempted to iniquity; and if they fall, they rise again with earnest and unfeigned repentance. And these things they do not by their own power, but the power of the Lord Jesus—without whom they were able to do nothing—worketh in them all that is good.

XIV. WHAT WORKS ARE REPUTED GOOD BEFORE GOD.

“ We confess and acknowledge, that God has given to man his holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works which displease and offend his godly majesty; but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these works be of two sorts; the one are done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours: and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. To have one God, to worship and honour him, to call upon him in all our troubles, to reverence his holy name, to hear his word, to believe the same, to communicate with his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table. To honour father, mother, princes, rulers, and superior powers, to love them, to support them, yea, to obey their charges—no repugning to the commandment of God—to save the lives of innocents, to repress tyranny, to defend the oppressed, to keep our bodies clean and holy, to live in sobriety and temperance, to deal justly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, to repress all appetite of our neighbour's hurt, are the good works of the second table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as these works that are commanded by himself. The contrary whereof is sin most odious, which always displeases him and provokes him to

anger; as, not to call upon him alone when we have need; not to hear his word with reverence; to contemn and despise it; to have or to worship idols, to maintain and defend idolatry; lightly to esteem the reverend name of God; to profane, abuse, or contemn the sacraments of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist any that God has placed in authority, while they pass not over the bounds of their office, to murder, to consent thereto, to bear hatred, or suffer innocent blood to be shed, if we may gainstand it; and finally, the transgressing any other commandment in the first and second table, we confess and affirm to be sin, by the which God's hot displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankful world. So that good works we affirm to be those only that are done in faith at God's commandment, who in his law has expressed what be the things that please him. And evil works, we affirm, not only those that are expressly done against God's commandment, but those also that, in matters of religion and worshipping of God, have no assurance but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning has ever rejected; as by the prophet Isaiah, and by our master Christ Jesus, we are taught in these words, ‘ In vain do they worship me, teaching the doctrine being precepts of men.’

XV. THE PERFECTION OF THE LAW, AND IMPERFECTION OF MAN.

“ The law of God, we confess and acknowledge most just, most equal, most holy, and most perfect, commanding those things, which being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternal felicity: but our nature is so corrupted, so weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfil the works of the law in perfection; yea, ‘ If we say we have no sin—even after we are regenerated—we deceive ourselves, and the verity of God is not in us.’ And, therefore, it behoved us to apprehend Christ Jesus, with his justice and satisfaction, who is the end and accomplishment of the law, to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of the law

[of God, s. b.] fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points. For God the Father beholding us in the body of his Son Christ Jesus, accepteth our imperfect obedience as it were perfect, and covereth our works, which are defiled with many spots, with the justice of his Son. We do not mean that we are set so at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the law, for that before we have plainly confessed, but this we affirm, that no man in earth—Christ Jesus only excepted—hath given, giveth, or shall give in work that obedience to the law which the law requireth; but when we have done all things, we must fall down and unfeignedly confess, ‘That we are unprofitable servants:’ and therefore, who-soever boast themselves of the merits of their own works, or put their trust in the works of supererogation, they boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idolatry.

XVI. OF THE KIRK.

“As we believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe that from the beginning there has been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be a church, that is to say, a company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace him, by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the only head of the same kirk, which also is the body and spouse of Christ Jesus; which kirk is catholic, that is, universal, because it contains the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion and society with God the Father, and with his Son Christ Jesus, through the sanctification of his Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called communion, not of profane persons, but of saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruition of the most inestimable bene-

fits, to wit, of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and of one baptism, without the which [out of which] kirk, there is neither life, nor eternal felicity: and therefore we utterly abhor that blasphemy of those that affirm, that men that live according to equity and justice, shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed. For as without Christ Jesus there is neither life nor salvation, so shall there none be participant thereof but such as the Father has given unto his Son Christ Jesus, and those in time come to him, avow his doctrine, and believe in him, we comprehend the children with the faithful parents.* This kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth whom he hath chosen, and comprehends as well—as said is—the elect that be departed, commonly called the kirk triumphant, as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Satan, as shall live hereafter.’

XVII. THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

“The elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours; not that they sleep and come to a certain oblivion, as some fantastic heads do affirm, but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, to which we and all God’s elect are subject in this life; and therefore do bear the name of the kirk militant. As contrary always, the reprobate and unfaithful departed, have anguish, torment, and pain, that cannot be expressed: so that neither are the one nor the other in such sleep that they feel not joy or torment, as the parable of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth of Luke, his words to the thief, and these words of the souls crying under the altar, ‘O Lord, thou that art righteous and just, how long shalt thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth,’ doth plainly testify.

* I doubt the propriety of including the children of believers in a definition of the *invisible* church. Those who belong to that spiritual body can never be separated from it, because they cannot be separated from its head. But many children of believing parents make it evident when they grow up, that they are not

vitaly united to Christ, and of course do not belong to the church invisible. It is to the church *visible* in one sense or another, that children are reckoned to belong; and from which they ought to be excluded, when, on coming of age to understand what is meant by confessing Christ, they refuse to do it.—Ed.

XVIII. OF THE NOTES BY THE WHICH THE TRUE KIRK IS DISCERNED FROM THE FALSE, AND WHO SHALL BE JUDGE OF THE DOCTRINE.

“ Because that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his pestilent synagogue with the title of the kirk of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true kirk and members thereof, as Cain did Abel; Ishmael, Isaac; Esau, Jacob; and the whole priesthood of the Jews, Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles after him; it is a thing most requisite, that the true kirk be discerned from the filthy synagogue, by clear and perfect notes, lest we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The notes, signs, and assured tokens whereby the immaculate spouse of Christ Jesus is known from the horrible harlot the kirk malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error; for Cain in age and title was preferred to Abel and Seth. Jerusalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, where also were the priests lineally descended from Aaron, and greater multitude followed the Scribes, Pharisees, and priests, than unfeignedly believed and approved Christ Jesus and his doctrine; and yet, as we suppose, no man of whole [sound, *stat. b.*] judgment will grant that any of the forenamed were the kirk of God. The notes, therefore, of the true kirk of God, we believe, confess, and avow, to be, *first*, the true preaching of the word of God; in the which God hath revealed himself to us, as the writings of the prophets and apostles do declare. *Secondly*, The right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus, which must be annexed to the word and promise of God, to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. *Lastly*, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered, as God’s word prescribed, whereby vice is repressed, and virtue nourished. Wheresoever then these former notes are seen, and of any time continue—be the number never so few above two or three—there, but [without] all doubt, is the true kirk of Christ, who according to his

promise is in the midst of them; not of that universal—of which we have before spoken—but particular, such as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places, in which the ministry was planted by Paul, and were of himself named the kirks of God. And such kirks, we, the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland, professors of Christ Jesus, confess us to have in our cities, towns, and places reformed: for the doctrine taught in our kirks is contained in the written word of God, to wit, in the books of the New and Old Testaments; in those books, we mean, which of ancient have been reputed canonical, in the which we affirm that all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind, is sufficiently expressed. The interpretation whereof, we confess, neither appertaineth unto any private or public person; neither yet to any kirk for any preeminence or prerogative personal or local, which one hath above another, but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which also the scripture was written. When controversy then happeneth for the right understanding of any place or sentence of scripture, or the reformation of any abuse within the kirk of God, we ought not so much to look what men before us have said or done, as unto that which the Holy Ghost uniformly speaketh within the body of the scriptures, and unto that which Christ Jesus himself did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing universally granted, that the Spirit of God, which is the spirit of unity, is in nothing contrarious to himself. If then the interpretation, determination, or sentence of any doctors, kirk, or council, repugn to the plain word of God, written in any other place of scripture, it is a thing most certain that their’s is not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghost, supposing that councils, realms, and nations have approved and received the same. For we dare not receive and admit any interpretation, which directly repugneth to any principal point of our faith, to any other plain text of scripture, or yet to the rule of charity.

XIX. THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE.

“ As we believe and confess the scrip-

tures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfect, so do we affirm and avow the authority of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm, therefore, that such as allege the scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true kirk, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouse and Pastor, but taketh not upon her to be mistress over the same.

XX. OF THE GENERAL COUNCILS, OF THEIR POWER, AUTHORITY, AND CAUSE OF THEIR CONVENTION.

“As we not rashly condemn that which godly men assembled together in general councils, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us: so without just examination dare we not receive whatsoever is obtruded unto men, under the name of general councils; for plain it is, that as they were men, so have some of them manifestly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the council proveth the determination and commandment that it giveth by the plain word of God, so far do we reverence and embrace the same; but if men, under the name of a council, pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to make constitutions repugning to the word of God, then utterly we must refuse the same, as the doctrine of devils, which draweth our souls from the voice of our only God, to follow the doctrines and constitutions of men. The cause then why general councils convened, was neither to make any perpetual law, which God before had not made, neither yet to forge new articles of our belief, neither to give the word of God authority, much less to make that to be his word, or yet the true interpretation of the same, which was not before by his holy will expressed in his word: but the cause of councils—we mean of such as merited the name of councils—was partly for confutation of heresies, and for giving public confession of their faith to the posterities following, which both they did by the authority of God’s written word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they

could not err, by reason of their general assembly; and this we judge to have been the chief cause of general councils. The other was for good policy and order to be constituted and observed in the kirk, in which, as in the house of God, it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order. Not that we think that one policy, and one order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies—such as men have devised—are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition, than that they edify the kirk using the same.

XXI. OF THE SACRAMENTS.

“As the fathers under the law, besides the verity of the sacrifices, had two chief sacraments, to wit, circumcision and the passover, the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed for God’s people: so we acknowledge and confess, that we now, in time of the evangel, have two sacraments only, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used by all those that will be reputed members of his body, to wit, baptism, and the supper, or table of the Lord Jesus, called, ‘The communion of his body and blood.’ And these sacraments—as well of the Old as of the New Testament—were instituted of God, not only to make a visible difference betwixt his people, and those that were without his league; but also to exercise the faith of his children; and by participation of the same sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society, which the elect have with their head, Christ Jesus. And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of those, that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. No, we assuredly believe, that by baptism we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted.* And also,

* Here the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is plainly stated; and the reformers seem to have gone to this extreme to avoid the scandal of

that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into his natural blood—as the papists have perniciously taught, and damnably believed—but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place, which is betwixt his body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortal in the earth, yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood. So that we confess, and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, so do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them, and they in him: yea, that they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, that as the eternal God-head hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus—which of the one condition and nature was mortal and corruptible—life and immortality; so doth Christ Jesus' flesh and blood eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives; which albeit we confess, are neither given unto us at that only time, neither yet by the proper power and virtue of the sacraments only; yet we af-

firm, that the faithful in the right use of the Lord's table hath such conjunction with Christ Jesus, as the natural man cannot comprehend: yea, and farther we affirm, that albeit the faithful oppressed by negligence, and manly [human] infirmity, doth not profit so much as they would at the very instant action of the supper, yet shall it after bring forth fruit, as lively seed sown in good ground; for the Holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithful of the fruit of that mystical action. But all this we say cometh by true faith, which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who only maketh his sacraments effectual unto us; and, therefore, whosoever slandereth us, as that we affirmed or believed sacraments to be only naked and bare signs, do injury unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we must confess, that we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in his natural substance, and betwixt the elements in the sacramental signs; so that we will neither worship the signs, in place of that which is signified by them, neither yet do we despise and interpret them as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining ourselves diligently before that so we do, because we are assured by the mouth of the apostle, 'That such as eat of that bread, and drink of that cup unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus.'

XXII. OF THE RIGHT ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

“That sacraments be rightly ministered, we judge two things requisite: the one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers,

holding the sacraments to be naked and bare signs. They had long been held in such superstitious and idolatrous veneration, that the reformers could not shake themselves loose from the prevailing sentiment, which must have been early and deeply impressed on their minds, and therefore they could not look on these ordinances in their scriptural simplicity: for what are they but signs, after all that has been said about them? They derive all their value from that which is signified by them; and the more naked and bare of every thing else the better, provided they be observed simply as Christ commanded. This

article is improved in the Westminster catechism. It does not say, that by baptism we are *ingrafted* into Christ, as it is here; but baptism doth *signify and seal* our ingrafting into Christ. The account of the Lord's Supper, which follows in the same article, is extremely perplexed and wordy, which shows that the writer was labouring to express something that he did not distinctly understand. On the doctrinal articles at the beginning of the Confession, he is clear and concise, because he had a distinct apprehension of what he was writing about.—*Ed.*

whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the word, or into whose mouths God hath put some sermon of exhortation, they being men lawfully chosen thereto by some kirk. The other, that they be ministered in such elements, and in such sort as God hath appointed; else we affirm, that they cease to be right sacraments of Christ Jesus. And, therefore, it is, that we fly the society with the papistical kirk, in participation of their sacraments; *first*, because their ministers are no ministers of Jesus Christ, yea, which is more horrible, they suffer women, whom the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize. And, *secondly*, because they have so adulterated, both the one sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's action abideth in the original purity, for oil, salt, spittle, and such like in baptism, are but men's inventions; adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes, are profanation of Christ's sacraments, and no use of the same. For Christ Jesus said, 'Take and eat, &c. Do ye this in remembrance of me.' By which words and charge he sanctified bread and wine to be the sacrament of his body and blood; to the end, that one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other, and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blind papists have done heretofore, who also have committed sacrilege, stealing from the people one part of the sacrament, to wit, the blessed cup. Moreover, that the sacraments be rightly used, it is required, that the end and cause why the sacraments were instituted, be understood and observed, as well of the minister as the receivers. For if the opinion be changed in the receiver, the right use ceaseth; which is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices—as also if the teacher teach false doctrine—which were odious and abominable unto God, albeit they were his own ordinances, because that wicked men used them to another end than God hath ordained. The same affirm we of the sacraments in the papistical kirk, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jesus to be

adulterated, as well in the external form, as in the end and opinion. What Christ Jesus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three evangelists, who speak of the sacrament, and by St Paul. What the priest doth at his altar, we need not to rehearse. The end and cause of Christ's institution, and why the selfsame should be used, is expressed in these words, 'Do ye this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth—that is, extol, preach and magnify—the Lord's death till he come.' But to what end, and in what opinion the priests say their masses, let the words of the same, their own doctors and writings witness, to wit, that they, as mediators betwixt Christ and his kirk, do offer unto God the Father, a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead. Which doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice, once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce.

XXIII. TO WHOM SACRAMENTS APPERTAIN.

"We confess and acknowledge, that baptism appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithful, as unto those that be of age and discretion: and so we condemn the error of [the, s. c.] Anabaptists, who deny baptism to appertain to children, before that they have faith and understanding: but the supper of the Lord, we confess to appertain only to such as have been of the household of faith, can try and examine themselves, as well in their faith, as in their duty towards their neighbours. Such as eat at that holy table without faith, or being at dissension and division with their brethren, do eat unworthily: and therefore it is, that in our kirks our ministers take public and particular examination of the knowledge and conversation of such as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus.

XXIV. OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

"We confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, to be distinct and ordained by God, the powers

and authorities in the same—be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magistrates in free cities—to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. So that whosoever goes about to take away, or to confound the holy state of civil policies, now long established, we affirm the same men not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly to fight against God's expressed will. We farther confess and acknowledge, that such persons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured, feared, and held in most reverend estimation; because they are the lieutenants of God, in whose session God himself doth sit and judge, yea, even the judges and princes themselves, to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open malefactors. To kings, moreover princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertains; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever, as in David, Jehoshaphat, Ezekiel, Joshua, and others highly commended for their zeal in the cause may be espied.* And therefore we confess and avow, that such as resist the supreme powers—doing that thing which appertains to his charge—do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And farther, we affirm, that whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel,

and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travail in the executing of their office, that the same men deny their help, support, and counsel to God, who by the presence of his lieutenant craveth it of them."

XXV. THE GIFTS FREELY GIVEN TO THE KIRK.

"Albeit that the word of God truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, and discipline executed according to the word of God, be the certain and infallible signs of the true kirk; yet do we not so mean, that every particular person joined with such a company, be an elect member of Christ Jesus; for we acknowledge and confess, that darnel, cockle, and chaff, may be sown, grow, and in great abundance lie in the midst of the wheat; that is, the reprobate may be joined in the society of the elect, and may externally use with them the benefits of the word and sacraments; but such being but temporal professors in mouth but not in heart, do fall back and continue not to the end: and therefore have they no fruit of Christ's death, resurrection, nor ascension. But such as with heart unfeignedly believe, and with mouth boldly confess the Lord Jesus—as before we have said—shall most assuredly receive these gifts; *first*, In this life, remission of sins, and that by faith only in Christ's blood, insomuch, that albeit sin remain and continually abide in these our mortal bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christ's justice. *Secondly*, In the general judgment, there shall be given to every man and woman resurrection of the flesh. For

* The principle here maintained, was the fruitful source of much evil to the church. If such be the duty of kings in virtue of their office, we must have persons divinely inspired to fill it, or persons to whom inspired prophets are sent for their direction, as the kings here mentioned had; otherwise they will commit great mistakes in attempting to reform or set forward the true religion. The true religion must be that which they believe to be so. The belief of error does not make it truth, but kings, like other men, must act upon their own convictions, not upon the convictions of their subjects, though the latter may hold the truth, and the former may be in error. It would be a

monstrous hardship upon a good king to be obliged to set forward and establish what he conscientiously believed to be error or heresy. I know well it is pleaded, that the duty of such is to establish religion, not according to what they or their subjects think, but according to the word of God; but it just comes round to the same thing, for it must be according to some one's understanding of the word of God: and if the king be responsible to his Maker, as all men are, he must come to a conscientious understanding of the word for himself. That is enough for any man, and it is just as competent to the peasant as to the prince.—*Ed.*

the sea shall give her dead, the earth those that therein be inclosed; yea, the Eternal, our God, shall stretch out his hand upon the dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substance of the same flesh that every man now bears, to receive, according to their works, glory or punishment; for such as now delight in vanity, cruelty, filthiness, superstition, or idolatry, shall be adjudged to the fire inextinguishable, in the which they shall be tormented for ever, as well in their own bodies, as in their souls, which now they give to serve the devil in all abomination. But such as continue in well doing to the end, boldly professing the Lord Jesus, to whose glorified body all his elect shall be like, when he shall appear again to judgment, and shall render up the kingdom to God his Father, who then shall be, and ever shall remain, all in all things, God blessed for ever. To whom, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and ever. *Amen.*"

"Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godly name; give thy servants strength to speak thy word in boldness, and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge."

These acts and articles were read in face of parliament, and ratified by the three estates of this realm, at Edinburgh, the 17th day of July, the year of God 1560 years.

This our confession was publicly read, first in audience of the lords of the articles, and after in audience of the whole parliament, where were present, not only such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the forenamed bishops, and some others of the temporal estate, who were commanded in God's name to object, if they could, any thing against that doctrine.

Some of our ministers were present, standing upon their feet, ready to have answered, in case any would have defended the papistry, and impugned our affirmatives: but while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed to voting on that and other heads. Our confession was read, every article by itself over again, as they were written in order, and the votes of every man were required accordingly. Of the temporal estate only voted in the contrary, the earl of Athol, the lords Sommerville and Borthwick; and yet for their dissenting they produced no better reason, but, "We will believe as our forefathers believed."* The bishops—papistical we mean—spake nothing. The rest of the whole three estates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine; and many, the rather because that the bishops would nor durst say nothing in the contrary; for this was the vote of the earl of Marshal, "It is long since I have had some favour unto the truth, and since I had a suspicion of the papistical religion; but, I praise God, this day has fully resolved me in the one and in the other. For seeing that my lords bishops, who for their learning can, and for that zeal they should bear to the verity, would, as I suppose, gainsay any thing that directly repugns to the verity of God; seeing, I say, my lords bishops here present speak nothing in the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. And therefore, in so far as in me lieth, I approve the one and damn the other; and do farther ask of God, that not only I, but also all my posterity, may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more, I must vote, as it were, by way of protestation, that if any persons ecclesiastical shall after this oppone themselves to this our confession, that they have no place

* These three noblemen were more candid than the bulk of the majority in parliament. They inherited their christianity, as they did their titles, from their ancestors; and they saw no reason why they should make a change in the one more than in the other. A great many more felt in the same way, as appeared by

subsequent conduct, but they had not the honesty to confess it. They consented that a system of sound divinity should become the law of the land; but it must have been understood by comparatively few of them, and cordially embraced by perhaps fewer still.—*Ed.*

nor credit, considering that they having long advisement, and full knowledge of this our confession, none is now found in lawful, free, and quiet parliament to oppone themselves to that which we profess: and therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I protest he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity and the glory of the world, than the truth of God and the salvation of men's souls."

After the voting and ratification of this our confession, by the whole body of the parliament, there were also pronounced two acts, the one against the mass and the abuse of the sacraments, and the other against the supremacy of the pope. The tenor whereof follows:

THE ACT AGAINST THE MASS.

"In the parliament held at Edinburgh, the tenth day of July, the year of God 1560 years, the said parliament being continued to the first of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days, upon the 24th day of the said month of August, the three estates then being present: the which day, forsomuch as Almighty God, by his most true and blessed word, has declared the reverence and honour that should be given to him, and, by his Son Jesus Christ, has declared the true use of the sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his will and word; by the which it is notorious and perfectly known, that the sacraments of baptism and of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, have been in all times bygone corrupted by the papistical kirk, and by their ministers; and presently, notwithstanding the reformation already made according to God's word, yet nottheless there are some of the same pope's kirk, that stubbornly persevere in their wicked idolatry, saying mass and baptizing according to the papist kirk, profaning therethrough the sacraments foresaid, in quiet and in secret places, regarding therethrough neither God nor his word.

"Therefore it is statute and ordained in this present parliament, that no manner of person or persons, at any time coming, administer any of the sacraments secretly, or any other manner of way, but they that

are admitted and have power to that effect; nor say mass, nor yet hear mass, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrates within whose jurisdiction such persons happen to be apprehended, for the first fault; banishing of the realm, for the second fault; and justifying to the death, for the third fault. And ordains all sheriffs, stewarts, bailies, and their deputes, provosts and bailies of burghs, and other judges whatsomever within this realm, to take diligent suit and inquisition within their bounds, where any such usurped ministry is used; mass saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying and approving the same, and to take and apprehend them, to the effect that the pains above written may be executed upon them."

Extractum de libro parlamenti, per me Jacobum Mackill de Rankellour Nether, clericum rotulorum.

Sic subscribitur,

"JACOBUS M'GILL."

THE ACT FOR ABOLISHING THE JURISDICTION OF THE POPE.

"In the parliament held at Edinburgh, the tenth day of July, the year of God 1560 years, and thereafter continued to the first day of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days, upon the twenty-fourth day of the said month of August, the three estates then being present, understanding that the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, used in this realm in times bypast, has been very hurtsome and prejudicial to our sovereign's authority, and commonweal of this realm: therefore has statute and ordained, that the bishop of Rome have no jurisdiction nor authority in this realm in times coming, and that none of our said sovereign's subjects suit or desire, in any time thereafter, title or right, by the said bishop of Rome or his sect, to any thing within this realm, under the pains of baratry, that is to say, proscription, banishment; and never to bruik honour, office, nor dignity, within this realm: and the contraveners hereof, to be called before the justice or

his deputies, or before the lords of the session, and punished therefore conform to the laws of this realm. And the furnishers of them with finance of money, and purchasers of their titles of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, shall incur the same pains. And that no bishop, nor other prelate of this realm, use any jurisdiction in times coming, by the said bishop of Rome's authority, under the pains foresaid."

Extractum de libro parlamenti, per me, &c.

Et subscribitur, ut supra.

These and other things orderly done, in lawful and free parliament, we directed to France, to our sovereigns, Sir James Sandilands, lord of St John, with the acts of the said parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promise of their highness' commissioners to us, as by the contract of peace most evidently may appear. But how the said lord of St John was entreated we list not to rehearse; but always [however] no ratification brought he unto us: but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did was rather to show our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion, which from God has full power, and needeth not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man has need to believe it, if that ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting.* But somewhat must we answer to such as since have whispered, that it was but a pretended parliament and privy convention, and no lawful parliament. Their reasons are, the king and queen were in France, there was neither sceptre, sword, nor crown borne, &c. and some principal lords were absent.

We answer, that we rather wish the papists to be quiet, than too curiously to travail unto that head; for it may be, that while they think to hurt us, they take [give] the queen and her authority a great blow, and yet amend themselves nothing. For in whose default, we pray you, was the

queen absent from this realm? We think they will not be so shameless as that they will blame the protestants thereof. Her person was absent, and that to no small grief of our hearts; but were not the estates of the realm assembled in her name? Yea, had they not her full power and commission, yea, the commission and commandment of her head the king of France, to convocate that parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawful parliament, even as if our sovereigns had been there in proper persons. If they will limitate the power of the princes to the places only where their bodily presence is, it will be thought strange; for so shall kings not only be compelled to content them with one realm, but also with one city; for the bodily presence of kings can no more be in divers cities at one instant, than that they can be in divers realms. Hitherto we have understood, that wheresoever the councilors of the king, with his power and commission, are assembled to do any thing at his commandment, that there is the king's sufficient presence and authority, wheresoever his own body be living at freedom and liberty; which, if the papists do deny, we will find fault with them, and with the princes that they have abused, which more will annoy them than any thing that we can lose by the insufficiency of that parliament; which notwithstanding we are bold to affirm, to have been more lawful and more free than any parliament they are able to produce this hundred years before it, or yet any that has ensued since it was; for in it the votes of men were free, and given of conscience; in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the prince. All things in it concluded are able to abide the trial, and not be consumed at the proof of the fire; of others the godly may justly call in doubt things determined.

To the sword and sceptre, nor yet the absence of some lords, we answer nothing: for our adversaries knew well enough, that the one is rather a pomp and glorious vain ceremony, than a substantial point of necessity, required to a lawful parliament; and the absence of some prejudices not the powers of them that are present, providing

* The excellent sentiment here expressed, had it been followed up, would have kept the reformers from many mistakes.—*Ed.*

that due advertisement be made unto them. But now we return to our history.

The parliament dissolved, consultation was had, how the kirk might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the papists was altogether defaced. Commission and charge was given to Mr John Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, Mr John Spotiswood, Mr John Douglas, rector of St Andrews, Mr John Row, and John Knox,* to draw in a volume the policy and discipline of the kirk, as well as they had done the doctrine, which they did, and presented it to the nobility, who did peruse it many days. Some approved, and willed the same to have been set forth as a law; others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the book of discipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt affections, was termed in their mockage, "Devout imaginations." The cause we have before declared; some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the kirk, and others thought they would not lack their part of Christ's coat; yea, and that before that ever he was hanged, as by the preachers they were often rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the book of discipline, was the lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besides that he has a very Jezebel to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the kirk had their own, his kitchen would want two parts and more, of that which he now unjustly possesses.† Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could, of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves,

and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty of such things, as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that, which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers then were they that had the greatest rents of the kirks. But in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true; "Nothing can suffice a wretch;" and again, "The belly has no ears." Yet the same book of discipline was subscribed by a great part of the nobility, to wit, the duke's grace, the earl of Arran, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, Menteith, Morton, Rothes, lord James, now earl of Murray, lord Yester, Boyd, Ochiltree, master of Maxwell, thereafter lord Harris, lord Lindsay elder, and the master, now lord [Lindsay]; barons Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garliss, Barganie, Mr Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, Alexander Campbell, dean of Murray, with a great number more, subscribed and approved the said book of discipline, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of January, 1560 years, by their approbation, in these words:

"We which have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, and as is above mentioned, from the beginning of this book, think the same good, and conform to God's word in all points, conform to the notes and additions thereto eiked [added]; and promised to set the same forward, at the uttermost of our powers, providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, which else have joined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sus-

* Knox is associated with men of less note than himself, but here, as elsewhere, he writes his own name last; and while he gives them all their title of Mr, he is plain John Knox. This of itself is an evidence of his being the author, if any additional evidence were required. It is what, indeed, any man might give to a book which he wished to pass under another name than his own; but in the present case, no man could have a motive for doing such a thing.—*Ed.*

† This was the thing that attached many of the nobles to the cause of the Reformation. There were godly men among them; but a

warm kitchen had more charms for most of them than either the covenant or the confession of faith. But I wonder it never occurred to Knox, that the church property was accursed, having been devoted to the support of idolatry. It had been better that the nobles had got it all, than that the reformed church should have been polluted by it. Besides, it had been given to the church of Rome, by kings, queens, and others, as the price of procuring peace to their souls, by deliverance from purgatory. This was work which the reformed church never professed to perform, and therefore they had no right to the reward.—*Ed.*

taining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of the word, and ministrating of the sacraments."

What by the contents of the whole book, and how that this promise was illuded from time to time, we will after hear.

Short after the said parliament, were sent from the council ambassadors to England, the earls of Morton and Glencairn, together with William Maitland of Lethington, younger. The chief point of their commission was earnestly to crave the constant assistance of the queen's majesty of England, against all foreign invasion, and to propone the earl of Arran—who then was in no small estimation with us—to the queen of England in marriage.

That same time was the castle of Sempil besieged and taken, because the lord thereof disobeyed the laws and ordinances of the council in many things, and especially in that, that he would maintain the idolatry of the mass, and also that he beset the way to the earl of Arran, with a great gathering, as he was riding with his accustomed company. The papists were proud, for they looked for a new army from France at the next spring, and thereof was there no small appearance, if God had not otherwise provided; for France utterly refused the confirmation of the peace contracted at Leith, and would ratify no part of our parliament, and dismissing the lord St John, without any resolute answer, began to gather new bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparations for ships. They farther sent before them certain practisers—amongst whom the lord Seyton, who had departed with the French out of Leith was one—to raise up new troubles within this realm. And all this came partly of the malice of the house of Guise, who had avowed to revenge the displeasure of their sister both upon England and Scotland, and partly by the instigation of proud Beaton, falsely called bishop of Glasgow, of Durie, abbot of Dunfermline, Saul Seyton, and Mr John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, with such others of the French faction, who had openly spoken that they had refused all portion of Scotland, unless that it were

under the government of a Frenchman. "Recompense them, O Lord, as thou knowest most expedient for thy own glory, and for the perpetual shame of all traitors to their commonwealth."

The certain knowledge of all these things came to our ears, whereat many were afraid; for divers suspected that England would not be so forward in times to come, considering that their former expenses were so great. The principal comfort remained with the preachers; for they assured us in God's name, that God should perform in all perfection that work in our hands, the beginning whereof he had so mightily maintained, because it was not ours, but his own; and, therefore, exhorted us, that we should constantly proceed to reform all abuses, and to plant the ministry of the kirk, as by God's word we might justify it, and then commit the success of all to our God, in whose power the disposition of kingdoms stands. And so we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give ear to the admonitions of God's servants. And while that we had scarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to show some signs of our obedience to his messengers and holy word, lo, the potent hand of our God from above sent unto us a wonderful and most joyful deliverance: for unhappy Francis, husband to our sovereign, suddenly perished of a rotten ear. But because the death of that child was not only the cause of joy to us in Scotland, but also by it were the faithful in France delivered, as it were, from the present death; we think expedient to entreat the same somewhat more largely.

These cruel and conjured enemies of God and of all godliness, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and their faction, who then at their own appetites played the tyrants in France, had determined the destruction of all that professed the true knowledge of Jesus Christ within that realm. What tyranny lately before they had used at Amboys, the history of France doth witness. Now, in Orleans, in the month of November, convened the king, unhappy Francis, the queen our sovereign and the queen mother, the duke of Guise, with all his faction, the king of Navarre,

and the prince, his brother, so that great was the confluence of the nobility, but greater was the assembly of the murderers—for there was not a hangman in all France who was not there. The prisons were full of the true servants of God: the king of Navarre, and the prince his brother, were constituted prisoners. The sheriff of Orleans, a man fearing God, was taken, and so were many others of the town. Briefly, there were none that professed God or godliness within that town, that looked not for the extremity; for the walls and gates were night and day kept with the garrisons of the Guisans, miserable men were daily brought in to suffer judgment, but none was suffered to depart forth, but at the devotion of the tyrants.

And so they proceeded till the tenth or twelfth of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody counsel in execution, and for that purpose conclusion was taken, that the king should depart from the town, and lie at a certain place; which was done to this intent, that there should be no suit made to the king for safety of any man's life, whom they thought worthy of death. And so was the king's house in Orleans broken up, his beds, coffers, and tapestry sent away, his own boots put on, and he sitting at the mass, immediately thereafter to have departed, and so their tyranny to have begun. When all things, we say, were in this readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, who ever watches for the preservation of his own, began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution; for as the said king sat at mass, he was suddenly struck with an apostume, in that deaf ear that never would hear the truth of God, and so was he carried to a void house, laid upon a pallet of a bed, until such time as a canopy was set up unto him, where he lay till the 15th day of December, 1560 years, when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke; and so was the snare broken, the tyrants disappointed of their cruelty; they that were appointed to death, were raised, as it were, out of their graves; and we, who by our foolishness had made ourselves slaves

to strangers, were restored again to freedom and liberty of a free realm.

“O that we had hearts deeply to consider what are thy wondrous works, O Lord, that we might praise thee in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memorial of the same to our posterity, which, alas, we fear, shall forget these thy inestimable benefits.” The godly in France, upon this sudden death, set forth these in verses, an admonition to kings.”

AD HUIUS TEMPORIS MONARCHAS PROTREPICON CARMEN.

Consilii Christum oppugnans, et fraudibus ingens,
Regum ille terror Carolus:
Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus, et excors,
Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus uteris
Sitis piorum sanguinem:
Ipsæ tuo vecors, inopina, cæde peremptus
Terra imbuisti sanguine.
Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris
Franciscus infelix puer,
Clamantem Christum surda dum negligit aure
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Versuti, fatui, surdi, hæc spectacula, reges,
Vos sapere vel mori iubent.

The meaning whereof is that follows:

King Charles, that tyrant terrible,
Withstanding Christ with wit and craft,
As mocking stock most miserable,
Ended at once raging and daft.
Then Henry through evil company,
Thirsting the blood of godly men,
With his own blood shed suddenly
Was made to wait the end ye ken.
Lest Francis that unhappy child,
His father's footsteps following plain,
To Christ crying, deaf ears did yield,
A rotten ear then was his bane.
O crafty, deaf, and foolish kings,
These fearful judgments gone before you,
Biddeth you be wiser in your reigns;
Or shameful death will soon devour you.

The death of this king made great alteration in France, England, and Scotland. France was erected in some esperance, that the tyranny of the Guisans should no longer reign above them, because that God at unawares had broken the staff whereupon they leaned; but, alas, they were deceived: for the simplicity of some was so abused, that against the laws of the realm, to the queen mother was committed the regimen, which lifted up as well the duke of Guise, as the cruel cardinal for a season.

The queen of England, and the council,

remitted our ambassadors with answer, "That she would not marry hastily, and, therefore, willed the council of Scotland, and the earl of Arran foresaid, not to depend upon any hope thereof." What motives she had, we omit.

The pride of the papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that ever had shown themselves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to speak—amongst whom the old sheriff of Ayr was one—that they perceived God to fight for us. The earl of Arran himself did more patiently abide the repulse of the queen of England, because that he was not altogether without hope that the queen of Scotland bore some favour unto him; and so he wrote unto her, and sent for credit a ring, which the said queen our sovereign knew well enough. The letter and ring were both presented to the queen, and of her received. Answer was returned to the said earl, after the which he made no farther pursuit in that matter: and yet notwithstanding, he bare it heavily in heart, and more heavily than many would have wished.

The certainty of the death foresaid was signified unto us both by sea and land. By sea received John Knox—who then had great intelligence both with the kirk, and some of the court of France—letters, that the king was mortally sick, and could not well escape the death. Which letters received that same day at afternoon, he passed to the duke's grace, to his own lodgings at the Kirk of Field, with whom he found the lord James in conference together:—the earl of Arran was in Jedburgh—to whom he opened such news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort; for, said he, the adversary has never yet abused me:—it was the same gentleman that gave us first knowledge of the slaughter of Henry the king of France—and showed unto them the letter, but would not express the man's name. While they were reasoning in divers purposes; and he upon the one part comforting them, and they upon the other comforting him—for he was in no small heaviness, by reason of the late death of his dear bed-fellow Margery Bowes:—while, we say, they three were

familiarly communing together, there came a messenger from the lord Gray forth of Berwick, with letters, assuring him of the death of the king of France. Which divulged and noised abroad, a general convention of the whole nobility was appointed to be held at Edinburgh the fifth day of January following, in the which the book of discipline was perused newly over again, for some pretended ignorance, by reason they had not heard it.

In that assembly was Mr Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of Aberdeen, a man more subtle and crafty than either learned or godly, called, who refused to dispute of his faith, abusing a place of Tertullian to cloak his ignorance. It was answered unto him, that Tertullian should not prejudge the authority of the Holy Ghost, who by the mouth of Peter commands us to give reason of our faith to every one that requires the same of us. It was farther answered, that we neither required him nor yet any man to dispute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's word, and fully expressed within his holy Scriptures, for all that we believed without controversy. But we required of him, as of the rest of the papists, that they would suffer their doctrine, constitutions, and ceremonies, to come to trial; and principally, that the mass, and the opinion thereof, by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the square-rule of God's word, and unto the right institution of Jesus Christ, that they might understand whether that their preachers offended or not, in that, that they affirmed, "The action of the mass to be expressly repugning unto the last supper of the Lord Jesus; the sayer of it to commit horrible blasphemy, in usurping upon him the office of Christ; the hearers to commit damnable idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be derogation, and as it were disannulling of Christ's death." While the said Mr Alexander denied that the priest took upon him Christ's office, to offer for sin, as it was alleged, a mass book was produced, and in the beginning of the canon were these words read, "Suscipe sancta trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator, offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis

meis, pro peccatis totius ecclesiæ vivorum et mortuorum," &c.* "Now," said the reasoner, "if to offer for the sins of the whole kirk, was not the office of Christ Jesus, yea that office that to him only might, and may appertain, let the scripture judge. And if a vile knave, whom ye call the priest, proudly takes the same upon him, let your own book witness." The said Mr Alexander answered, "Christ offered the propitiatory, and that none could do but he; but we offer the remembrance." Whereunto it was answered, "We thank God that ye have denied a sacrifice propitiatory to be in the mass; and yet we offer to prove, that in more than one hundred places of your papistical doctrines, this proposition is affirmed, 'The mass is a sacrifice propitiatory.' But, to the second part, where ye allege that ye offer Christ in remembrance; we ask, first, unto whom ye do offer him? Next, by what authority are ye assured of well-doing? In God the Father there falls no oblivion: and if ye will yet shift and say, that ye offer it not, as if God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Christ's merits unto his kirk; we demand of you, what power and commandment have ye so far to do? We know that our Master, Christ Jesus, commanded his apostles to do that which he did 'in remembrance of him;' but plain it is, that 'Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, take ye, eat ye, this is my body which was broken for you; do this in remembrance of me,' &c. Here we find a commandment, to take, to eat, to take and to drink; but to offer Christ's body either for remembrance or application, we find not: and, therefore, we say, to take upon you an office which is not given unto you, is unjust usurpation, and no lawful power." The said Mr Alexander being more than astonished, would have shifted; but then the lords willed him to answer directly. Whereto he answered, "That he was better seen in philosophy, than in theology." Then was commanded Mr John Leslie—

who then was parson of Une, and now lord abbot of Lindores, and after made bishop of Ross—to answer to the former arguments; and he with gravity began to answer, "If our Master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the canon law: and the greatest reason that ever I could find there, is *nolumus et volumus*; and yet we understand that now he is the only patron of the mass. But it is no marvel, for he understood that he is a priest's gett; and, therefore, we should not wonder, albeit that the old trewane [faithful] verse be true, *patrem sequitur sua proles*." The nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, "We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and the dead, wherefore were all the abbeyes so richly doted [endowed] with our temporal lands?"

Thus much we thought good to insert here, because that some papists are not ashamed now to affirm, that they with their reasons could never be heard, but that all that we did, we did it by mere force; when that the whole realm knows, that we ever required them to speak their judgments freely, not only promising unto them protection and defence, but also that we should subscribe with them, if they by God's scriptures could confute us, and by the same word establish their assertions. "But who can correct the leasings of such as in all things show themselves the sons of the father of all lies. Preserve us, O Lord, from that perverse and malicious generation." *Amen*.

At this same assembly was the lord James appointed to go to France to the queen our sovereign, and a parliament was appointed to begin the 20th of May next following; for at that time was the return of the said lord James looked for. And so was that convention dissolved, without any other thing of importance concluded. The said lord James prepared himself for his journey;—for albeit he past in the public affairs, he sustained the charges and his own expenses; and yet there never passed from this realm in the company of one man so many, and so honest, through England to France—before he departed, he was fore-

* That is, Holy Trinity, accept this offering, which I, unworthy sinner, offer to thee, the living and true God, for my sins, for the sins of the whole church of the quick and the dead.

warned, as well of the danger of France, as of the queen's craft—not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understood the malice of her friends;—he was plainly promised, that if ever he condescended that she should have mass publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cause of God, and expounded the religion even to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have mass publicly, he affirmed that he should never consent: but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her. The danger was shown; and so he departed. The election of the superintendents hereafter follows in this manner:

“The form and order of the election of the superintendents, which may serve also in election of all other ministers.

At Edinburgh, the 9th of March, 1560 years, John Knox being minister.

“First, was made a sermon, in the which these heads were intreated. *First*, The necessity of ministers and superintendents. 2. The crimes and vices that might unble them. 3. The virtues required in them. And, *last*, Whether such as by public consent of the kirk were called to such office, might refuse the same.” The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister, maker thereof, that the lords of secret council had given charge and power to the kirks of Lothian, to choose Mr John Spotswood superintendent; and that sufficient warning was made by public edict to the kirks of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar, as also to earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and others having, or who might claim to have vote in election, to be present that day, at that same hour: and, therefore, inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent. After was called the said Mr John, who answering the minister, demanded, if any man knew any crime or offence to the said Mr John, that might unble him to be called to that office? And this he demanded thrice. *Secondly*, Question was moved to the whole multitude, if there was any other whom they would put in election with the said Mr John. The people were asked, if they would have

the said Mr John superintendent? If they would honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his charge? They answered, “We will; and we do promise unto him such obedience as becometh the sheep to give unto their pastor, so long as he remains faithful in his office.”

The answers of the people, and their consents received, these questions were proposed unto him that was to be elected.—

Ques. “Seeing that ye hear the thirst and desire of this people, do ye not think yourself bound in conscience before God to support them that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?”

Ans. “If any thing were in me able to satisfy their desire, I acknowledge myself bound to obey God calling by them.”

Ques. “Do ye seek to be promoted to this office and charge, for any respect of worldly commodity, riches, or glory?”

Ans. “God knows the contrary.”

Ques. “Believe ye not that the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, is the only true and most absolute foundation of the universal kirk of Christ Jesus, insomuch that in the same scriptures are contained all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind?”

Ans. “I verily believe the same, and do abhor and utterly refuse all doctrine alleged necessary to salvation, that is not expressly contained in the same.”

Ques. “Is not Christ Jesus man of man, according to the flesh, to wit, the Son of David, the Seed of Abraham, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary his mother, the only Head and Mediator of his kirk?”

Ans. “He is, and without him there is neither salvation to man, nor life to angel.”

Ques. “Is not the same Lord Jesus [the, o. c.], only true God, the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, in whom all that shall be saved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?”

Ans. “I confess and acknowledge him in the unity of his Godhead, to be God above all things, blessed for ever.”

Ques. “Shall not they whom God in his eternal council has elected, be called to the knowledge of his Son, our Lord Jesus; and shall not they who of

purpose are elected in this life, be justified; and is not justification and free remission of sins obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not this glory of the sons of God follow in the general resurrection, when the Son of God shall appear in his glorious majesty?" *Ans.* "I acknowledge this to be the doctrine of the apostles, and the most singular comfort of God's children."

Ques. "Will ye not contain yourself in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not study to promote the same, as well by your life as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God shall grant unto you, profess, instruct, and maintain the purity of the doctrine contained in the sacred word of God? And, to the uttermost of your power, will ye not gainstand and convince the gainsayers and teachers of men's inventions?" *Ans.* "That I do promise in the presence of God, and of his congregation here assembled."

Ques. "Know ye not that the excellency of this office, to the which God has called you, requires that your conversation and behaviour be such, as that ye may be irreprehensible; yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?" *Ans.* "I unfeignedly acknowledge, and humbly desire the kirk of God to pray with me, that my life be not scandalous to the glorious evangel of Jesus Christ."

Ques. "Because ye are a man compassed with infirmities, will ye not charitably, and with lowliness of spirit, receive admonition of your brethren: and if ye shall happen to slide, or offend in any point, will ye not be subject to the discipline of the kirk as the rest of your brethren?"—The answer of the superintendent, or minister to be elected: "I acknowledge myself to be a man subject to infirmity, and one that has need of correction and admonition; and therefore I most willingly submit and subject myself to the wholesome discipline of the kirk; yea, to the discipline of the same kirk by the which I am now called to this office and charge; and here in God's presence and yours do promise obedience to all admonitions, secretly or publicly given, unto the which, if I be found inobedient, I confess myself most worthy to be eject-

ed not only from this honour, but also from the society of the faithful, in case of my stubbornness: for the vocation of God to bear charge within his kirk, maketh not men tyrants nor lords, but appointeth them servants, watchmen, and pastors of the flock."

This ended, question must be asked again of the multitude:—*Ques.* "Require ye any farther of this your superintendent?" If no man answer, let the minister proceed. "Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceeds from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the sermon of exhortation with patience, not refusing the wholesome medicine of your souls, although it be bitter and displeasing to the flesh? Will ye not, finally, maintain and comfort him in his ministry, against all such as wickedly would rebel against God and his holy ordinance?" The people answereth: "We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, who has commanded his ministers to be held in reverence as his ambassadors, and as men that carefully watch for the salvation of our souls."

Let the nobility also be urged with this:—"Ye have heard the duty and profession of this your brother, by your consents appointed to this charge; as also the duty and obedience which God requireth of us towards him here in his ministry; but because that neither of both are able to perform any thing without the especial grace of our God in Christ Jesus, who has promised to be with us present, even to the consummation of the world, with unfeigned hearts, let us crave of him his benediction and assistance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his kirk."

THE PRAYER.

"O Lord, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou that art the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, who hast not only so loved thy kirk, that for the redemption and purgation of the same thou hast humbled thyself to the death of the cross, and thereupon hast shed thy most innocent blood, to prepare to thyself a spouse without spot, but also to retain this thy most excellent benefit in memory, hast appointed in thy kirk teachers, pastors, and

apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonish the same. Look upon us mercifully, O Lord, thou that only art king, teacher, and high priest to thy own flock; and send unto this our brother, whom in thy name we have charged with the chief care of thy kirk within the bounds of Lothian, such portion of thy Holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy word to the instruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errors and damnable superstitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wisdom, whereby the enemies of thy truth may be confounded, the wolves expelled and driven from thy fold, thy sheep may be fed in the wholesome pastures of thy most holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge; finally, that the dregs of superstition and idolatry which yet rest within this realm, being purged and removed, we may all not only have occasion to glorify thee our only Lord and Saviour, but also daily to grow in godliness and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destruction of the body of sin, and to the restitution of that image to the which we were once created, and to the which, after our fall and defection, we are renewed by participation of thy Holy Spirit, which by true faith in thee we do profess as the blessed of thy Father, of whom the perpetual increase of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord and King, and only Bishop, we are taught to pray, saying, 'Our Father that art in heaven,' &c.

The prayer ended, the rest of the ministers, if any be, and elders of that kirk present, in sign of their consent, shall take the elected by the hand, and then the chief minister shall give the benediction as follows:

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has commanded his evangel to be preached to the comfort of his elect, and has called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen thee in all virtue, govern and guide thy ministry to the praise of his holy name, to the propagation of Christ's kingdom, to the comfort of his kirk, and finally, to the plain discharge and

assurance of thy own conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory, now and ever. So be it."

THE LAST EXHORTATION TO THE ELECTED.

"Take heed to thyself and unto the flock committed to thy charge; feed the same carefully, not as it were of compulsion, but of very love, which thou bearest to the Lord Jesus: walk in simplicity and pureness of life, as it becometh the true servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus. Usurp not dominion nor tyrannical empire over thy brethren. Be not discouraged in adversity, but lay before thyself the example of prophets, apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, who in their ministry sustained contradiction, contempt, persecution, and death: Fear not to rebuke the world of sin, justice, and judgment. If any thing succeed prosperously in thy vocation, be not puffed up with pride; neither yet flatter thyself as that the good success proceeded from thy virtue, industry, or care: but let ever that sentence of the apostle remain in thy heart, 'What hast thou which thou hast not received? If thou hast received, why gloriest thou?' Comfort the afflicted, support the poor, and exhort others to support them. Be not solicitous for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for increase of his Holy Spirit. And finally, behave thyself in this holy vocation, with such sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy ministry; and so shalt thou shortly obtain the victory, and shall receive the crown promised when the Lord Jesus shall appear in his glory, whose Omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us unto the end. Amen." Then sing the 23d psalm.

"The order of the election of elders and deacons in the privy kirk of Edinburgh, in the beginning, when as yet there was no public face of a kirk, nor open assemblies, but secret and privy conventions in houses, or in the fields.*

"Before that there was any public face of a true religion within this realm it pleased

* This, and the prayer, and two paragraphs which follow, are wanting in the suppressed edition.—Ed.

God of his great mercy to illuminate the hearts of many private persons, so that they did perceive and understand the abuses that were in the papistical church, and thereupon withdrew themselves from participation of their idolatry. And because the Spirit of God will never suffer his own to be idle and void of all religion, men began to exercise themselves in reading of the Scriptures secretly within their own houses; and variety of persons could not be kept in good obedience and honest fame, without overseers, elders, and deacons; and so began that small flock to put themselves in such order as if Christ Jesus had plainly triumphed in the midst of them by the power of his evangel. And they did elect some to occupy the supreme place of exhortation and reading, some to be elders and helpers unto them for the oversight of the flock; and some to be deacons for the collection of alms, to be distributed to the poor of their own body. Of this small beginning is that order which now God of his great mercy has given unto us publicly within this realm. Of the principal of them that were known to be men of good conversation and honest fame in the privy kirk, were chosen elders and deacons to rule with the minister in the public kirk; which burden they patiently sustained a year and more: and then, because they could not—without neglecting of their own private houses—longer wait upon the public charge, they desired that they might be relieved, and that others might be burdened in their room, which was thought a petition reasonable of the whole kirk; and therefore it was granted unto them, that they should nominate and give up in election such personages as they in their consciences thought most apt and able to serve in that charge, providing that they should nominate double more persons than were sufficient to serve in that charge, to the end that the whole congregation might have their free vote in their election. And this order has been ever observed since that time in the kirk of Edinburgh, that is, that the old session before their departure, nominate twenty-four in election for elders, of whom twelve are to be chosen, and thir-

ty-two for deacons, of whom sixteen are to be elected; which persons are publicly proclaimed in the audience of the whole kirk, upon a Sunday before noon, after sermon; with admonition to the kirk, that if any man know any notorious crime or cause that might enable any of these persons to enter in such vocation, that they should notify the same unto the session the next Thursday: or if any know any persons more able for that charge, they should notify the same unto the session, to the end that no man either present or absent—being one of the kirk—should complain that he was spoiled of his liberty in election. The Sunday following before noon, in the end of the sermon, the whole communicants are commanded to be present afternoon, to give their votes as they will answer before God, to such as they esteem most able to bear the charge of the kirk with the ministers. The votes of all being received, the scrolls of all are delivered to any of the ministers, who keeps the same secret from the sight of all men till the next Thursday; and then in the session he produces them, that the votes may be counted, where the maniest votes, without respect of persons, have the first place in the eldership, and so proceeding till the number of twelve be complete; so that if a poor man exceeds the rich man in votes, he precedes him in place, and it is called the first, second, and third elder, even as the votes answer. And this same is observed in the election of deacons.

The Friday after that judgment is taken what persons are elected for elders and deacons to serve for that year, the minister after his sermon, reads the same names publicly, and gives commandment openly, that such persons be present the next Sunday at sermon beforenoon, in the place to be appointed for them, to accept that charge that God by plurality of votes had laid upon them. Who being convened, the minister after sermon reads the names publicly, the absents—if any be—are noted, and those who are present are admonished to consider the dignity of that vocation whereunto God has called them; the duty that they owe to the people; the danger

that lies upon them if they be found negligent in their vocation: and finally, the duty of the people towards the persons elected. Which being done, this prayer is read.

THE PRAYER IN THE ELECTION OF THE
ELDERS.

“O eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of thy infinite goodness and mercy has chosen to thyself a kirk of the lost seed of Adam, which thou hast ever ruled by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; and yet notwithstanding, hast always used the ministry of men, as well in preaching of thy word, and administration of thy sacraments, as in guiding of thy flock, and providing for the poor within the same, as in the law, prophets, and in thy glorious evangel we have witnesses: which order, O Lord, thou of thy mercy has now restored unto us again after that the public face of the kirk has been deformed by the tyranny of that Roman antichrist. Grant unto us, O heavenly Father, hearts thankful for the benefits which we have received, and give unto these our brethren, elected unto these charges within thy kirk, such abundance of thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found vigilant and faithful in that vocation whereunto thou of thy mercy hath called them. And albeit, O Lord, these small beginnings are contemned of the proud world, yet, O Lord, do thou, for thy own mercy’s sake, bless the same, in such sort that thy godly name may be glorified, superstition and idolatry may be rooted out, and virtue may be planted, not only in this generation, but also in the posterity to come. Amen. Grant us this, merciful Father, for Christ Jesus thy Son’s sake, in whose name we call unto thee, as he has taught us, saying, ‘Our Father,’” &c. And so after the rehearsal of the belief, after the which shall be sung this portion of the 103d psalm, ver. 19, “The heavens high are,” and so forth to the end of that psalm. After the which shall this short admonition be given to the elected.

“Magnify God, who has of his mercy called you to rule within his kirk. Be thankful in your vocation. Show your-

selves zealous to promote verity. Fear not the faces of the wicked, but rebuke their wickedness. Be merciful to the poor, and support them to the uttermost of your power; and so shall ye receive the benediction of God, present and everlasting. God save the king’s majesty, and give unto him the spirit of sanctification in his young age: bless his regent, and such as assist him in upright counsel, and either fruitfully convert, or suddenly confound the enemies of true religion, and of this afflicted commonwealth. Amen.”

As the servants of God uprightly travailed to have vice punished, and virtue planted, so did the devil ever stir up some in the contrary of both. There was a law made against fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other should be carted through the towns, and so banished, till their repentance were offered and received. And albeit this was not the severity of God’s law, especially against adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to malefactors, whereat the wicked did wonderfully storm. It chanced that one Sanderson, a flesher, was deprehended to have put away his lawful wife—under colour that he was lawfully parted after the manner of the papistical religion—and had taken to him another in his house. The complaint and slander proponed to the kirk, and trial taken that he was not married with the second woman, neither that he was able to prove that he was divorced by any order of law from the first, he was committed into the hand of the magistrates, who, according to the laws, commanded him to be carted; but the rascal multitude, inflamed by some ungodly craftsmen, made insurrection, broke the cart, boasted [threatened] the officers, and took away the malefactor. This was the beginning of farther evils, as we will after hear.

In this meantime, while lord James, we say, was in France, there came an ambassador from France, suborned, no doubt, with all craft that might trouble the estate of religion. His demands were, *first*, “That the league betwixt us and England should be broken.” *Secondly*, “That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland should be renewed.” And, *thirdly*,

"That the bishops and kirkmen should be reopened in their former places, and be suffered to intromit with their livings." The council delayed answer till the parliament appointed in May. In the meantime the papists of Scotland practised with him. The earls of Huntly, Athol, Bothwell, and others, intended to have taken Edinburgh before the said parliament. The whole bishops assembled, and held council at Stirling. Some whispering there was, that the duke and the bishop of St Andrews were over familiar; and some feared that the authority of the queen should have been usurped, by reason of her absence, and that the duke was second person, for thereat had some of his preassit [essayed] immediately after the death of the king of France. The protestants thereof adver-

tised, prevented them, and came to Edinburgh. The earl of Arran stood constant with his brethren. There were some that painfully and carefully travelled that nothing prejudicial to the queen's authority, should be done in absence of the lord James, to whom the queen has recompensed evil for good service. Mr James M^cGill in that point did both stoutly and truly; for John Knox and he were then fallen in familiarity, in which they yet continue—this 20th of October, 1567—by reason the said Mr James had embraced the religion, and professed it publicly.

The papists and the bishops, disappointed of their principal purpose and enterprise, did yet make broil for trouble: for the rascal multitude were stirred up to make a Robin Hood,* which enormity was of many

* Robin Hood, though an English story, had become very popular in Scotland; and the acting of it was found to have such a seditious tendency, that it was suppressed by statute. Dr Jameson gives the following account of it from Arnot's History of Edinburgh:

"The celebration of games by the populace, in honour of their deities and heroes, is of the greatest antiquity, and formed the principal part of the pagan religion. The Floralia of Rome seems to have been continued with our forefathers, after the introduction of christianity, under the title of May Games. The custom observed at this day in England, of dancing about May Poles, and of carrying through the streets of London pyramids of plate adorned with garlands, undoubtedly originated from the same pagan institution. As the memory of the original heroes of those games had been long lost, it was extremely natural to substitute a recent favourite, in room of an obsolete heathen deity. Robin Hood, a bold popular outlaw of the twelfth century, by his personal courage, his dexterous management of the bow, and by displaying a species of humanity and generosity in supplying the necessities of the poor with the spoils he had robbed from the wealthy, became the darling of the populace. His achievements have been celebrated in innumerable songs and stories. As for the game which has been instituted in his honour, it is not so easy to describe what it was, as how strongly it was the object of popular attachment.

"The game of Robin Hood was celebrated in the month of May. The populace assembled previous to the celebration of this festival, and chose some respectable member of the corporation to officiate in the character of Robin Hood, and another in that of Little John, his squire. Upon the day appointed, which was a Sunday or holiday, the people assembled in military array, and went to some adjacent field, where, either as actors or spectators, the whole inhabitants of the respective towns were convened.

In this field they probably amused themselves with a representation of Robin Hood's predatory exploits, or of his encounters with the officers of justice. A learned prelate preaching before Edward VI. observes, that he once came to a town upon a holiday, and gave information to the evening before of his design to preach. But next day when he came to church, he found the door locked. He tarried half an hour ere the key could be found; and, instead of a willing audience, some one told him, 'This is a busy day with us; we cannot hear you. It is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood. I pray you let [*i. e.* hinder] them not.' 'I was fain, says the bishop, 'to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve; it was fair to give place to Robin Hood's men.'—*Latimer's Sermons*, p. 73. A. D. 1550.

"As numerous meetings for disorderly mirth are apt to engender tumult, when the minds of the people came to be agitated with religious controversy, it was found necessary to repress the game of Robin Hood by public statute. Acts Mar. 1555. c. 61. The populace were by no means willing to relinquish their favourite amusement. Year after year the magistrates of Edinburgh were obliged to exert their authority in repressing this game, often ineffectually. In the year 1561, the mob were so enraged at being disappointed in making a Robin Hood, that they rose in mutiny, seized on the city gates, committed robberies on strangers; and one of the ringleaders being condemned by the magistrates to be hanged, the mob forced open the jail, set at liberty the criminal and all the prisoners, and broke in pieces the gibbet erected at the cross for the execution of the malefactor. They next assaulted the magistrates, who were sitting in the council chamber, and who fled to the tolbooth for shelter, where the mob attacked them, battering the doors, and pouring stones through the windows. Applica-

years left and damned by statute and act of parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would disobey and trouble the town, especially upon the night: whereat the bailies offended, took from them some swords and an ensign, which was occasion that they the same night made a mutiny, kept the ports of the town, and intended to have pursued some men within their own houses; but that, upon restitution of their swords, was stayed. But yet they ceased not to molest, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh as divers countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening some with farther injuries: wherewith the magistrates of the town, highly offended, took more diligent heed to such as resorted to the town, and apprehended one of the principal of that disorder, named Kyllon, a cordiner, whom they put to an assize; and being convicted—for he could not be absolved, for he was the chief man that spoiled John Mowbray of ten crowns of the son—they thought to have executed judgment upon him, and erected a gibbet beneath the cross. But—whether it came by paction with the provost and some other, or by instigation of the craftsmen, who ever have been bent overmuch to maintain such vanity and riotousness, we fully know not—suddenly there did rise a tumult, the tolbooth was broken up, and not only the said Kyllon was violently taken forth, but also all other malefactors were set at freedom, the gibbet was pulled down, and spitefully broken. And thereafter, as the provost, and some of the council assembled to the clerk's chamber for consultation, the whole rascal multitude banded together, with some known and honest craftsmen, and intended inva-

sion of the said chamber; which perceived, the provost, and such as were in his company, passed to the tolbooth, suspecting nothing that they would be so enraged as to make new pursuit, after that they had obtained their intent: but they were suddenly deceived; for from the Castle-hill they came with violence, and with stones, guns, and such other weapons as they had, began to assault the said tolbooth, ran at the door of it, while, partly by stones cast from above, and partly by a pistol shot by Robert Norwall—which hurt one Tweedie—they were repulsed from the door. But yet ceased they not to cast and shoot in at the windows, threatening death to all that were within. And, in very deed, the malice of the craftsmen, who were suspected to be the occasion of that tumult, bore no good will to divers of them that were with the provost.

The arguments that the craftsmen were the cause of that uproar, besides their first disorder that they had used before, in taking Sanderson from the execution of punishment, are two. The former, Archibald Dewar, Patrick Changie, with other six deacons of the crafts, came to John Knox, and willed him to solicit the provost and the town to delay the execution. Who did answer, "That he had so often solicited in their favours, that his own conscience accused him, that they used his labours for no other end, but to be a patron to their impiety; for he had before made intercession for William Harlaw, James Frissell, and others that were convicted of the former tumult." They proudly answered, "That if it was not stayed, both he and the bailies should repent it."

tion was made to the deacons of the corporation to appease the tumult. Remaining, however, unconcerned spectators, they made this answer, 'They will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.' They were kept in confinement till they made proclamation be published, offering indemnity to the rioters on laying down their arms. Still, however, as late as the year 1592, we find the General Assembly complaining of the profanation of the Sabbath by making of Robin Hood plays. Book of the Universal Kirk, p. 414. Hist. Edin. pp. 77—79.

Dr J. adds, "There seems to have been suffi-

cient reason for the exercise of civil authority in the suppression of this game. It is natural enough to suppose, that villains, taking advantage of the gathering for Robin-Hood, (that is, collecting money for the expense of dresses, &c.) would at times carry the matter so far as to imitate this celebrated character in the very mode of gathering. This we find was actually done. Knox accordingly gives the following more particular account of the conduct of the rascal multitude, who were stirred up to make a Robin Hood." Then he gives the passage as in the text.—*Ed.*

Whereunto he answered, "That he would not hurt his conscience for any fear of man;" and so they departed; and the tumult immediately thereafter did arise. The second argument is, the tumult continued from two hours afternoon, till after eight at night. The craftsmen were required to assemble themselves together for deliverance of their provost and bailies, but they passed to their four hours' penny,* and in their jesting, said, "They will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone." And so, contrary the oath that they had made, they denied their assistance, counsel, and comfort to their provost and bailies, which are arguments very probable, that the said tumult rose by their procurement. The end hereof was, that the provost and bailies were compelled to give their hand-writes, that they should never pursue any of them that were at that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf, and this was proclaimed at the Market Cross, after nine hours at night; and so that trouble quieted. But the nobility avowed, that they should not spare it; and so a great number of that faction were absent from the town, till the arrival of the queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the sacraments, until such time as they satisfied the magistrates, and made humble suit unto the kirk.†

Of the death of the queen regent, we have before spoken, but of her burial was nothing heard. And it may appear that such matters are unworthy of remembrance: but if all things shall rightly be

weighed, we shall perceive God's just judgments, how secret that ever they be.

Before, we heard of the barbarous inhumanity that was used at Leith by the French, who exponed the naked carcasses of the slain, as it were in a spectacle, despiting God. We heard, that the queen regent rejoiced at the sight, but her joy was suddenly turned into sorrow, as we have heard. The question was moved of her burial. The preachers boldly gainstood "That any superstitious rites should be used within that realm, which God of his great mercy had begun to purge," and so conclusion was taken, that the burial should be deferred till farther advisement; and so was she lapped [inclosed] in a cope [coffin] of lead, and kept in the castle, from the ninth of June, unto the nineteenth of October, when she by pioneers was carried to a ship, and so carried to France. What pomp was used there, we neither heard, nor yet regard. But in it we see, that she who was delighted that others lay without burial, got neither so soon, as she herself—if she had been of the council in her life—would have required it, neither so honourably in this realm, as sometime she looked for. It may chance be a prognostication that the Guisan blood cannot have long rest within this realm.

The papists, a little before parliament, resorted in divers bands to the town, and began to brag, as though they would have defaced ‡ the protestants: which thing perceived, the brethren assembled together and went in such companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the bishops and their

* Our ancestors dined at 12, or at the latest 1 o'clock, which is still the dinner hour in some parts of the country. The slight refreshment taken between dinner and supper, was called "four hours," from the hour commonly observed. It is now superseded by tea at a later hour, corresponding with the later dinner. The ancient "four hours" consisted of beer, and sometimes stronger liquor. From Knox's words in the text, Jamieson infers, that it had its origin in the tavern. He quotes a passage from a curious poem of the 17th century, which shows that our ancestors, whom we believe to have been very poor, were not ignorant of *good living* in their own way. It describes the means taken by a client to keep his lawyer in good humour while a plea was depending.

Thus Aulus hath for ten years' space extended
The plea; and furthermore, I have expended
Vast sums, to wit, for washing, lodging, diet,—
For morning drinks, *four hours*, half gills at noon,
To fit their stomachs for the fork and spoon;—
For rolls, for *nackets*, roundabouts, sour cakes,
For Chesh're cheese, fresh butter, cookies, bakes,
For panches, saucers, sheepheads, *cheats*, plack pyee.

Within my own recollection, *nacket*, in Ayrshire, was the name for a halfpenny roll.—*Ed.*

† It seems strange that such a "rascal multitude" should have had any thing to do with the communion of the church.—*Ed.*

‡ Perhaps deforced or borne down, or put them out of countenance.

bands forsook the causeway. The brethren understanding what the papists meant, convened in council in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th of May, 1561; and after consultation, concluded, that a supplication should be presented to the lords of secret council, and unto the whole assembly, that then was convened, in the which should these subsequent heads be required, and a law to pass thereupon.

First, "That idolatry, and all monuments thereof, should be suppressed throughout the whole realm; that the sayers, hearers, maintainers, and users of the mass, should be punished according to the act of parliament, as said is.

Secondly, "That special and certain provision be made for the sustentation of the superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers; that superintendents and ministers should be planted where none were; that punishment should be appointed for such as disobeyed or contemned the superintendents in their function.

Thirdly, "That punishment may be appointed for the abusers of the sacraments, and for the contemnners of the same.

Fourthly, "That no letters of session be given to answer or pay to any person their tiends, without special provision, that the parishioners retain so much in their own hands, as is appointed for the ministry; and that all such as are else given be called in, and discharged; and likewise that sheriffs give precepts to that effect.

Fifthly, "That neither the lords of session, nor any other judges, proceed upon such precepts or warnings, passed at the instance of them that of late have obtained feus of vicarages, and parsons' manses, and kirk-yards; and that six acres—if so much there be—of the glebe be always reserved to the minister, according to the appointment of the book of discipline; and that every minister may have letters thereupon.

Sixthly, "That no letters of session, nor any others take place, until the stipends contained in the book of discipline, for sustentation of the ministers, be first consigned in the hands, at the least, of the principal of the parishioners.

Seventhly, "That punishment be appoint-

ed against such as purchase, bring home, or execute within this realm, the pope's bulls."

THE TENOR OF THE SUPPLICATION WAS THIS :

"Please your honours, and the wisdom of such as are presently convened with you in council, to understand, that by many arguments we perceive, what the pestilent generation of that Roman antichrist within this realm pretends, to wit, that they would of new erect their idolatry, take upon them to empire above our conscience; and so to command us, the true subjects of this realm, and such as God of his mercy has—under our sovereign—subjected unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honesty craveth, and conscience moveth us, to make the very secrets of our hearts patent to your honours in that behalf, which is this, "That before that ever these tyrants and dumb dogs empire above us, and above such as God has subjected unto us, that we, the barons and gentlemen professing Christ Jesus within this realm, have fully determined to hazard lives, [life, s. c.] and whatsoever we have received of our God in temporal things." We most humbly therefore beseech your honours, that such order may be taken, that we have no occasion to take again the sword of just defence into our hands, which we have willingly—after that God has given victory, both to your honours and us—resigned over into your hands; to the end, that God's evangel may be publicly, within this realm, preached; the true preachers thereof reasonably sustained, idolatry suppressed, and the committers thereof punished, according to the laws of God and man. In doing whereof, your honours shall find us, not only obedient unto you, in all things lawful, but also ready at all times to bring under order and obedience, such as would rebel against your just authority, which, in absence of our sovereign, we acknowledge to be in your hands, beseeching your honours, with upright judgment and indifferency, to look upon these our few articles, and, by these our brethren, to signify unto us such answer again, as may declare your honours worthy of that place, wherunto God—after some dangers sustained—in his

mercy hath called you. And let these enemies of God assure themselves, that if your honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such, as are no debtors unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the papists be yet once again assured, that their pride and idolatry, we will not suffer.—Direct from the assembly of the kirk, the 18th of May, 1561. And sent by these brethren, the master of Lindsay, the laird of Lochinvar, the laird of Phernihirst, the laird of Whittenham, Thomas Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, and George Lewell, burghess of Dundee.”—Upon the which request and articles, the lords and council foresaid made an act and ordinance, answering to every one of the foresaid articles, and commanded letters to be answered thereupon, which divers of the ministers raised, as in the books of secret council is yet to be found.

And thus got Satan the second fall, after that he had begun to trouble the estate of the religion, once established by law. His first assault was by the rascal multitude, opposing themselves to the punishment of vice: the second was, by the bishops and their bands, in the which he thought utterly to have triumphed; and yet he in the end prospered worse than ye have heard. For in this meantime, returned from France the lord James, who, beside his great expenses, and the loss of a box, wherein was his secret pose [private purse], escaped a desperate danger in Paris: for at his returning from our sovereign—who then lay with the cardinal of Lorraine in Rheims—understood of the papists in Paris, they had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to have beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company, as they walked upon the streets; whereof the said lord James being advertised by the Ringrave, by reason of the old familiarity that was betwixt them in Scotland, he took purpose suddenly and in good order to depart from Paris, as that he did, the second day after that

he arrived there; and yet could not he depart so secretly, but the papists had their privy ambushes. For upon the Change-bridge, they had prepared a procession, which met the said lord and his company in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accustomed reverence unto them and their idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a quarrel; and so as one part passed by, without moving of hats to any thing that was there, they had suborned some to cry, “Hugonots,” and to cast stones; but God disappointed their enterprise: for the said Ringrave, with other gentlemen, being with the lord James, rebuked the foolish multitude, and over-rode some of the foremost; and so the rest were dispersed, and he and his company safely escaped, and thereafter came with expedition to Edinburgh, while that yet the lords and assembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little astonishment of the wicked: for, from the queen our sovereign he brought letters to the lords, praying them to entertain quietness, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the contract of peace which was made at Leith, till her own home-coming, and to suffer the religion publicly established to go forward, &c. Whereupon the said lords gave answer to the French ambassador, a negative to every one of his petitions.

And, *first*, “That France had not deserved at their hands, that either they or their posterity, should enter again with them in any league or confederacy, offensive or defensive, seeing that so traitorously and cruelly, they had persecuted them, their realm and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

Secondly, “That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly scheme, as without offence committed, to break that league, which in God’s name they had made with them, whom he had made instruments to set Scotland at freedom from the tyranny of the French, at least from the Guisans and their faction.

And, *last*, “That such as they called bishops and kirkmen, they knew neither for pastors of the kirk, neither yet for any

just possessors of the patrimony thereof: but did understand them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle-bellies, and therefore, as Scotland had forsaken the pope and papistry, so could they not be debtors to his forsworn vassals."

With these answers departed the said ambassador. And the lords of secret council made an act, that all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed. And for that purpose were directed to the west, the earl of Arran, having joined with him the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, together with the protestants of the west, who burnt Paisley—the bishop of St Andrews, who was abbot thereof, narrowly escaped—cast down Failford, Kilwinning, and a part of Corsraguell. The lord James was appointed to the north, where he made such reformation, as nothing contented the earl of Huntly, and yet seemed he to approve all things. And thus God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon him, that all the world might see his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies; yea, most to confound them, when that they promised to themselves victory without resistance. "O that we could rightly consider the wondrous work of the Lord our God."

In the treaty of peace contracted at Leith, there were contained certain heads that required the ratification of both the queens. The queen of England, according to her promise, subscription, and seal, without any delay performed the same, and sent it to our sovereign, by her appointed officers. But our sovereign—whether because her own crafty nature moved her thereto, or that her uncle's chief counselors so would, we know not—with many dilators frustrated the expectation of the queen of England, as by the copy of a letter sent from the ambassador of England, to his sovereign, we may understand.

AT PARIS, THE 23d OF JUNE, 1561.

"The 18th of this present June, I sent Sommer to the queen of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the same day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your majesty's hearty commendations, and declared unto her your

majesty's like gladness of her recovery of her late sickness, whose want of health, as it was grievous unto your majesty, so did you congratulate and greatly rejoice of the great terms of health she was presently in. After these offices, I put her in remembrance again, what had passed from the beginning, in the matter of your majesty's demand of her ratification, according to the purport of the said treaty, as well by me at the first, as afterwards by my lord of Bedford at his being here, and also followed since by me again in audience, and by my letter to her being in Lorraine: adding hereto your majesty's farther commandment, and recharge to me again, presently to renew the same demand, as before had been done."

ANSWER.

"The said queen made answer, Monsieur l'Ambassador, I thank the queen, my good-sister, for this gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recovery; and though I be not in perfect health, yet I find myself in very good [health, s. c.] in the coming-to. And for answer to your demand," said she, "of my ratification, I do remember all those things that ye have recited unto me; and I would that the queen my good-sister should think that I do respect the resolute answer in this matter, and performing thereof until such time as I may have the advice of the nobles and estates of my own realm, which I trust shall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly. And though this matter," said she, "doth touch me principally, yet doth it also touch the nobles and estates of my realm too; and therefore it shall be meet that I use their advices therein: heretofore they have seemed to be grieved that I should do any thing without them, and now they would be more offended if I should proceed in this matter of myself without their advices. I do intend," said she, "to send Monsieur d'Oysel to the queen your mistress, my good-sister, who shall declare that unto her from me, that I trust shall satisfy her; by whom I will give her to understand of my journey into Scotland. I mean to embark at Calais. The king has lent me certain galleys and ships

to convoy me home, and I intend to require of my good-sister those favours that princes use to do in such cases. And though the terms wherein heretofore we have been, have been somewhat hard, [ever till that she may show her evil will,]* yet I trust that from henceforth we shall accord together as cousins and good neighbours. I mean to retire," said she, "all the Frenchmen forth of Scotland who have given jealousy to the queen my sister, and discontentment to my subjects; so that I will leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties, trusting the queen my good-sister will do the like, and that from henceforth none of my disobedient subjects—if there be any such—shall find aid or support at her hands."

I answered, "That I was not desirous to fall in the discourse how those hard terms first began, nor by what means they were nourished, because therein I must charge some party with injury and peril offered to the queen my mistress, which was the very ground of these matters: but I was well assured that there could be no better occasion offered to put the former unkindness in forgetfulness, than by ratifying the treaties of peace, for that should repay all injuries past; and, Madam," said I, "where it pleaseth you to suspend the ratification until you have the advice of the nobility and states of your realm, the queen my mistress doth nothing doubt of their conformity in this matter, because the treaty was made by their consents."

The queen answered, "Yea, by some of them, but not by all. It will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of, or no; but of this I assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassador," said she, "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good-sister, and will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed."

I answered, "Madam, the queen my mis-

tress, ye may be assured, will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her."

"Then," said she, "I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to subjects. [This we must answer to her, it appertaineth to subjects to worship God as he has commanded, and to suppress idolatry, by whomsoever it be erected or maintained.] You know," said she, "there is much ado in my realm about matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion unto me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear," said she, "my subjects shall take in hand." ["Answer for the part of Scotland, and if so they had done, they had escaped God's indignation, which hath been felt, and still hangeth over this realm, for the idolatry and utter abominations committed in the same, which shall not cease till that it be suppressed.]"†

I answered, "Madam, your realm is in no other case at this day, than all other realms of Christendom are; the proof whereof ye see verified in this realm: and you see what great difficulty it is to give order in this matter, though the king and all his council be very desirous thereunto. Religion is of the greatest force that may be. You have been long out of your realm, so as the contrary religion to yours hath won the upperhand, and the greatest part of your realm. Your mother was a woman of great experience, of deep dissimulation, and kept that realm in quietness, till she began to strain men's consciences; and as you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects, so it may like you to consider, the matter is as intolerable to them to be constrained by you in matters of conscience; for the duty to God cannot be given to any other without offence to

* The inclosed words are in the margin in the suppressed edition.—*Ed.*

† This bracket seems to be a note by Knox on the ambassador's report.—*Ed.*

his Majesty." "Why," said she, "God doth command subjects to be obedient to their princes, and commanded princes to read his law, and govern thereby themselves and the people committed to their charges." Answer, "Yea, Madam," said I, "in those things that be not against his commandments." "Well," said she, "I will be plain with you: the religion that I profess, I take it to be most acceptable to God; and, indeed, neither do I know nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all people well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and specially in matters of religion.—[The Turk is as constant in his Alcoran, as the pope and his sects are in his Constitutions.]*—I have been brought up," said she, "in this religion, and who might credit me in any thing if I should show myself light in this case: and though I be young and not well learned, yet have I heard this matter oft disputed by my uncle my lord cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion."—[Neither did Caiaphas, when Christ Jesus did reason in his presence; but what was the cardinal compelled to confess at Poy-sie ?]†

"Madam," said I, "if you judge well in that matter, you must be conversant in the scriptures, which are the touchstone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure, you are so partially affected to your uncle's argument, that you could not indifferently consider the other party: yet this I assure you, Madam," said I, "your uncle my lord cardinal, in conference with me about these matters, hath confessed, that there be great errors and abuses come into the kirk, and great disorders in the ministers and clergy, insomuch that he wished that there might be a reformation of the one and of the other." "I have oftentimes heard him say the like," said she.—Then I said, "Well, I trust God will inspire you all that be princes, that there may be some good order

taken in this matter, so as there may be one unity in religion throughout all Christendom."

"God grant," said she; "but for my part ye may perceive I am none of those that will change their religion every year; and, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish they were all as I am; and I trust they should have no support to constrain me. I will send Monsieur d'Oysel," said she, "to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing into England. I pray you, so order yourself in this matter, betwixt the queen my good-sister and me, that there may be perfect and assured amity betwixt us; for I know," said she, "that ministers may do much good and harm."

I told her that "I would faithfully and truly make declaration of all that she had said unto me, unto your majesty; and trusted that she would so satisfy your majesty by Monsieur d'Oysel in all things, as I should hereafter have no more occasion to treat with her of any things but of the increase of amity." She said, "There should be no want thereof on her behalf."

"This is the effect of the queen of Scotland's answer to your majesty's demand of her said ratification, and of my said negotiation with her at this time."

These advertisements somewhat exasperated the queen of England, and not altogether without cause; for the arms of England were before usurped by our sovereign, and by her husband Francis, and Elizabeth, queen of England, was of the Guisans reputed little better than a bastard. It was appointed that this title should be renounced; but hereof had our proud and vain queen no pleasure, and especially after that her husband was dead; for, thought she, the to-look [expected junction] of England shall allure many wooers to me. The Guisans and the papists of both the realms did not a little animate her in that pursuit, the effect whereof will sooner appear than the godly of England would desire: and yet is she that now reigneth over them neither good protestant nor yet resolute papist, let the world judge which is the

* Note by the author inclosed [].—*Ed.*
The same.—*Ed.*

third.* Queen Elizabeth, we say, offended with the former answers, wrote unto the nobility and estates of Scotland, in form as followeth :

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S LETTER TO THE
ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

“Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousins, we greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath been always since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God, straight and direct towards the advancement of his honour and truth in religion, and consequently to procure peace and maintain concord betwixt both these realms of England and Scotland ; so also our outward acts have well declared the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours, who have tasted and proved of these our friendship and earnest goodwill, more than we think any of your ancestors have ever received from hence ; yea, more than a good number of yourselves could well hope of us, all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoice of, and so may ye be glad, that where, in the beginning of the troubles in that country, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousy, or rather the malice of divers, both in that realm and in other countries, was such, both to deprive us in yielding ; and you in requiring our aid, that we were noted to have meant the surprise of that realm, by depriving of your sovereign the queen of her crown, and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour the like ; and either to prefer some other to the crown, or else to make of that monarchy a commonwealth ; matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea, the whole course and process of the action on both our parts have manifested, both to the slanderers, and unto all others, that nothing was more meant and prosecuted, than to establish your sovereign the queen, our cousin and sister, in her estate and crown, the possession where-

of was in the hands of strangers. And, although no words could then well satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds do now declare, that no other thing was sought, but the restitution of that realm to the ancient liberty, and, as it were, to redeem it from captivity. Of these our purposes and deeds, there remaineth, among other arguments, good testimony, by a solemn treaty and accord made the last year at Edinburgh, by commissioners sent both from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing, under both our hands, and the great seals of both our realms, in such manner as other princes, our progenitors, have always used. By which treaty and accord, either of us have fully accorded with either, to keep good peace and amity betwixt ourselves, our countries, and subjects. And in the same also a good accord is made, not only of certain quarrels happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the ministers of the late French king, your sovereign's husband, and you the estates of the realm, for the alteration of laws and customs of that country attempted by them. Upon which accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your sovereign's estate, quietness to yourselves, and a better peace betwixt both the realms, than ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth we know not [we can, for she in her conceit thinketh herself queen of both,] † that your sovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse counsel, whereof we would be most sorry ; being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her band remaining with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the great seal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the estates of the same, to ratify her said treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to declare it to her, yet she maketh such dilatory answers

* This is a very just view of Elizabeth's character, and we cannot be surprised that such a sentiment should not be suffered to be published during her life.—*Ed.*

† The parenthesis is evidently a note by the author.—*Ed.*

thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, that it is meet to require of you: for, although she has always answered since the death of her husband, that in this matter she would first understand the minds of certain of you, before she would make answer. And so having now of long time suspended our expectation, in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference both by messengers, and by some of yourselves, being with her, yet she still delayeth it, alleging to our ambassador in France—who said that this treaty was made by your consents—it was not by consent of you all; and so would have us to forbear, until she return to that her country. And now seeing this her answer depends, as it should seem, by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all understand, that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister your queen in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtful estate: while strangers possessed her realm, we stayed it from danger. And now, having promised to keep good peace with her, and you her subjects, we have hitherto observed it; and shall be sorry if either she or you shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange that your queen hath no better advice: and, therefore, we do require you all, being the states of that realm, upon whom the burden rests, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer, whereunto we may trust. And if you shall think meet, she shall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the peace kept, as ye shall give us cause; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall first incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And on the other side, if you continue all in one mind to have the peace inviolably kept, and shall so by your advice procure the

queen to ratify it, we also plainly promise you, that we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good terms as now it is: and in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duly sought and promoted in both the realms, the queen your sovereign shall enjoy her estate with surety, and yourselves possess that which you have with tranquillity, to the increase of your families and posterities, which by the frequent wars heretofore your ancestors never had long in one estate. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what mind ye be, especially if you all continue in that mind, that ye mean to have the peace betwixt both the realms perpetually kept: and if ye shall forbear any long time to advertise us, ye shall give to us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. From," &c.

These letters received and perused, albeit the estates could not be convened, yet did the council, and some others also in particular, return answer with reasonable diligence. The tenor of our letters was this:

"Please your majesty, that with judgment we have advised your majesty's letters: and albeit the whole estates could not be suddenly assembled, yet we thought expedient to signify somewhat of our minds unto your majesty. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us, that infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of that peace lately contracted betwixt these two realms. By what motives our sovereign delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell: but of us—of us, we say, Madam, who have in God's presence protested fidelity in our promise—her grace has none. Your majesty cannot be ignorant, that in this realm there are many enemies; and, farther, that our sovereign has counsellors, whose judgments she in all such cases prefers to ours. Our allegiance bindeth us, not only reverently to speak and write of our sovereign, but also to judge and think: and yet your majesty may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majesty's con-

tentment: for God is witness, that our chief care in this earth, next the glory of our God, is, that constant peace may remain betwixt these two realms, whereof your majesty and realm shall have sure experience, so long as our counsel and votes may stay the contrary. The benefit that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddenly bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your majesty rather to be persuaded of us, that we to our powers will study to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus, with lawful and humble commendation of service, we commit your majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh the 16th of July, 1561."

There were some that answered some of the ministers of England somewhat more sharply, and willed them not to accuse nor threaten so sharply, till that they were able to convict such as had promised fidelity of some evident crime, which, although they were able to lay to the charge of some, yet

respect would be had to such as long had declared themselves constant procurers of quietness and peace.

The sudden arrival of the queen made great alteration even in the council, as after we will hear. In this meantime, the papists by surmising, troubled what they might, their posts, letters, and complaints were from day to day direct, some to the pope, some to the cardinal of Lorraine, and some to our queen. The principal of these couriers were, Mr Stephen Wilson, Mr John Leslie, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Mr James Thornton, and others, such as lived, and still live, by the traffic of that Roman harlot.

The preachers vehemently exhorted us to establish the book of discipline, by an act and public law; affirming, that if they suffered things to hang in suspense, when God had given unto them sufficient power in their hands, they should after sob for it, but should not get it.*

* The suppressed edition has a sentence more, as follows: "And now because that divers times heretofore we have made mention of the said book, we have thought expedient to insert the whole in this part of our history, to the end that the posterities to come may judge as well what the worldlings refused, as what policy the godly ministers required: that they (if God grant unto them occasion and liberty,) may either establish a more perfect, or else imitate that which avariciousness would not suffer this

corrupt generation to approve." Then follow the preface and four heads of discipline, and at the fifth, the volume terminates in the middle of a sentence. The Glasgow MS. copy has none of this, but closes the third book as above. David Buchanan makes an apology for not inserting the Book of Discipline, from its being so often printed, and of course so well known. As the case is otherwise now, it shall be inserted in the Appendix.—*Ed.*

THE HISTORY
OF
THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN
THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

OF THE PROGRESS AND CONTINUANCE OF TRUE RELIGION WITHIN SCOTLAND.

IN the former books, gentle reader, thou mayest clearly see how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked days, as well as in the ages that have passed before us, the promises that are made to the servants of God by the prophet Isaiah, in these words: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall lift up the wings as the eagles; they shall run, and not be wearied; they [shall] walk, and not faint." This promise, we say, such as Satan has not utterly blinded, may see performed in us, the professors of Christ Jesus, within this realm of Scotland, with no less evidence, than it was in any age that ever passed before us: For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to a good end so great an enterprise? Our very enemies can bear witness. And yet in how great purity God did establish amongst us his true religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies; to what confusion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public transgressors of God's commandments within, short time brought the public order of the kirk, yet, by the mercy of God, preserved, and the punishments executed against malefactors, can testify unto the world. For as touching the doc-

trine taught by our ministers, and touching the administration of the sacraments used in our kirks, we are bold to affirm, that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth that hath them in greater purity; yea—we must speak the truth whomsoever we offend—there is none, no realm, we mean, that hath them in the like purity: for all others, how sincere that ever the doctrine be, which by some is taught, retain in their kirks, and in the ministers thereof, some footsteps of antichrist and dregs of papistry; but we—all praise to God alone—have nothing within our kirks that ever flowed from that man of sin. And this we acknowledge to be the strength given to us of God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but understanding our own wisdom to be but mere foolishness, before the Lord our God, laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by himself. In this point could never our enemies cause us to faint; for our first petition was, "That the reverend face of the primitive and apostolic kirk should be reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men." And in that point, we say, our God hath strengthened us till that the work was finished, as that the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of

vice, yea, and the abolishing of all such things as might nourish impiety within this realm, the acts and statutes of the principal towns reformed will yet testify. For what adulterer, what fornicator, what known massmonger, or pestilent papist, durst have been seen in public, within any reformed town within this realm, before that the queen arrived? And this victory to his word, and terror to all filthy livers, did our God work by such as yet live and remain witnesses, whether they will or not, of the foresaid works of God. We say, our God suffered none of those whom he first called to the battle, to perish or to fall, till that he made them victors of their enemies. For even as God suffered none of those whom he called from Egypt to perish in the Red Sea, how fearful that ever the danger appeared; so suffered he none of us to be oppressed, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that more Pharaohs than one were drowned, and we set at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us and our posterity understand, that such as follow the conducting of God cannot perish, albeit they walked in the very shadow of death.

But from whence, alas! cometh this miserable dispersion of God's people within this realm, this day, in May 1566? * And what is the cause that now the just are compelled to keep silence?—good men are banished, murderers, and such as are known unworthy of the common society—if just laws were put in due execution—bear the whole regimen and sway within this realm? We answer, Because that suddenly the most part of us declined from the purity of God's word, and began to follow the world; and so again shook hands with the devil and with idolatry, as in this fourth book we will hear. For while that papists were so confounded, that none within the realm durst more avow the hearing and saying of mass, than the thieves of Liddesdale durst avow their stouth [theft] in the presence of an upright

judge, there were protestants found, that ashamed not at tables, and other open places, to ask, "Why may not the queen have her mass, and the form of her religion? What can that hurt us or our religion?" And from these two, "Why," and "What," at length sprang out this affirmative, "The queen's mass and her priest will we maintain: this hand and this rapier shall fight in their defence."

The inconveniences were shown, both by tongue and by pen; but the advertisers were judged to be men of unquiet spirits; [and] their credit was defaced at the hands of such as before were not ashamed to have used their counsel in matters of greater importance than to have refused the mass. But then my lord, my master, may not be thus used; he has that honour to be the queen's brother, and therefore we will that all men shall understand that he must tender her as his sister; and whosoever shall counsel him to displease her, or the least that pertains unto her, shall not find him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged that would so counsel him, &c.

These and the like reasons took such deep root in flesh and blood, that the truth of God was almost forgot; and from this fountain, to wit, that flesh and blood was, and yet alas! is preferred to God, and to his messengers rebuking vice and vanity, hath all our misery proceeded. For as before, so even yet, although the ministers be sent to beg, the guard and the men of war must be served. Though the blood of the ministers be spilt, it is the queen's servant that did it. Although masses be multiplied in all quarters of the realm, who can stop the queen's subjects to live in the queen's religion? Although innocent men be imprisoned, it is the queen's pleasure, she is offended at such men. Although under pretence of justice, innocents be murdered, the lords shall weep, but the queen's mind must be satisfied. Nobles of the realm, barons and counsellors are banished,

* This seems to refer to the disturbances that took place after the murder of Rizzio, when both judges and ministers, including Knox him-

self, were obliged to leave Edinburgh, and disperse themselves over the country.—*Ed.*

their estates disposed, and their lives most unjustly pursued. The queen has lost her trusty servant Davie, [for] he was dear unto her; and, therefore, for her honour's sake, she must show rigour to revenge his death. And yet, farther, albeit that some knew that she has plainly purposed to wreck the religion within this realm; that to that Roman antichrist she has made her promise; and that from him she hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this realm, yet will they let the people understand that the queen will establish religion, and provide all things orderly, if she were once delivered.

If such dealing, which is common amongst protestants, be not to prefer flesh and blood to God, to his truth, to justice, to religion, and unto the liberty of this oppressed realm, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in some part are present, that were before threatened, the rest approach; and yet who from the heart crieth, "I have offended, the Lord knows? In thee only is the trust of the oppressed; for vain is the help of man." But now return we to our history.

The nineteenth day of August, 1561 years, between seven and eight hours before noon, arrived Mary queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys forth of France. In her company, besides her gentlewomen called the Marys,* were her three uncles, the duke d'Omali, the grand prior, the marquis d'Albufe. There accompanied her also, d'Anville, son to the constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of the heavens, the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought unto this country with her, to wit, sorrow, darkness, dolour, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue. For besides the surface weitt [water] and corruption of the air, the mist was so

thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts: the sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us, but alas, the most part were blind.

At the sound of the cannons which the galleys shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he and she that first might have the presence of the queen. The protestants were not the slowest, and there- until they were not to be blamed. Because the palace of Holyroodhouse was not thoroughly put in order—for her coming was more sudden than many looked for—she remained in Leith till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the abbey, met her the rebels the crafts, of whom we spake before, to wit, those that had violated the authority of the magistrates, and had besieged the provost. But, because she was sufficiently instructed, that all that they did was done in despite of the religion, they were easily pardoned.

Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber-window. The melody, as she alleged, liked her well, and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired unto her from all quarters; and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when preparation began to be made for that idol the mass to be said in the chapel. Which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to bolder; and men began openly to speak, "Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not." The lord Lindsay—then but master—with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close,† "The idolater priest should die the death," according to God's law. One that carried in the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood to show the self. There durst no papist, nei-

* Mary Seaton, Mary Beaton, Mary Carmichael, and Mary Hamilton, according to an old song.—*Ed.*

Close, outer court of the palace.—*Ed.*

ther yet any that came out of France, whisper: but the lord James—the man whom all the godly did most reverence—took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass; but it was, and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have entrance to trouble the priest; who after the mass was committed to the protection of lord John of Coldingham, and lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, who then were both protestants, and had communicated at the table of the lord. Betwixt them two was the priest conveyed to his chamber; and so the godly departed with grief of heart, and at afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide, that the land which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again. Which understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old dontibours,* and others that long had served in the court, and had no remission of sins, but by virtue of the mass, cried, “They would to France without delay, they could not live without the mass; the same affirmed the queen’s uncles.” And would to God that that meinzie, † together with the mass, had taken good night at the realm for ever; for so had Scotland been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God that has stricken, and yet will strike, for idolatry.

The council assembled, disputation was had of the next remedy; politic heads were sent unto the gentlemen with these and the like persuasions: “Why, alas, will ye chase our sovereign from us? She will incontinent return unto her galleys, and what then shall all realms say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? We doubt not but she shall leave it. If we were not assured that she might be won, we should be as great enemies to her mass as ye should be. Her uncles will depart, and then shall we rule all at our pleasure. Would

not we be as sorry to hurt the religion as any of you would be?” With these and the like persuasions, we say, was the fervency of the brethren quenched, and an act was framed. The tenor whereof follows:

APUD EDINBURGH, 25. AUGUSTI, 1561.

“Forasmuch as the queen’s majesty has understood the great inconvenience that may come, through the division presently standing in this realm, for the difference in matters of religion, that her majesty is most desirous to see it pacified by a good order, to the honour of God and tranquillity of her realm, and means to take the same by advice of her estates, so soon as conveniently may be, and that her majesty’s godly resolution therein may be greatly hindered, in case any tumult or sedition be raised amongst the lieges, if any alteration or novation be pressed at or attempted before that the order may be established. Therefore, for eschewing of the said inconvenience, her majesty ordains letters to be directed to charge all and sundry her lieges, by open proclamation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and other places needful, that they and every one of them contain themselves in quietness, keep peace and civil society amongst themselves; and in the meantime, until the estates of the realm may be assembled, and that her majesty have taken a final order by their advice and public consent, which her majesty hopes shall be to the contentment of the whole, that none of them take upon hand privately or openly to make any alteration or innovation of the state of religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which her majesty found publicly and universally standing at her majesty’s arrival in this her realm under the pain of death. With certification, that if any subject of the realm, shall come in the contrary hereof, he shall be esteemed and holden a seditious person and raiser of tumult, and the said pain shall be executed upon him with all rigour, to the example of others. Attour

* Dr Jameson is not certain of the meaning of this word. They were part of the queen’s at-

tendants, not of the most respectable sort.—*Ed.*

† The whole company of them.—*Ed.*

[farther], her majesty, with the advice of the lords of secret council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them take upon hand to molest or trouble any of her domestic servants, or persons whatsoever, come forth of France, in her grace's company at this time, in word, deed, or countenance, for any cause whatsoever, either within her palace or without, or make any division or invasion upon any of them, under whatsoever colour or pretence, under the said pain of death. Albeit her majesty is sufficiently persuaded, that her good and loving subjects would do the same, for the reverence they bear to her person and authority, notwithstanding no such commandment were published."

This act and proclamation penned, and put in form by such as before professed Christ Jesus—for in the counsel then had papists neither power nor vote—it was publicly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh upon Monday the day foresaid. No man reclaimed, nor made repugnance to it, except the earl of Arran only; who, in open audience of the herald and people, protested, "That he dissented that any protection or defence should be made to the queen's domestics, or to any that came from France, to offend God's majesty, and to violate the laws of the realm more than to any other subject: for God's law had pronounced death to the idolater, and the laws of the realm had appointed punishment for sayers and hearers of mass; which," said he, "I here protest, is universally observed; and that none be exempted, until such time as a law as publicly made and as consonant to the law of God have disannulled the former." And thereupon he took documents, as the tenor of this his protestation does witness.

"In so far as by this proclamation it is understood to the kirk of God, and members thereof, that the queen's grace is minded that the true religion and worshipping else [already] established, proceed forward, that it may daily increase; unto the parliament, that order then may be taken for extirpation of all idolatry within this realm. We render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for her grace's good

mind, earnestly praying that it may be increased in her highness, to the honour and glory of his name, and weal of his kirk within this realm. And as touching the molestation of her highness' servants, we suppose that none dare be so bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawful business: and as for us, we have learned at our master Christ's school, 'To keep peace with all men.' And, therefore, for our part we will promise that obedience to her majesty—as is our duty—that none of her servants shall be molested, troubled, or once touched, by the kirk, or any member thereof, in doing their lawful affairs. But since that God has said, 'That the idolater shall die the death;' we protest solemnly, in the presence of God, and in the ears of the whole people who hear this proclamation, and specially in presence of you lion herald, and the rest of your colleagues, &c. makers of this proclamation, that if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, specially say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof—which we were loth should be in her grace's company—in that case, that this proclamation be not extended to them in that behalf, nor be a safeguard nor girth [protection] to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God, than is the other. But that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, wherever they may be apprehended, but [without] favour. And this our protestation we desire you to notify unto her, and give her the copy hereof, lest her highness should suspect an uproar, if we should all come and present the same. At Edinburgh the day and year foresaid."

This boldness did somewhat exasperate the queen, and such as favoured her in that point. As the lords—then called of the congregation—repaired to the town, at the first coming they show themselves wondrously offended, that the mass was permitted: so that every man as he came accused them that were before him. But after they had remained a certain space, they were as quiet as were the former: which

thing perceived, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell, of Kinganleugh, said unto the lord Ochiltree, "My lord, now ye are come, and almost the last of all the rest; and I perceive, by your anger, that the fire-edge is not yet off you: but I fear, that after the holy water of the court be sprinkled upon you, that ye shall become as temperate here as the rest: for I have been here now five days, and at the first I heard every man say, 'Let us hang the priest:' but after that they had been twice or thrice in the abbey, all that fervency passed. I think there is some enchantment, whereby men are bewitched." And in very deed so it came to pass: for the queen's flattering words, on the one part, ever still crying, "Conscience, conscience: it is a sore thing to constrain the conscience," and the subtle persuasions of her supports—we mean even of those that were judged most fervent with us—upon the other part, blinded all men, and put them in opinion she will be content to hear the preaching; and so no doubt but she may be won. And thus of all it was concluded, to suffer her for a time.

The next Sunday, John Knox inveighing against idolatry, showed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the same; and added, "That one mass—there were no more suffered at the first—was more fearful unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the holy religion. For," said he, "in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; whereof heretofore we have had experience; but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt but that both God's amible [friendly] presence and comfortable defence will leave us; and what shall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience shall teach us, to the grief of many." At these words the guiders of the court mocked, and plainly spake, "That such fear was no point of their faith; it was beside his text, and was a very untimely

admonition." But we heard the same John Knox, in the audience of these same men, recite the same words again in the midst of troubles; and in the audience of many, asked God mercy, that he was not more vehement and upright in the suppressing that idol in the beginning. "For," said he, "albeit that I spake that which offended some—which this day they see and feel to be true—yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not only given unto me knowledge, and tongue to make the impiety of that idol known unto the realm, but he hath given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto:* but so careful was I,"² said he, "of that common tranquillity, and so loath was I to have offended those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in secret conference with earnest and zealous men, I travailed rather to mitigate, yea, to slacken, that fervency that God had kindled in others, than to animate and encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work; whereunto I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart do ask of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay, to have suppressed that idol in the beginning." These and other words did many hear him speak in public place, in the month of December, 1565, when such as at the queen's arrival only maintained the mass, were exiled the realm, summoned upon treason, and decreet of forefaulters intended against them. But to return from whence we have digressed.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or the queen's own desire, we know not; but the queen spake with John Knox, and had long reasoning with him, none being present, except the lord James—two gentlemen stood in the other end of the house. The sum of their reasoning was this. The queen accused him, that he had raised a part of her subjects against her mother,

* It was well that Knox's prudence was greater than his confidence in his own principles, else murder would have been committed, and the reproach of it would have attached to

his name for ever. He believed that idolaters ought to be put to death; but, happily, he did not reduce the principle to practice.—*Ed.*

and against herself; that he had written a book against her just authority—she meant the Treatise against the Regimen of Women—which she had, and should cause the most learned in Europe to write against it; that he was the cause of great sedition, and great slaughter in England; and that it was said to her, that all that he did was by necromancy.

To the which the said John answered, “Madam, it may please your majesty, patiently to hear my simple answers. And, first,” said he, “if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their princes, then cannot I be excused; for it has pleased God of his mercy to make me one, among many, to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the papistical religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman antichrist. But, madam, if the true knowledge of God, and his right worshipping be the chief causes, which most move men from their heart to obey their just princes—as it is most certain that they are—wherein can I be reprehended? I think, and am surely persuaded, that your grace has had, and presently has as unfeigned obedience, of such as profess Christ Jesus within this realm, as ever your father, or other progenitors had of those that were called bishops. And touching that book, which seems so highly to offend your majesty, it is most certain, that I wrote it, and am content that all the learned of the world judge of it. I hear that an Englishman hath written against it, but I have not read him; if he hath sufficiently improved my reasons, and established his contrary propositions, with as evident testimonies, as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance; but to this hour I have thought, and yet think myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it.”

“You think,” said she, “that I have no just authority?” “Please your majesty,” said he, “that learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most

commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published, both with pen and tongue, notwithstanding they themselves have lived, in the common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections, which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in the which he damned many things that then were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet, notwithstanding he lived under such policies, as then were universally received, without farther troubling of any estate. Even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of a good conscience. I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconvenience in the regimen of a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther disallow, than within my own breast, but shall be as well content to live under your grace, as Paul was to live under Nero. And my hope is, that so long as that ye defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I nor that book shall either hurt you or your authority: for in very deed, madam, that book was written most especially against that wicked Jezebel of England.”

“But,” said she, “ye speak of women in general.” “Most true it is, madam,” said the other; “and yet it appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your grace, never to raise trouble for that, which to this day has not troubled your majesty, neither in person nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were holden stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured, that neither protestant nor papist shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved either in public or in secret. Now, madam,” said he, “if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I would have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose, than I can do now, when your own presence is within the realm.

“But now, madam, shortly to answer to

the other two accusations. I heartily praise my God through Jesus Christ, that Satan the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, then such as the very world itself knows to be most false and vain. For in England I was resident only the space of five years. The places were Berwick, where I abode two years, so long in Newcastle, and a year in London. Now, madam, if in any of these places, during the time that I was there, any man shall be able to prove, that there was either battle, sedition, or mutiny, I shall confess that I myself was the malefactor, and the shedder of the blood. I shame not [am not ashamed] farther to affirm, that God so blessed my weak labours, that in Berwick—wherein commonly there used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrels that used to arise among soldiers—there was as great quietness, all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh.

“And where they slander me of magic, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden of God, I have witnesses—beside my own conscience—all the congregations that ever heard me, what I spake both against such arts, and against those that use such impiety. But seeing the wicked of the world said, ‘That my master, the Lord Jesus, was possessed with Beelzebub,’ I must patiently bear, albeit that I, a wretched sinner, be unjustly accused of those, that never delighted in the verity.”

“But yet,” said she, “ye have taught the people to receive another religion, than their princes can allow: and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing, that God commands subjects to obey their princes?”

“Madam,” said he, “as that right religion takes neither original nor authority from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone, so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetite of their princes; for oft it is, that princes are the most ignorant of all others in God’s true religion, as we may read as well in the histories before the death of Christ Jesus, as after. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long subjects, I pray you,

madam, what religion should there have been in the world? For, if all men, in the days of the apostles, should have been of the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion should have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and unto Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion, neither of the one nor of the other: for the three children said, ‘We make it known unto thee, O king; that we will not worship thy gods.’ And Daniel did pray publicly unto his God, against the express commandment of the king. And so, madam, ye may perceive, that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience.”

“Yea,” said she, “none of those men raised the sword against their princes.” “Yet, madam,” said he, “ye cannot deny but that they resisted: for these that obey not the commandments that are given, in some sort they resist.” “But yet,” said she, “they resisted not by the sword.” “God,” said he, “madam, had not given unto them the power and the means.” “Think ye,” said she, “that subjects having power may resist their princes?” “If their princes exceed their bounds,” said he, “madam, and do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power: for there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother; but so it is, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword and other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till that his frenzy be overpast; think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? Or, think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their father to commit wickedness? It is even so,” said he, “madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subjects unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy;

and, therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the will of God."

At these words, the queen stood as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour; her countenance altered, so that lord James began to entreat her, and to demand, "What has offended you, madam?" At length, she said, "Well, then, I perceive, that my subjects shall obey you, and not me; and shall do what they list, and not what I command: and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." "God forbid," answered he, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleases them. But my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not," said he, "madam, that wrong is done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God: for, it is he that subjects the people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them; yea, God craves of kings, 'That they be, as it were, foster-fathers to his kirk, and commands queens to be nurses unto his people.' And this subjection, madam, unto God, and unto his troubled kirk, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory."

"Yea," said she, "but ye are not the kirk that I will nurse. I will defend the kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true kirk of God."

"Your will," said he, "madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome a harlot; for that kirk is altogether polluted with all kind of spiritual fornication, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, madam, I offer myself farther to prove, that the kirk of the Jews, that crucified Christ Jesus, when that they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as that the kirk of Rome is de-

clined, and more than five hundred years hath declined from the purity of that religion, which the apostles taught and planted."

"My conscience," said she, "is not so." "Conscience, madam," said he, "requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge you have none." "But," said she, "I have both heard and read." "So, madam," said he, "did the Jews who crucified Christ Jesus, read both the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner. Have ye heard," said he, "any teach, but such as the pope and the cardinals have allowed? And ye may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate." "Ye interpret the scriptures," said she, "in one manner, and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God," said he, "that plainly speaketh in his word: and farther than the word teacheth you, you neither shall believe the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in the self; and if there appear any obscurity in any place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as will remain obstinately ignorant. And now, madam," said he, "to take one of the chief points, which this day is in controversy betwixt the papists and us: for example, the papists allege, and boldly have affirmed, that the mass is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and other, and affirm, that the mass, as it is now used, is nothing but the invention of man; and, therefore, it is an abomination before God, and no sacrifice that ever he commanded. Now, madam, who shall judge betwixt us two thus contending? It is not reason that any of the parties be farther believed, than they are able to prove by unsuspected witnessing: let them lay down the book of God, and by the plain words thereof prove their affirmatives, and we shall give unto them the plea granted. But so long as they are bold to affirm, and yet do prove nothing, we must say, that

albeit all the world believe them, yet believe they not God, but do receive the lies of men for the truths of God. What our master Christ Jesus did, we know by his own evangelists: what the priest doth at his mass, the world seeth. Now, doth not the word of God plainly assure us, that Christ Jesus neither said, nor yet commanded mass to be said at his last supper, seeing that no such thing as their mass is made mention of within the whole scripture." "You are over-sore for me," said the queen, "but and if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you." "Madam," said the other, "would to God that the most learned papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end; for then, I doubt not, madam, but that ye should hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath within the word of God." "Well," said she, "ye may perchance get that sooner than ye believe." "Assuredly," said the other, "if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come into your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know that they are never able to sustain an argument, except fire and sword, and their own laws be judges." "So say you," said the queen; "but I believe that it hath been so to this day." Said he, "for how often have the papists in this and other realms, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for judges. And, therefore, madam, I must yet say again, that they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judge and party. And whensoever ye shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

And with this the queen was called upon to dinner, for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said unto her, "I pray God, madam, that ye may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland—if

it be the pleasure of God—as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel. Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were divers opinions. The papists grudged, and feared that which they needed not; the godly thinking at least, that she would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were utterly deceived, for she continued in her massing; and despised and quietly mocked all exhortation. John Knox his own judgment, being by some of his own familiars demanded what he thought of the queen, "If there be not in her," said he, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

When the whole nobility were convened, the lords of privy council were chosen, who were appointed the duke's grace, the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, Marshall, Bothwell, lord Erskine, lord James, &c. Of these were a certain [number] appointed to wait upon the court by course: but that order continued not long.

Duke d'Omali returned with the galleys to France. The queen entered into her progress, and in the month of September travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, St Johnstone, Dundee, and St Andrews; which all parts she polluted with her idolatry: fire followed her very commonly in that journey, the towns propined her very liberally, and thereof were the French enriched.

In the beginning of October she returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed she was received in the castle. Great preparations were made for her entrance into the town, in farcing, in masking,* and other prodigalities: fain would fools have counterfeited France. Whatsoever might set forth her glory, that she heard, and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered to her by a pretty boy, descending, as it were, from a cloud: the verses of her own praises she heard, and smiled; but when the Bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began thereat to frown; for shame she could not refuse it, but she did no better, for she gave it unto the most pestilent

* Making farces and masquerades.--Ed.

papist within the realm, to wit, to Arthur Erskine. Edinburgh since that day has reaped as they sowed: they gave her some taste of their prodigality. And because the liquor was sweet, she has licked of that buist [brewing] oftener than twice since. All men know what we mean; the queen cannot lack, and the subjects have.

In Edinburgh it hath been an ancient and laudable custom, that the provost, bailies, and council, after their election, which used to be at Michaelmas, cause publicly to proclaim the statutes and ordinances of the town; and, therefore, Archibald Douglas, provost, Edward Hope, Adam Fullarton,

bailies, caused proclaim, according to the former statutes of the town, that no adulterer, no fornicator, no noted drunkard, no mass-monger, no obstinate papist that corrupted the people, such as priests, friars, and others of that sort, should be found within the town, within forty-eight hours thereafter, under the pains contained in the statutes; which blown in the queen's ears, there began pride and maliciousness to show themselves; for without farther cognition of the cause, was the said provost and bailies charged to ward in the castle, and immediately was commandment given, that other provost and bailies should be elected. Some gainstood for a while the new election, alleging, that the provost and bailies whom they had chosen, and to whom they had given their oath, had committed no offence wherefore that justly they ought to be deprived. But while that charge was doubled upon charge, and no man found to oppose himself to impiety, Jezebel's letter and wicked will was obeyed as a law. And so was Thomas Mc'Call chosen provost for the other. The man, no doubt, is both discreet, and sufficient for that charge; but the deposition of the other was against all law. God be merciful to some of our own, for they were not all blameless that her wicked will was so far obeyed. A contrary proclamation was publicly made, that the town should be patent to all the queen's lieges. And so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the

queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion. And so got the devil freedom again, whereas before, he durst not have been seen in daylight upon the common streets. "Lord deliver us from that bondage."

The devil finding his reins loose, ran forward in his course, and the queen took upon her greater boldness than she and Baal's bleating priests durst have attempted before; for upon All-hallow-day they bended up [dauntlessly performed] their mass with all mischievous solemnity. The ministers thereat offended, in plain and public place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon should ensue. The nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties; but affection caused men to call that in doubt, wherein short before they seemed to be most resolute, to wit, "Whether that the subjects might put hand to suppress the idolatry of their prince?" And upon this question convened in the house of Mr James M'Gill, the lord James, the earl of Morton, the earl Marshall, secretary Lethington, the justice clerk, and the foresaid Mr James, clerk of register; who all reasoned for the part of the queen, affirming, "That the subjects might not lawfully take her mass from her." In the contrary judgment were the principal ministers, Mr John Row, Mr George Hay, Mr Robert Hamilton, and John Knox. The reasons of both parties we will omit, because they will be explained after, where the said question and others "Concerning the obedience due unto princes," were long reasoned in open assembly. The conclusion of that first reasoning was, "That the question should be formed, and letters directed to Geneva for the resolution of that kirk;" wherein John Knox offered his labours. But secretary Lethington, alleging, that there stood much in the information, said, that he would write: but that was only to derive time, as the truth declared itself. The queen's party urged, "That the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, what they list." The ministers both affirmed, and voted the contrary, adding, "That her liberty should be to their thralldom, or [be-

fore] it were long." But neither could reason nor threatening move the hearts of such as were creeping in credit; and so did the votes of the lords prevail against the ministers.

For the punishment of the theft and of rief, which had increased upon the borders and in the south, from the queen's arrival, was the lord James appointed lieutenant. Some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsel that [influenced] Saul [when he] made David captain against the Philistines; but God assisted and bowed the hearts of men both to fear and obey him; yea, the lord Bothwell himself at that time assisted him—but he had remission for Liddesdale:—sharp execution was in Jedburgh, for twenty-eight of one clan, and others, were hanged at the justice-court. Bribes, buddes,* or solicitation, saved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended; and therefore God prospered him in that his integrity. That same time the lord James spake to the lord Grey of England at Kelso, for good rule to be kept upon both the borders, and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the queen upon a night took a fray [fright] in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the close, and as if the palace had been inclosed about; whether it proceeded from her own womanly fancy, or if men put her in fear of it, for displeasure of the earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the erecting of the guard, we know not; but the fear was so great, that the town was called to the watch. Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, and John of Coldingham kept the watch by course; scouts were sent forth, and sentries, under the pain of death, were commanded to keep their stations. And yet they feared where there was no occasion of fear; neither yet could ever any appearance or suspicion of such things be tried [traced].

Short after the returning of the lord James, there came from the queen of Eng-

land, Sir Peter Mewtes, with commission to require the ratification of the peace made at Leith. Her answer was even such as we have heard before, that she behoved to advise, and then she should send answer. In presence of her council she kept herself very grave—for under the dule weid [mourning dress] she could play the hypocrite in full perfection;—but how soon that ever her French fillokes [giddy young women], fiddlers, and others of that band, got the house alone, there might be seen skipping not very comely for honest women. Her common talk was in secret, that she saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, which repugned altogether to her nature, for she was brought up in *joyuseté*; so termed she her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The general assembly of the kirk approached, held in December after the queen's arrival, in the which began the rulers of the court to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and began to sturr [fret] and grudge, that any thing should be consulted upon, without their advices. Mr John Wood, who before had shown himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving of his counsel in all doubtful matters, plainly refused ever to assist the assembly again, whereof many did wonder. The courtiers drew unto themselves some of the lords, and would not convene with their brethren, as before they were accustomed, but kept themselves in the abbey. The principal commissioners of the kirk, the superintendents, and some ministers, passed unto them, where they were convened in the abbot's lodging within Holyroodhouse: both the parties began to open their grief; the lords complained, that the ministers drew the gentlemen into secret, and held councils without their knowledge: the ministers denied that they had done any thing in secret, otherwise than the common order had commanded them; and accused the lords—the flatterers of the queen, we mean—that they kept not the convention with their brethren, considering that they knew the order, and that the same was appointed by their own advices, as the

* Another name for bribes, or it may be taken in the sense of gifts, or bodes, offers, or promises.—*Ed.*

book of discipline, subscribed with the most part of their own hands, would witness. Some began to deny that ever they knew such a thing as the book of discipline; and called also in doubt, whether it was expedient that such conventions should be or not; for gladly would the queen and her secret council have had all assemblies of the godly discharged. The reasoning was sharp and quick on either side; the queen's faction alleged, that it was suspicious to princes that subjects should assemble themselves and keep conventions without their knowledge. It was answered, that without the knowledge of the prince, the kirk did nothing, for the prince perfectly understood, that within this realm there was a reformed kirk, and that they had their orders and appointed times of convention. And so without knowledge of the prince, they did nothing; "Yea," said Lethington," the queen knew, and knows well enough; but the question is, "Whether the queen allows such conventions?" It was answered, That if the liberty of the kirk stood or should stand upon the queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured, not only to lack assemblies, but also to lack the liberty of the public preaching of the evangel; that affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. "Well," said the other, "time will try the truth: but to my former words, this will I add, Take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the evangel; for without assemblies, how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept? It is not to be supposed, that all ministers are so perfect but that they shall need admonition, as well concerning manners as doctrine, as it may be that some are so stiff-necked that they will not admit the admonition of the simple; as also it may be, that fault will be found with ministers, without just offence committed; and yet if order be not taken, both with the complainer and the persons complained upon, it cannot be avoided, but that many grievous offences shall arise; for remedy whereof, of necessity it is, that general assemblies must be, in the which, the judgments and gravity of many may occur, to correct or repress the follies or

errors of a few. Hereunto consented the most part, as well of the nobility as of the barons, and willed the reasoners for the queen to will her grace, that if she stood in a suspicion of any thing that was to be entertained in their assemblies, that it would please her grace to send such as she would appoint, to hear whatsoever was proponed or reasoned.

Hereafter was the book of discipline proponed, and desired to have been ratified by the queen's majesty. That was scripped at [derided], and the question was demanded, How many of those that subscribed that book would be subject unto it? It was answered, "All the godly." "Will the duke?" said Lethington. "If he will not," answered the lord Ochiltree, "I would that he were scraped out, not only of that book, but also out of our number and company; for to what purpose shall labours be taken to put the kirk in order, and to what end shall men subscribe, and then never mean to keep word of that which they promise?" Lethington answered, "Many subscribed them *in fide parentum*, as the children are baptized."* One, to wit, John Knox, answered, "Albeit ye think that scoff proper, yet as it is most untrue, so it is most improper. That book was read in public audience, and by the space of divers days, the heads thereof were reasoned, as all that here sit know well enough, and ye yourselves cannot deny; so that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not." "Stand content," said one, "that book will not be obtained." "Let God," said the other, "require the lack which this poor commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same."

The barons perceiving that the book of discipline was refused, presented unto the council certain articles, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, their kirks to be planted with true ministers, and some certain provision to be made for them, according to equity and conscience; for unto that time, the most part of the ministers had lived

* All their fair professions had withered before the face of the queen.—*Ed.*

upon the benevolence of men: for many had in their hands the fruits that the bishops and others of that sect had abused before; and so some part was bestowed upon the ministers. But then the bishops began to gripe again to that which most unjustly they called their own; for the earl of Arran was discharged of St Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by reason of a factory, he had intromitted; and so were many others. And therefore the barons required, that order might be taken for their ministers, or else they would no more obey the bishops, neither yet suffer any thing to be lifted up to their use after the queen's arrival, than that they did before; for they verily supposed that the queen's majesty would keep promise made unto them; which was, not to alter their religion, which could not remain without ministers, and ministers could not live without provision: and therefore they most heartily desired the council to provide some convenient order in that head. That somewhat moved the queen's flatterers; for the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands, and so began they to practise how they should please the queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful: and so devised they, that the kirkmen should have intromission with the two parts of their benefices, and that the third part should be lifted up, by such men as thereto should be appointed, for such uses, as in these subsequent acts are more fully expressed.

APUD EDINBURGH, 20. DECEMBRIS, ANNO
1561.

“The which day, forasmuch as the queen's majesty, by advice of the lords of her secret council, foreseeing the imminent troubles which apparently were to arise among the lieges of this realm for matters of religion; to stay the same, and evade all incommodities that might thereupon ensue, intercommuned with a part of the clergy and state ecclesiastical, with whom then reasoning being had, it was thought good and expedient by her highness, that a general convention should be appointed, the 15th day of December instant, whereunto the rest of the estates

might have repaired; and by the advice of the whole, a reasonable overture made, and order taken for staying of the apparent trouble, and quieting of the whole country; which convention being by her majesty appointed, and sundry days of council kept, and the said ecclesiastical estate oftentimes required that the said order might be taken and overture made for staying of the trouble and quieting of the country; last of all, in presence of the queen's majesty, and lords of council foresaid, and others of the nobility of this realm, compeared John archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick bishop of Murray, Henry bishop of Ross, and Robert bishop of Dunkeld; and for themselves respective, offered unto the queen's majesty, to be content of the two parts of the rents of their benefices, and the third part to be employed as her majesty thought expedient. And because the certainty thereof was not known, nor yet what sums of money would sustain the ministry and ministers of God's word within this realm, neither yet how much was necessary to support the queen's majesty above her own rents for the common affairs of the country; therefore, it is decerned, concluded, and determined, by the queen's majesty, and lords of council foresaid, and others of the nobility present, that if the fourth part of the fruits of the whole benefices within this realm, may be sufficient to sustain the ministry throughout this whole realm, and support the queen's majesty to entertain and set forward the common affairs of the country, failing thereof, the third part of the said fruits, or more, until it be found sufficient to the effect foresaid, to be taken up yearly in time coming, until a general order be taken thereunto; so much thereof to be employed to the queen's majesty for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country, and so much thereof unto the ministers and sustentation of the ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight and discretion of the queen's majesty and council foresaid, and the excrescence and surplus to be assigned to the old possessors. And to the effect that the rents and yearly value of the whole benefices of this realm may be clearly known to the

queen's majesty and council foresaid, it is statute and ordained, that the whole rentals of the benefices of this realm be produced before her grace and lords foresaid, at the time underwritten; that is to say, of the benefices on this side of the Month,* the 24th day of January next to come, and beyond the Month, the 10th of February next thereafter. And ordains letters to be directed to the sheriffs in that part to pass, charge, and require, all and sundry archbishops, bishops, commendators, abbots, and priors, on this side of the Month, personally, if they can be apprehended, and failing thereof at their dwelling places, cathedral kirks, or abbeys; and all archdeacons, deans, chantors, subchantors, provosts, parsons, and vicars, and other beneficed men whatsoever, their chamberlains or factors personally, or at their dwelling places, or at the parish kirks where they should remain, to exhibit and produce before the queen's majesty and lords foresaid, the said 24th day of January next to come, the just and true rentals of the avails and rents of their benefices to the effect foresaid: and to charge the prelates and the other beneficed men, on the other side of the Month, in manner respective foresaid, to exhibit and produce the just and true rentals of their benefices, before the queen's majesty and lords foresaid, the said 10th day of February, to the effect foresaid; with certification to them that fail, the queen's grace and council will proceed herein as accords: and suchlike, to charge the whole superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons of the principal towns and shires of this realm, to give in before the queen's grace and lords of council foresaid, the said 24th day of January next to come, a formal and sufficient roll and memorial what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustain the ministry and the whole ministers of this realm, that

her majesty and lords of council foresaid, may take order thereunto, as accords. And farther, that the queen's majesty and the lords of council foresaid, may reply and diligently weigh and consider what necessary support is required to be taken yearly of the fruits of the said benefices—by her grace's own yearly rent—and to entertain and set forward the common affairs of this realm, against the said 24th day of January next to come, that then it may be proceeded the said matter, all parties satisfied, and the in whole country and lieges thereof set at quietness."

APUD LINLITHGOW, 24. JANUARI, ANNO
156½.

"Forasmuch as the queen's majesty, with the advice of the lords of her secret council, directed her letters, commanding all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and all other beneficed men, their factors, farmers, and tacksmen, to compear before her highness and lords foresaid at Edinburgh, or where it shall happen them to be for the time, so many as dwell upon this side of the Month, the 24th day of January instant; and them that dwell beyond the Month, the 10th day of February next to come, that the just avail of their benefices may be known; so that thereafter her grace may take order for the sustentation of the ministry of the kirk, and of the public business of the realm. And because the queen's majesty is presently occupied with other affairs, and may not herself attend upon the receipt of the said rentals; therefore, her highness has given and granted, and by these presents gives and grants full power and commission to Mr James M'Gill of Rankellour Nether, clerk of register, Sir John Bellenden of Auchinneul, knight, justice-clerk, to the secretary, treasurer, advocate, and laird of Pitarrow, to call before them, within the

* Month, Mounth, Mount, Munthis, the ancient name for the Grampians, that chain of mountains which extends across the island, from the district of Cowal, in Argyleshire, on the Atlantic, to Aberdeen on the German sea. "This long range of lofty mountains was in ancient times the boundary between the north and south Pichts (Bede, L. iii., c. 4; L. v., c. 10.—An. ult. 781.), and was afterwards for

some ages the boundary between the Scots and independent Pichts (Ford, p. 76). Boyse says, these mountains were in his time called Granzebain,—“Great Ben or mountain”—a name which, if it ever was used, I have reason to believe, is now obsolete.” Macpherson's Illustrations of Scottish History, on the word Month. Granzebain must, I think, be the origin of the word Grampian.—Ed.

tolbooth of Edinburgh, all and sundry, prelates and beneficed men, who are charged, by virtue of the said letters, now presently being in Edinburgh, or shall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their factors and farmers, and there inquire of them the rentals of their benefices, and receive the same from them to the effect foresaid. And suchlike, that the said commissioners cause warn all superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons, to give unto them the names of the whole ministers of this realm, that the just calculation being made and considered by the said commissioners of the avail of the said benefices, they may report the same unto the queen's majesty, that her highness may take order therein, according to the just tenor of the first ordinance made thereupon."

APUD EDINBURGH, 12. FEBRUARII, 156 $\frac{1}{2}$.

"Forasmuch as by statute and ordinance made by the queen's majesty and lords of secret council, and her highness's letters direct thereupon, all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and other beneficed men, were charged to produce the rentals of their benefices before her majesty and lords foresaid, in manner following; that is to say, the said beneficed men, dwelling on this side of the Month, the 24th of January last bypast, and on the other side of the Month, the 10th of February instant, to the effect that order might be taken therein conform to the said ordinance, with certification to them, and they failed, the queen's majesty and council foresaid would take order therein, as the said ordinance bears: notwithstanding of the which, the queen's majesty and council, and others appointed by her for receiving the said rentals, have continually, since the said 24th day of January foresaid, awaited upon the receiving of them: yet a very small number of them has produced their rentals, contemning therethrough not only her grace's ordinance and proclamation foresaid, but also herself and her authority, as they were princes and not subjects, express against equity, reason, and justice; for remedy whereof, the queen's majesty, with advice of her secret council, ordains, that factors and chamberlains be

appointed to intromit with, gather, uplift, and receive, to our sovereign lady's use, all and sundry mails, farms, teinds, rents, prevents, emoluments, kains, profits, and duties, of whatsomever benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced, conform to the said ordinance. And if any rentals else [already] produced, bears not the just avail, but is fraudulently made, to intromit and uptake so much of the profits and fruits of the said benefices, as are omitted forth of the said rentals; and the ingivers of the rentals, and possessors of the benefices thereof, shall never have action to claim, crave, or receive from the tenants and occupiers, farther than is contained within the said rentals else produced by them; and the tenants and possessors shall be held to pay no more, than is contained in the same rentals else produced, as said is. And that the said chamberlains and factors to be appointed by the queen's majesty, shall have sufficient power to intromit and uptake the fruits and profits foresaid, suchlike as if special letters of factory and chamberlainry were granted to them thereupon: and ordains the lords of session to direct forth letters at the said factors' and chamberlains' instances, either of horning or poiding, as shall be thought expedient, for causing of them to be answered of the fruits of the said benefices, to be forthcoming to the queen's majesty's behoof, until farther order be taken thereunto."

APUD EDINBURGUM, 15. FEBRUARY, 156 $\frac{1}{2}$.

For so much as the queen's majesty, by the advice of the lords of her secret council, and others divers of the nobility had of before, upon the 22d day of December last bypast, ordained, that if the fourth part of the fruits and rents of all the benefices within this realm were not sufficient for the support of her majesty, and other particular charges underwritten, necessary to be borne for the weal of the country; then the third of the said fruits, more or less, should be taken up to the effects foresaid. Attour ordained letters to be directed, charging all and sundry beneficed men, on this side of the Mount to produce their rentals, upon the 24th day of January last bypast: and the

tenth day of February instant was prefixed by the said letters, for inbringing of all rentals of the benefices beyond the Mount; with certification, to those who produced not the said rentals, at the days foresaid respective, the queen's majesty and her council would provide remedy: according to the which certification, her highness, with advice of her council foresaid, has ordained, that they who have not produced their rentals, whole and full intromission shall be had of their fruits, by them whom her majesty shall direct thereto: and who [whoever] have not given their just rentals, whatsoever part omitted forth of their said rentals, shall be intromitted with in like manner. And farther, having consulted ripely, and diligently advised upon the common affairs and necessities concerning the queen's majesty, and charges to be borne, for the common weal of the realm, and sustentation of the preachers and readers, conform to the said ordinance made thereupon of [as] before, has findin [decided] and declared the whole third part of all benefices of the which the rentals are produced, to be taken up by the person or persons, to be nominated by her majesty, and to begin upon this last crop in the year of God 1561 years, the same to be employed to the effect foresaid: together with the whole fruits of the benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced; and also, all that is omitted of the rentals produced. And that order be directed by the queen's majesty, to the lords of session, that the old possessors may be answered of the remanent fruits of the said benefices; providing that the third part foresaid be full and whole taken up, by the persons to be deputed to the uptaking thereof; and this order to continue and stand, aye, and until farther order is taken by the queen's majesty, with the advice of the estates. Moreover her highness, by the advice of her highness' council foresaid, has statute and ordained, that annuals, mails, and duties within free burghs and other towns of this realm, as well pertaining to chaplainaries, prebendaries, as to friars, together with the rents of the friars' lands, wherever they be, setting and disposing thereupon, be intro-

mitted with, and uptaken by such as her grace shall depute thereto; for employing of the same by her highness, to hospitals, schools, and other godly uses, as shall seem best to her highness, with advice of her council. And knowing, that nothing is more commodious for the foresaid hospitality, than the places of friars, as [which] are yet undemolished, and as to the entertaining of schools, colleges, and other uses foresaid, ordains the provost and bailies of Aberdeen, Elgin in Murray, Inverness, Glasgow, and other burghs in this realm, where the same are not demolished, to entertain and uphold the said friars' places standing in the said towns, upon the common goods thereof, and to use the same to the common weal and service of the said towns, aye, and until the queen's majesty is farther advised, and take final order in such things, notwithstanding of any other gift, title, or entrance given to whatsoever persons of the said places, with their yards, orchards, and pertinents, by our sovereign lady of [as] before."

The lords of secret council who were present at voting and making of these foresaid acts, were James duke of Chatelherault, George earl of Huntly, Archibald earl of Argyle, William earl of Marshall, John earl of Athol, William earl of Montrose, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, James commendator of St Andrews, John lord Erskine, the treasurer, the clerk of register, the justice clerk, the secretary and comptroller. After the first act, the earl of Huntly said jestingly, "Good day, my lords of the two part." The whole rentals being gathered, the sum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to [nothing].

The ministers, even in the beginning, in public sermons opposed themselves to such corruption, for they foresaw the purpose of the devil, and clearly understood the butt whereat the queen and her flatterers shot. And so in the stool [chair] of Edinburgh, John Knox said, "Well, if the end of this order, pretended to be taken for sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me, for I am assured, that the Spirit

of God is not the author of it, for, first, I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided betwixt God and the devil." "Well," said he, "bear witness to me, that this day I say it, ere it be long the devil shall have three parts of the third; and judge you then, what God's portion shall be." This was an unsavoury saying in the ears of many. Some shamed not to affirm, "The ministers being sustained, the queen will not get at the year's end to buy her a pair of new shoes." And this was secretary Lethington.

There were appointed to modify the ministers' stipends, the earls Argyle, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, justice clerk, and clerk of register. The laird of Pitarrow, was appointed to pay the ministers' stipends, according to their modification. Who would have thought, that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks unto their families;

* The value or efficiency of this, according to the present standard, the reader may calculate as follows: A few pages farther on, Knox informs us of a great dearth in the country, when the necessities of life brought three times their ordinary price. Thus, a boll of wheat was £6, of bear 6½ merks, of meal 4 merks, of oats 50 shillings. Take them at one-third of these prices, and we have a boll of wheat £2, of bear £1, 6s. 8d. (a merk being two-thirds of a pound), of meal 17s. 9d. of oats 16s. 8d. the average of the four articles being £1, 5s. 4¼d. As we have seen in a former note, the bawbie was three pennies, then a pound Scots was 3s. 4d. Sterling, exactly double of what it became in the following reign, and has been ever since. £1, 5s. 4¼d. Scots was equal to nearly 4s. 3d. sterling. The average of the same four articles at present, I take at 18s. sterling; then as 4s. 3d. is to 18s. so is 100 merks at 26¾d. each to £46, 11s. 9d. sterling. This was the minimum of a minister's stipend, according to the present prices; that is, 100 merks would then have bought as much of the indispensable necessities of life as £46, 11s. 9d. will do now. Knox's own stipend in Edinburgh, besides a free house, was £200, which was exactly the maximum, or 300 merks, equal in efficiency to £139, 15s. 3d. of our present money. This would be enough for the support of an ordinary family if they could content themselves with the mere produce of the soil above enumerated, even at the present prices, with the addition of butcher meat at a corresponding rate. Knox adds, that an ox to draw the plough sold for 20 merks, and a wedder at 30s. which I cannot exactly estimate, not knowing their size or weight; but taking them at one-third of the above, which was the dearth price, the ox would

men would rather have thought that Pharaoh's pose [hoard], treasure, and garnells [granaries] should have been diminished, ere that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starve for hunger. But so busy and circumspect were the modifiers—because it was a new office, the term must also be new—that the ministers should not be over wanton, that a hundred merks was sufficient to a single man,* being a common minister: three hundred merks was the highest that was appointed to any, except the superintendents, and a few others; shortly, whether it was the niggardness of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the queen, we know not, but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens—as their complaints in all assemblies do witness—that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing which was appointed, so fain would the comptroller have played

be about 15s. and the wedder exactly 1s. 8d. sterling; so our fathers must have had beef and mutton fully as cheap as bread and beer. Articles of foreign produce, with the duty upon them, constitute the chief expense of a family now. Of these our reforming ministers knew little; and what they did use of foreign luxuries, they had nearly as cheap as their own produce. Thus they could afford to drink French claret, which is scarcely within the reach of even an Edinburgh stipend of the present day. Knox was a gentleman, and a companion of noblemen; and had, of course, higher ideas of a competent maintenance than most of his brethren in the ministry had. Hence his complaint of the smallness of their stipends; but it was enough, had it been well paid, which however it was not, to procure the necessities of life according to the manner of living at the time. Let it be observed, that the minimum was allotted only to single men; and how many single men among us make shift to live comfortably on less than £46, 11s. 9d. a year, without either manse or glebe? They must indeed confine themselves, in a great measure, to the produce of their own soil, as our fathers did before the introduction of Chinese and West India luxuries, which have now become necessities to every man and woman who can procure them. In the well-endowed church of England, there are many ministers with families, who have little more to live on than the church of Scotland at the reformation allowed to single men; for, according to a statement before me, the church of England has at present seven hundred of what she absurdly calls *livings*, under £50 a year; whereas the minimum in Scotland now is £150, besides glebe, garden, and manse.—Ed.

the good valet, and have satisfied the queen, or else his own profit in every point, that he got this diction and proverb, "The good laird of Pitarrow was an earnest professor of Christ, but the meikle devil receive the comptroller, for he and his collectors are become greedy factors." To put an end to this unpleasant matter; when the brethren complained of their poverty, it was disdainfully answered of some, "There are many lairds that have not so much to spend." When men did reason that the vocation of ministers craved of them books, quietness, study, and travail to edify the kirk of Christ Jesus, when many lairds were waiting upon their worldly business; and, therefore, that the stipends of ministers, who had no other industry, but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified according to the living of other common men, who might, and did daily augment their rents by some other industry, when such reasons were laid before them, they got none other answer, but, "The queen can spare no greater sums." Oft was it cried in their ears, "O happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were not hell and heaven?" for to the servants of the devil, to your dumb dogs, and horned bishops, to one of those idle bellies, I say, ten thousand was not enough, but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach his evangel, a thousand pound: how can that be sustained?

One day in reasoning of this matter, the secretary burst out in a piece of his choler, and said, "The ministers have this much paid unto them by year, and who yet ever bade the queen grand mercies [great thanks] for it? Was there ever a minister that gave thanks to God for her majesty's liberality towards them?" One smiled, and answered; "Assuredly, I think, that such as receive any thing gratis of the queen, are unthankful if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and mouth: but whether the ministers be of that rank or not, I greatly doubt. Gratis, I am assured, they receive nothing; and whether they receive any thing at all of the queen, wise men may reason. I am assured, that neither third

nor two part ever appertained to any of her predecessors within this realm these thousand years bypast, neither yet has the queen better title to that which she usurps, be it in giving to others, or in taking to herself, than such as crucified Christ Jesus had to divide his garments amongst them. And if the truth may be spoken, she has not so good title as they had, for such spoil used to be the reward of such men. And in that point these soldiers were more gentle than the queen and her flatterers, for they parted not the garments of our Master, till that he himself was hung upon the cross; but she and her flatterers do part the spoil, while as yet poor Christ is preaching amongst us. But the wisdom of our God taketh trial of us by this mean, knowing well enough what she and her faction have purposed to do. Let the papists, who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten abbacies, and feu lands, thank the queen, and sing, *Placebo Domine*, the poor preachers will not yet flatter, for feeding of their bellies." These words were judged proud and intolerable, and engendered no small displeasure to the speaker. This we put in memory, that the posterities to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph; but because some of ourselves delighted more in darkness than in light, God has restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage; yea, the greatest flatterers have not escaped so free as they supposed, yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worse than the first. "Be merciful to us, O Lord, and entreat us not according to our deservings, but look thou to the equity of the cause which thou hast put in our hands, and suffer not iniquity to oppress thy truth, for thy own name's sake, O Lord."

In this meantime, to wit, in February, 156 $\frac{1}{2}$, was lord James first made earl of Murray, and then married upon Agnes Keith, daughter to the earl of Marshall. The marriage was public in the kirk of Edinburgh; in the marriage they both got an admonition to behave themselves moderately in all things. "For," said the preacher to him, "unto this day has the kirk of God

received comfort by you, and by your labours; in the which, if hereafter ye shall be found fainter than that ye were before, it will be said, that your wife has changed your nature." The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly: there began the masking, which from year to year has continued since. Mr Randolph, agent for the queen of England was then, and sometime after, in no small conceit with our queen: for his mistress' sake, she drank to him [in] a cup of gold, which he possessed with greater joy, for the favour of the giver, than of the gift and value thereof, and yet it was honourable.* The things that then were in handling betwixt the two queens, whereof Lethington, secretary Cecil, and Mr Randolph, were ministers, were of great weight, as we will after hear.

This winter the earl Bothwell, the marquis d'Albuf, and lord John of Coldingham, played the riot in Edinburgh, misordered the whole town, broke Cuthbert Ramsay's gates and doors, sought his house for his good-daughter, Alison Craig; and this was done in despite of the earl of Arran, whose whore the said Alison was suspected to have been. The horror of this fact, and the rarity of it, highly commoved all godly hearts. The assembly, and also the nobility, for the most part were in the town; and so they concluded to crave justice, as that they did, as by this subsequent supplication does appear.

"To the queen's majesty, and her secret and great council, her grace's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus, his holy evangel, wish the spirit of righteous judgment.

"The fear of God conceived of his holy word, the natural and unfeigned love we bear unto your grace, the duty which we owe unto the quietness of our country, and the terrible threatenings which our God pronounces against every realm and city, in the which horrible crimes are committed openly, and then by the committers

obstinately defended, compel us, a great part of your subjects, humbly to crave of your grace, upright and true judgment against such persons as have done what in them lies, to kindle God's wrath against this whole realm. The impiety by them committed is so heinous, and so horrible, that as it is a fact most vile and rare to be heard of within this realm, and principally within the bowels of this city; so should we think ourselves guilty in the same, if negligently, or yet for worldly fear, we pass it over with silence. And, therefore, your grace may not think that we require any thing—while that we crave open malefactors condignly to be punished—but that which God has commanded us to crave, and also has commanded your grace to give to every one of your subjects; for by this link God has knit together the prince and the people, that as he commands honour, fear, and obedience to be given to the powers established by him; so doth he, in express words, command and declare what the prince oweth unto the subjects; to wit, that as he is the minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be taken on evil doers, and for the defence of peaceable and quiet men; so ought he to draw the same without partiality, so often as in God's name he is required thereto.—Seeing so it is, madam, that this crime, so recently committed, and that in the eyes of your whole realm now presently assembled, is so heinous—for who heretofore has heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and doors under silence of night burst up, houses ripped, and that with hostility, seeking a woman, as appeareth, to oppress her—seeing, we say, that this crime is so heinous, that all godly men fear not only God's sore displeasure to fall upon you and your whole realm, but also that such liberty breeds contempt, and in the end sedition, if remedy in time be not provided, which in our judgment is impossible, if severe punishment be not executed for the crime committed: therefore, we most humbly beseech your grace, that all affection set aside, you declare yourself so upright in this case, that ye may give evident

* It would appear she had made him a present of the cup, after having drank out of it.—*Ed.*

demonstration to all your subjects, that the fear of God, joined with the love of common tranquillity, has principal seat and dominion in your grace's heart. This farther, madam, of conscience we speak, that as your grace in God's name does crave of us obedience—which to render in all things lawful, we are most willing—so in the same name do we, the whole professors of Christ's evangel, within this your grace's realm, crave of you, and of your council, sharp punishment of this crime, and for performance thereof, that without all delay, the principal actors of this most heinous crime, and the pursuers of this pretended villany, may be called before the chief justice of this realm to suffer an assize, and to be punished according to the laws of the same. Your grace's answer most humbly we beseech."

This supplication was presented by divers gentlemen. The flatterers of the court at the first stormed, and asked, "Who durst avow it?" To whom the master, now lord Lindsay, answered, "A thousand gentlemen within Edinburgh." Others were ashamed to oppose themselves thereto in public; but they suborned the queen to give a gentle answer, until such time as the convention was dissolved. And so she did; for she lacks no craft, both to cloak and maintain impiety, and whoredom in special. She alleged, "That her uncle was a stranger, and that he had a young company; but she should put such order unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they should have no occasion to complain." And so eluded she the just petition of her subjects, and no wonder; for how shall she punish in others that vice, which in France is free without punishment? And which kings and cardinals use most commonly, as the mask and dancing of Orleans can witness; wherein virgins and men's wives

were made as common to king Henry and Charles, the cardinals, and to their court and pages, as common harlots of the brothel are unto their companions. The manner was thus: at the entry of king Henry of France, into the town of Orleans, the matrons, virgins, and men's wives were commanded to present themselves in the king's palace at night to dance: and they obeyed; for commonly the French nation is not hard to be entreated to vanity. After fiddling and flinging, and when the cardinal of Lorraine had espied his prey, he said to the king, "*Sire, le première est vôtre, et faut que je sois le second:*" that is, "Sir, the first choice is yours, and I must be the second." And so the king got the pre-eminence, that he had his first election; but, because cardinals are companions to kings, the cardinal had the next. And thereafter the torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himself the best he might. What cry was there of husbands for their wives, of wives for their husbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, and of virgins for friends, or for some honest men, to defend their pudicity [chastity], Orleans will remember more king's days than one. This horrible villany—a fruit of the cardinal of Lorraine's religion—we shortly touch, to let the world understand, what subjects may look [expect] of such magistrates: for such pastime to them is but *joyeuseté*, wherein our queen was brought up. [We call her not a whore—albeit her dame heard more than we will write—but she was brought up in the company of the vilest whoremongers—yea, of such as no more regard incest, than honest men regard the company of their lawful wives—in the company of such men, we say, was our queen brought up. What she was and is, herself best knoweth, and God, we doubt not, will farther declare;]*

* The inclosed passage is wanting in David Buchanan's and all the modern editions, and in lieu of it we have the following reflections, which are not at all in Knox's style, for he made no account of "excellent natural endowments," when accompanied by such moral obliquity:—"It had been good for our queen that she had been brought up in better company, both for her credit and for the course of her life; and it may be, that her excellent natural

endowments had been better employed for her reputation and happiness, than they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of those who wished her truly well." This is evidently meant as a palliation of the queen's conduct, which Buchanan ought to have given as his own in a note, and not as the words of Knox. In this, and other instances, he is followed by all the subsequent editions, with the exception of the Glasgow MS. one.—*Ed.*

but punishment of that enormity and fearful attempt we could get none: but more and more they presumed to do violence, and frequented nightly maskings. Some—as Robin Craig's house, because his daughter was fair—delighted therein: others lamented, and began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the lord duke's friends assembled upon a night upon the causeway. The abbot of Kilwinning, who then was joined to the kirk, and so, as we understand, yet abideth, was the principal man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithful; and amongst others came Andrew Stewart, lord Ochiltree—a man rather born to make peace, than to brag upon the causeway—and demanded the quarrel; and being informed of the former enormity, said, “Nay, such impiety shall not be suffered, so long as God shall assist us: the victory that God in his mercy has given us, we will by his grace maintain.” And so he commanded his son Andrew Stewart, then master, and his servants, to put themselves in order, and to bring forth their spears and long weapons; and so did others. The word came to the earl Bothwell and his, that the Hamiltons were upon the street. Vows were made, “That the Hamiltons should be dung [driven], not only out of the town, but also out of the country.” Lord John of Coldingham had married the said earl Bothwell's sister—a sufficient woman for such a man;—alliance drew the lord Robert, and so they joined both with the said earl of Bothwell. But the stoutness of the marquis *le Beuf*—*d'Albuf* they call him—is most to be commended; for in his chamber, within the abbey, he started to a halbert, and ten men were scarce able to hold him: but as chance was, the inner gate of the abbey kept him that night; and the danger was between the cross and the Salt Tron; and so he was a large quarter of a mile from the shot and sklenting of bolts. The master of Maxwell—thereafter made lord Harris—gave declaration to the earl Bothwell, “That if he stirred forth of his lodging, he, and all that would assist him, should resist him in the face;” whose words did somewhat beat down that blast. The earls of

Murray and Huntly, being in the abbey where the marquis was, came with their companies sent from the queen, to stay that tumult, as that they did; for Bothwell and his were commanded, under pain of treason, to keep their lodging.

It was whispered of many, that the earl of Murray's displeasure was as much sought as any hatred that the Hamiltons bore against the earl of Bothwell, or yet he against them. And in very deed, either had the duke very false servants, or else by Huntly and the Hamiltons, the earl of Murray's death was oftener conspired than once: the suspicion whereof burst forth so far, that upon a day the said earl being upon horse to have come to the sermon, was charged by one of the duke's own servants to return and abide with the queen. The bruit thereof spread over all; what ground it had, we cannot say, but shortly thereafter the duke and some of the lords convened at Glasgow; their conclusion was not known. The earl of Arran came to Edinburgh, where the earl Bothwell lay. The queen and the court were departed to Fife, and remained sometimes in St Andrews and sometimes in Falkland.

The earl of Bothwell, by the means of James Boron, burgess and then merchant of Edinburgh, desired to speak with John Knox secretly; which the said John gladly granted, and spake with him upon a night, first in the said James' lodging, and thereafter in his own study. The sum of all their communication and conference was: The said lord lamented his former inordinate life; and especially that he was provoked by the enticements of the queen regent to do that which he sore repented, as well against the laird of Ormiston, whose blood was spilt, albeit not in his default. But his chief dolor was, that he had misbehaved himself against the earl of Arran, whose favour he was most willing to redeem, if possible it were that so he might; and desired the said John to give him his best counsel. “For,” said he, “if I might have my lord Arran's favours, I would await upon the court with a page and some few servants to spare my expenses, where now I am compelled to keep, for my own

safety, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my living that is left." To the which, the said John answered, "My lord, would to God that in me were counsel or judgment that might comfort and relieve you: for albeit that to this hour it has not chanced me to speak with your lordship face to face, yet have I borne a good mind to your house; and have been sorry at my heart of the troubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my lord, my great grandfather, goodsire [grandfather], and father, have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards; and this is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness, but this is not the chief. But as God has made me his public messenger of glad tidings, so is my will earnest that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, so long as that there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am very sorry that ye have given occasion unto men to be offended with you; but I am more sorry that ye have offended the majesty of God, who by such means oft punishes the other sins of men; and therefore my counsel is, that ye begin at God, with whom if [you] will enter in perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he shall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences. And as for me, if ye will continue in godliness, your lordship shall command me as boldly as any that serve your lordship." The said lord desired him that he would attempt the earl of Arran's mind, if he would be content to accept of him in his favours, which he promised to do. And so earnestly he travailed in that matter, that it was once brought to such an end as all the faithful praised God for such an agreement. The greatest stay stood upon the satisfaction of the laird of Ormiston, who beside his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the communing, pursued by the said earl Bothwell, and his son Mr Alexander Cockburn taken by him and carried with him to Borthwick; but gently enough sent back again. That new trouble so greatly displeased John Knox that he almost gave over farther travailing for amity: but yet upon the excuse of the said earl, and upon

the declaration of his mind, he re-entered in labours, and so brought it to pass, that the laird of Ormiston referred his satisfaction in all things to the judgments of the earls of Arran and Murray, to whom the said earl submitted himself in that head, and thereupon delivered his handwrite, and so was convoyed, by certain of his friends, to the lodging of the Kirk of Field, where the earl of Arran was with his friends, and the said John Knox with him, to bear witness and testification to the end of the agreement. As the said earl of Bothwell entered at the chamber door, and would have done those honours that friends had appointed—Mr Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, and the laird of Riccarton, were the chief friends that communed—the said earl of Arran gently passed unto him, embraced him, and said, "If the heart be upright, few ceremonies may serve and content me." The said John Knox, in audience of them both, and of their friends, said, "Now, my lords, God has brought you together by the labours of simple men, in respect of such as would have travailed therein. I know my labours are already taken in an evil part; but because I have the testimony of a good conscience before my God, that whatsoever I have done, it is in his fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for tranquillity of this realm: seeing, therefore, that my conscience beareth witness unto me, what I have sought and continually seek, I the more patiently bear the misreports and wrongous judgments of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desire you who are the friends to study that amity may increase all former offences being forgot." The friends on either party embraced other, and the two earls departed to a window, and talked by themselves familiarly a reasonable space. And thereafter the earl Bothwell departed for that night, and upon the next day in the morning returned, with some of his honest friends, and came to the sermon with the earl foresaid, whereat many rejoiced; but God had another work to work than the eyes of men could espy.

The Thursday next they dined together, and thereafter the said earl Bothwell and

Mr Gavin Hamilton rode to my lord duke's grace, who then was in Kinneil. What communication was betwixt them, it is not certainly known, but by the report which the said earl of Arran made to the queen's grace, and unto the earl of Murray, by his writings; for upon the Friday, the fourth day after their reconciliation, the sermon being ended, the said earl of Arran came to the house of the said John Knox, and brought with him Mr Richard Strang, and Mr Alexander Guthrie, to whom he had opened the grief of his mind before that John Knox was called; for he was occupied, as commonly he used to be after his sermon, in directing of writings; which ended, the said earl called the three together, and said, "I am treasonably betrayed," and with these words began to weep. John Knox demanded, "My lord, who hath betrayed you?" "A Judas or other," said he; "but I know it is but my life that is sought, I regard it not." The other said, "My lord, I understand not such dark manner of speaking; if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plain." "Well," said he, "I take you three to witness, that I open this unto you, and I will write it unto the queen; an act of treason is laid to my charge: the earl Bothwell has shown to me in council, that he shall take the queen, and put her in my hands in the castle of Dumbarton; and that he shall slay the earl of Murray, Lethington, and others that now misguide her, and so shall I and he rule all. But I know this is devised to accuse me of treason; for I know that he will inform the queen of it: but I take you to witness, that I open it here to you; and I will pass incontinent and write to the queen's majesty, and unto my brother the earl of Murray." John Knox demanded, "Did you consent, my lord, to any part of that treason?" He answered, "No." "Then," said he, "in my judgment, his words, albeit they were spoken, can never be treason to you; for the performance of the fact depends upon your will, whereunto ye say ye have dissented; and so shall that purpose evanish and die by the self, unless that ye waken it; for it is not to be supposed that he will accuse you of

that which he himself has devised, and whereunto ye would not consent." "O," said he, "you understand not what craft is used against me: it is treason to conceal treason." "My lord," said he, "treason must import consent and determination, of the which I hear upon neither of your parts; and therefore, my lord, in my judgment, it shall be more sure and more honourable to you to depend upon your own innocence, and to abide the unjust accusation of another—if any follow thereon, as I think there shall not—than you to accuse, especially after so late reconciliation, and having no other witness but your own affirmation." "I know," said he, "that he will offer the combat unto me, but that would not be suffered in France; but I will do that which I have purposed." And so he departed, and took with him to his lodging the said Alexander Guthrie and Mr Richard Strang, from whence was dited and written a letter to the queen's majesty, according to the former purpose, which letter was directed with all diligence unto her majesty, who then was in Falkland. The earl himself rode after to Kinneil to his father the duke's grace: how he was entreated we have but the common bruit; but from thence he wrote a letter with his own hand in cyphers to the earl of Murray, complaining upon his rigorous handling and treatment by his own father and by his friends; and affirmed farther, that he feared his life, in case that he got no sudden rescue. But thereupon he remained not, but broke the chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain passed to Stirling, and from thence he was convoyed to the Hallyards, where he was kept till that the earl of Murray came unto him and convoyed him to the queen, then being in Falkland, who then was sufficiently instructed of the whole matter; and upon suspicion conceived, had caused apprehend Mr Gavin Hamilton and the earl Bothwell foresaid, who knowing nothing of the former advertisements, came to Falkland, which augmented the former suspicion. But yet the letters of John Knox made all things to be used more circumspcctly, for he did plainly forewarn the earl of Murray that he espied the earl of

Arran to be stricken with frenzy, and therefore willed not overgreat credit to be given unto his words and inventions. And as he advertised, so came it to pass, for within few days his sickness increased; he devised of wondrous signs that he saw in the heavens; he alleged that he was bewitched; he would have been in the queen's bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, he behaved himself in all things so foolishly, that his frenzy could not be hid. And yet were the said earl Bothwell and Mr Gavin, abbot of Kilwinning, kept in the castle of St Andrews, and convened before the council with the said earl of Arran, who ever stood firm, that the earl Bothwell proponed to him such things as he advertised the queen's grace of; but stiffly denied that his father, the said abbot, or his friends, knew any thing thereof, either yet that they intended any violence against him; but alleged, that he was enchanted so to think and write. Whereat the queen, highly offended, committed him to prison with the other two, first in the castle of St Andrews, and thereafter caused them to be convoyed to the castle of Edinburgh; James Stewart of Cardonnel, called captain James, was evil bruited of, for the rigorous entreatment that he showed to the said earl in his sickness, being appointed keeper unto him. To consult upon these accusations, the whole council was assembled at St Andrews, the 18th day of April, 1562 years; in which it was concluded, that, in consideration of the former suspicion, the duke's grace should render to the queen the castle of Dumbarton, the custody whereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawful succession should be seen of the queen's body: but will prevailed against reason and promise, and so was the said castle delivered to captain Anstruther, as having power from the queen and council to receive it.

Things ordered in Fife, the queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began dancing to grow hot; for her friends began to triumph in France. The certainty hereof came to the ears of John Knox, for there were some that showed to him, from time to time, the state of things; and amongst

others, he was assured, that the queen had danced excessively till after midnight, because that she had received letters that persecution was begun again in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tails, and to trouble the whole realm of France. Upon occasion of this text, "And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth," he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and the despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. The report hereof made unto the queen, the said John Knox was sent for. Mr Alexander Cockburn, who before had been his scholar, and then was very familiar with him, was the messenger, who gave him some knowledge both of the report and of the reporters. The queen was in her bed-chamber, and with her, besides the ladies and common servants, were the lord James, the earl of Morton, secretary Lethington, and some of the guard, that had made the report. He was called and accused, as one that had irreverently spoken of the queen, and that travailed to bring her unto hatred and contempt of the people; and that he had extended the bounds of his text: and upon these three heads, made the queen herself a long harangue or oration, whereto the said John answered as follows:

"Madam, this is oftentimes the just recompense which God gives to the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false reports of others to their greater displeasure. I doubt not but that it came to the ears of proud Herod, that our Master Christ Jesus called him a fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent, as he had lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words, and the circumstances of the same. But because they would have credit at court, and lacking virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to plea-

sure your majesty, if it were but flattery and lies: but such pleasure—if any your grace take in such persons—will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I entreated; if there be into you any spark of the Spirit of God, yea, of honesty and wisdom, ye could not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your grace to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve.” [It was even upon the next day after that the sermon was made.]—“My text,” said he, “madam, was this, ‘And now, O kings, understand, be learned, ye judges of the earth.’ After, madam,” said he, “that I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour whereunto God has placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God’s lieutenants, I demanded this question: But O alas! what account shall the most part of the princes make before that supreme judge, whose throne and authority they so manifestly and shamefully abuse? That the complaint of Solomon is this day most true, to wit, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here in this earth; for while that murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say but that the devil has taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent oppressed. And how can it otherwise be? For princes will not understand, they will not be learned, as God commands them. But God’s law they despise, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand; for in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised than in reading or hearing of God’s most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers—which commonly corrupt the youth—are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonition might beat down into them some part of that vanity and pride, whereunto all are born, but in princes take deep root and strength by wicked edu-

cation. And of dancing, madam, I said, that albeit in scripture I find no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy than of sober men; yet do I not utterly damn it, providing that two vices be avoided. The *former*, That the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing. *Secondly*, That they dance not, as the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God’s people: for if any or both they do, as they shall receive the reward of dancers—and that will be to drink in hell, unless they speedily repent—so shall God turn their mirth into sudden sorrow: for God will not always afflict his people, neither yet will he always wink at the tyranny of tyrants. If any man, madam,” said he, “will say that I spake more, let him presently accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them.” Many that stood by bore witness with him, that he had recited the very words that publicly he spake.

The queen looked about to some of the reporters, and said, “Your words are sharp enough as ye have spoken them, but yet they were told to me in another manner. I know,” said she, “that my uncles and ye are not of one religion; and therefore I cannot blame you albeit you have no good opinion of them: but if ye hear any thing of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you.” “Madam,” said he, “I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ; and that for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am assured that their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had that before them have done as they do now. But as to your own person, madam, I would be glad to do all that I could to your grace’s contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my vocation. I am called, madam, to a public function within the kirk of God, and am appointed

by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence; for that labour were infinite. If your grace please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but that ye shall fully understand both what I like and what I dislike, as well in your majesty as in all others.

Or, if your grace will assign unto me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is proponed in public to the kirks of this realm, I will most gladly await upon your grace's pleasure, time, and place: but to come to wait upon your chamber-door or elsewhere, and then to have no farther liberty but to whisper my mind in your grace's ears, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereunto God has called me suffer it; for albeit at your grace's commandment I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this time of day am absent from my book and waiting upon the court." "Ye will not always," said she, "be at your book," and so turned her back. And the said John departed with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some papists offended, said, "He is not afraid." Which heard of him, he answered, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman fear me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure." And so left he the queen and the court for that time.

In this meantime, the negotiation was great betwixt the queen of England and our sovereign: letters, couriers, and posts, ran very frequent. Great bruit was there of the interview and meeting of the two queens at York, and some preparation was made therefore in both realms; but that failed upon the part of England, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in France, as was alleged, which caused the queen and her council to attend upon the south parts of England, for avoiding of inconveniences.

That summer came there an ambassador from the king of Sweden, requiring marriage of our sovereign to his master the king.

His entertainment was honourable, but his petitions liked our queen nothing; for such a man was too base for her estate; for had not she been great queen of France? Fie of Sweden! What is it? But happy was the man that of such a one was forsaken. And yet she refused not one far inferior to a virtuous king.

The earl of Lennox and his wife were committed to the tower of London, for traffic with papists. The young laird of Bar was a traveller in that business, and was apprehended with some letters, which were the cause of his and their trouble.

The earl of Murray made a privy ride to Hawick, upon the fair-day thereof, and apprehended fifty thieves, of which number were seventeen drowned, others were executed in Jedburgh, the principals were brought to Edinburgh, and there suffered, according to their merits upon the Burrowmuir. The queen was nothing content of the prosperity and good success that God gave to the earl of Murray in all his enterprises, for she hated his upright dealing, and the image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time she could not well have been served without him.

The assembly of the kirk at mid-summer, the 24th of June, anno 1562, approached, in the which were many notable heads entreated concerning good order to be kept in the kirk, for the papists and the idolatry of the queen began to trouble the former good order. Some ministers, like as Mr John Sharp, had left their charges, and entered into other vocations more profitable for the belly, against whom were acts made, although to this day they have not been put in execution. The tenor of the supplication read in open audience, and approved by the whole assembly to be presented to the queen's majesty, was this:

"To the queen's majesty, and her most honourable privy council, the superintendents and ministers of the evangel of Jesus Christ within this realm, together with the commissioners of the whole kirks, desire grace and peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteousness judgment.

“ Having in mind that fearful sentence, pronounced by the eternal God, against the watchmen that see the sword of God’s punishment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the princes and rulers that they may repent, we cannot but signify unto your highness and council, that the state of this realm is such for this present; that unless redress and remedy be shortly provided, that God’s hand cannot long spare in his anger, to strike the head and the tail; the inobedient prince and sinful people: for as God is unchangeable and true, so must he punish in these our days, the grievous sins which before we read he has punished in all ages, after that he has long called for repentance, and none is shown. And that your grace and council may understand what be the things we desire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we assuredly know to be the fountain and spring of all other evils that now abound in this realm, to wit, that idol and bastard service of God, the mass. The fountain, we call it, of all impiety, not only because many take boldness to sin, by reason of that opinion which they have conceived of that idol, to wit, that by the virtue of it they get remission of their sins; but also because that under the colour of the mass, are whores, adulterers, drunkards, blasphemers of God, of his holy word and sacraments, and such other manifest malefactors, maintained and defended: for, let any mass-sayer or earnest maintainer thereof be deprehended in any of the forenamed crimes, no execution can be had, for all is [alleged to be] done in hatred of his religion, and so are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloaked and defended by that odious idol. But, supposing that the mass were occasion of no such evils, yet in the self it is so odious in God’s presence, that we cannot cease, with all instance to desire the removing of the same, as well from yourself as from all others within this realm; taking heaven and earth, yea, and your own conscience to record, that the obstinate maintenance of that idol, shall in the end be to you, destruction of soul and body.

“ If your majesty demand, why that now

we are more earnest than we have been heretofore? We answer—our former silence no ways excused—because we find us frustrated of our hope and expectation, which was, that in process of time your grace’s heart should have been mollified so far, as that ye would have heard the public doctrine taught within this realm; by the which, our farther hope was, that God’s Holy Spirit should so have moved your heart, that ye would have suffered your religion—which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity—to have been tried by the true touchstone, the written word of God, and that your grace finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the same, should have given that glory unto God, that ye would have preferred his truth unto your own preconceived vain opinion, of what antiquity that ever it has been. Whereof we in a part now discharged, can no longer keep silence, unless we would make ourselves criminal before God of your blood, perishing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admonish you of the dangers to come.

“ The second that we require, is, punishment of horrible vices, such as are adultery, fornication, open whoredom, blasphemy, contempt of God, of his word and sacraments; which in this realm, for lack of punishment, do even now so abound, that sin is reputed to be no sin. And, therefore, as that we see the present signs of God’s wrath now manifestly appear, so do we forewarn, that he will strike, ere it be long, if his law without punishment be permitted thus manifestly to be contemned. If any object, that punishments cannot be commanded to be executed without a parliament; we answer, that the eternal God in his parliament has pronounced death to be the punishment for adultery, and for blasphemy. Whose acts if ye put not to execution—seeing that kings are but his lieutenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death—as that he will repute you, and all others that foster vice, patrons of impiety, so will he not fail to punish you for neglecting of his judgments.

“ Our third request concerns the poor, who be of three sorts. The poor labourers

of the ground; the poor desolate beggars, orphans, widows, and strangers; and the poor ministers of Christ Jesus his holy evangel, who all are so cruelly entreated by this last pretended order taken for sustentation of ministers, that their latter misery far surmounteth the former; for now the poor labourers of the ground are so oppressed by the cruelty of those that pay their third, that they for the most part advance upon the poor, whatsoever they pay to the queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a sustentation to be provided of the tiends, they are so despised, that it is a wonder that the sun giveth light and heat unto the earth, where God's name is so frequently called upon, and no mercy—according to his commandments—shown to his creatures. And as for the ministers, their livings are so appointed, that the most part shall live but a beggar's life: and all cometh of that impiety that the idle-bellies of Christ's enemies must be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your grace and honours our conscience, which is this, that neither by the law of God, neither yet by any just law of man, is any thing due unto them who now most cruelly do exact of the poor and rich, the two parts of their benefices, as they call them. And, therefore, we most humbly require, that some other order be taken with them, nor that they be set up again to empire above the people of God, either yet above any subject within this realm; for we fear that such usurpation to their former state, be neither in the end pleasing to themselves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that tyranny. If any think that a competent living is to be assigned to them, we repugn not, provided that the labourers of the ground be not oppressed, the poor be not utterly neglected, and the ministers of the word so sharply entreated as now they are. And finally, that those idle-bellies, who by law can crave nothing, shall confess that they receive their sustentation, not of debt, but as of benevolence. Our humble request is, therefore, that some sudden order may be taken, that the poor labourers may find

some relief, and that in every parish some portion of the tiends may be assigned to the sustentation of the poor within the same: and likewise that some public relief may be provided for the poor within burghs, that collectors may be appointed to gather; and that sharp counts may be taken, as well of their receipt, as of their deliverance. The farther consideration to be had to our ministers, we some part remit to your wisdoms and unto their particular complaints.

“ Our fourth petition is for the manseyards and glebes justly appertaining to the ministers, without the which it is impossible unto them quietly to serve their charges; and, therefore, we desire that order be taken thereinto without delay.

“ Our fifth concerns the inobedience of certain wicked persons, who not only trouble, and have troubled ministers, within their functions, but also disobey the superintendents in their visitation; whereof we humbly crave remedy: which we do not so much for any fear that we and our ministers have of the papists, but for the love we bear to the common tranquillity. For this we cannot hide from your majesty and council, that if the papists think to triumph where they may, and to do what they list, where there is not a party able to resist them, that some will think, that the godly must begin where they left, who heretofore have borne all things patiently, in hope that laws should have bridled the wicked. Whereof, if they be frustrated—albeit that nothing be more odious to them than tumults and domestic discords—yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their own eyes they behold that house of God demolished, which with travail and danger God hath within this realm erected by them.

“ Last, we desire, that such as have received remission of their thirds, be compelled to sustain the ministers within their bounds, or else we forewarn your grace and council, that we fear, that the people shall retain the whole in their hands, until such time as their ministers be sufficiently provided. We farther desire the kirks to be repaired, according to an act set forth by

the lords of the secret council, before your majesty's arrival in this country. That judges be appointed to hear the causes of divorcement; for the kirk can no longer sustain that burthen, especially, because there is no punishment for the offenders. That sayers and hearers of mass, profaners of the sacraments, such as have entered into benefices by the pope's bulls, and such other transgressors of the law made at your grace's arrival within this realm, may be severely punished; for else men will think that there is no truth meant in making of such laws. Farther, we most humbly desire of your grace and honourable council, a resolute answer to every one of the heads forewritten, that the same being known, we may somewhat satisfy such as be grievously offended at manifest iniquity now maintained, at oppression, under pretext of law, done against the poor, and at the rebellious disobedience of many wicked persons against God's word and holy ordinance.

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so rule your hearts, and direct your grace and council's judgments by the ditement and illumination of his Holy Spirit, that ye may answer so, as that your consciences may be absolved in the presence of that righteous judge, the Lord Jesus; and then we doubt not but you yourselves shall find felicity, and this poor realm, that long has been oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquillity and rest, with the true knowledge of God."

These things read in public assembly, as said is, were approved of all: and some wished that more sharpness had been used, because that the time so craved. But the minions of the court, and secretary Lethington above others, could not abide such hard speaking; "For who ever saw it written," said he, "to a prince, 'That God would strike the head and the tail: that if papists did what they list, men would begin where they left?' But above all others that was most offensive, that the queen was accused, as that she would raise up papists and papistry again. To put that in the people's heads, was no less than treason: for oaths were made, that she never meant

such things." To whom it was answered, "That the prophet Isaiah used such manner of speaking: and it was no doubt but that he was well acquainted in the court; for it was supposed, that he was of the king's stock. But howsoever it was, his words make manifest, that he spake to the court and courtiers, to judges, ladies, princes and priests: and yet," says he, "'The Lord shall cut away the head and the tail,'" &c. "And so," said the first writer, "I find that such phrase was once used before us." "And if this offend you, that we say, 'Men must begin where they left, in case papists do as they do;' we would desire you to teach us, not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do, when our ministers are stricken, our superintendents disobeyed, and a plain rebellion decreed against all good order." "Complain," said Lethington. "Whom to?" said the other. "To the queen's majesty," said the other. "How long shall we do so?" said the whole. "Till that ye get remedy," said the justice clerk: "give me their names, and I shall give you letters." "If the sheep," said one, "shall complain to the wolf, that the wolves and whelps have devoured their lambs, the complainer may stand in danger, but the offender, we fear, shall have liberty to hunt after his prey." "Such comparisons," said Lethington, "are very unsavoury: for I am assured, that the queen will neither erect, nor yet maintain papistry." "Let your assurance," said another, "serve yourself, but it cannot assure us: for her manifest proceedings speak the contrary." After such taunting reasoning on both sides, the multitude concluded, that the supplication, as it was conceived, should be presented, unless that the secretary would form one more agreeable to the present necessity. He promised to keep the substance of ours, but he would use other terms, and ask things in a more gentle manner. The first writer answered, "That he served the kirk at their commandment, and was contented, that in his dictment should men use the liberty that best pleaseth them, provided that he were not compelled to subscribe to the flattery of such as more re-

garded the persons of men and women, than the simple truth of God." And so was this former supplication given to be reformed, as Lethington's wisdom thought best. And in very deed he framed it so, that when it was delivered by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, and when that she had read somewhat of it, she said, "Here are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are." And so for our painted oratory, we were termed the next name to flatterers and dissemblers. But for that session the kirk received none other answer.

Short after the convention of the kirk, chanced that unhappy pursuit, which John Gordon, laird of Findlater, made upon the lord Ogilvie, who was evil hurt, and almost yet abides mutilation. The occasion was, for certain lands and rights, which old Findlater had resigned to the said lord, which he was pursuing, and was in appearance to obtain his purpose, whereat the said John and his servants were offended, and, therefore, made the said pursuit, upon a Saturday at night, betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the said lord were either not with him, or else not willing to fight that night, for they took strokes, but gave few that left marks. The said John was taken, and put in the tolbooth, where he remained certain days, and then broke his ward, some judged, at his father's commandment; for he was making preparation for the queen's coming to the north, as we will after hear.

The interview and meeting of the two queens, delayed till the next year, our sovereign took purpose to visit the north, and departed from Stirling in the month of August. Whether there was any secret paction and confederacy betwixt the papists in the south, and the earl of Huntly and his papists in the north; or, to speak more plainly, betwixt the queen herself and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm: but the suspicions were wondrous vehement, that there was no good will borne to the earl of Murray, nor yet to such as depended upon him at that time. The history we shall faithfully declare, and so leave the judgment free to the readers.

That John Gordon broke his ward, we have already heard; who immediately thereafter repaired to his father George, then earl of Huntly; and understanding the queen's coming, made great provision in Strathbogie, and in other parts, as it were to receive the queen. At Aberdeen, the queen and court remained certain days to deliberate upon the affairs of the country; where some began to smell, that the earl of Huntly was under gathering, as hereafter shall be declared. While things were so working in the north, the earl Bothwell broke his ward, and came forth of the castle of Edinburgh, the 28th of August. Some say he broke the stanchels of the window, others whispered, that he got easy passage by the gates. One thing is certain, to wit, the queen was little offended at his escaping. There passed with him a servant of the captain's, named James Porterfield. The said earl showed himself not very afraid, for his common residence was in Lothian. The bishop of St Andrews, and abbot of Crossraguel, kept secret convention that same time in Paisley, to whom resorted divers papists; yea, the said bishop spoke the duke, unto whom also came the lord Gordon from the earl of Huntly, requiring him "to put to his hands in the south as he should do in the north, and so it should not be Knox's crying nor preaching that should stay that purpose." The bishop, be he never so close, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table said, "The queen has gone into the north, belike to seek disobedience; she may perchance find the thing she seeks." It was constantly affirmed, that the earl of Bothwell and the said lord Gordon spake together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

That same year, and at that instant time, were appointed commissioners by the general assembly to Carrick and Cunningham, Mr George Hay, who with great fruit preached the space of a month in the kirks of Carrick. To Kyle and to the parts of Galloway, was appointed John Knox, who, beside the doctrine of the evangel shown to the common people, forewarned some of the nobility and barons of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing shortly

to follow; and exhorted them to put themselves in such order as that they might be able to serve the authority, and yet not to suffer the enemies of God's truth to have the upper hand. Whereupon a great part of the barons and gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, professing the true doctrine of the evangel, assembled at Ayr; and after exhortation made, and conference had, subscribed this bond. The tenor whereof follows:

"We, whose names are underwritten, do promise, in the presence of God, and in presence of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that we, and every one of us, shall and will maintain and assist the preaching of his holy evangel, now of his mere mercy, offered unto this realm: and also will maintain the ministers of the same against all persons, power, and authority, that will oppose the self to the doctrine proponed, and by us received. And further, with the same solemnity, we protest and promise, that every one of us shall assist others; yea, and the whole body of the protestants within this realm, in all lawful and just actions, against all persons; so that whosoever shall hurt, molest, or trouble any of our body, shall be reputed enemy to the whole, except that the offender will be content to submit himself to the judgment of the kirk, now established amongst us. And this we do, as we desire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and reaccounted worthy of credit and honesty in the presence of the godly. At the burgh of Ayr, the fourth day September, the year of God 1562. Subscribed by all these with their hands, as follows:

"MR MICHAEL WALLACE, provost of Ayr,
 JAMES LOCKHART,
 WILLIAM MONTGOMERY,
 JOHN CRAWFORD of Wolston,
 JOHN MURE in Wole,
 HUGH WALLACE of Carnel,
 JAMES CHALMER of Gathgirth,
 HUGH MONTGOMERY of Heshielhead,
 JOHN FULLARTON of Dreghorn,
 Sir WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM with my hand,
 SKELDON,

FERGUSHILL,
 Master of BOYD,
 JOHN LOCKHART of Bar,
 WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM of Caprington, yr.
 ROBERT KER of Kersland,
 ROBERT CRAWFORD,
 DAVID CRAWFORD,
 WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM,
 CHARLES CAMPBELL burghess of Ayr,
 JAMES DALRYMPLE of Stair,
 MUNGO MUIR,
 JAMES REID,
 JAMES KENNEDY burghess of Ayr,
 GEORGE LOCKHART burghess there,
 ROBERT SHAW burghess there,
 JOHN DUNBAR of Blantyre,
 ROBERT CHALMER of Martuein,
 ROBERT HUNTER of Hunterston,
 ROBERT RANKIN,
 ARCHIBALD BOYLE,
 ALEXANDER NISBET,
 JAMES LOCKHART,
 WILLIAM STEWART of Halrig,
 HECTOR DUNBAR of Cloustang,
 JAMES CAMPBELL of Houthley,
 ADAM CATHCART of Bardarot,
 GEORGE REID of Chapelhouse,
 HUGH WALLACE of the Meanford,
 GLENCAIRN,
 R. BOYD,
 R. FAILFORD,
 MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Loudon, knight,
 ALLAN lord Cathcart,
 JOHN CUNNINGHAM of Caprington,
 CUNNINGHAMHEAD,
 OCHILTREE,
 GEORGE CRAWFORD of Lochnorris,
 JOHN MUIR of Rowallan,
 HUGH CUNNINGHAM of Waterston,
 ROBERT CUNNINGHAM,
 AUCHINARVEY,
 MIDDLETON,
 JOHN WALLACE of Craigie,
 JOHN BOYD of Narston,
 ROBERT CAMPBELL of Kingzeanleuch,
 GILBERT EALES,
 THOMAS CATHCART with my hand,
 ALLAN CATHCART of Clawance,
 ADAM REID of Barskyming,
 JOHN CATHCART of Gibbyard,
 JOHN REID with my hand,
 JOHN *
 ROBERT BOYD of Pemont,
 WILLIAM CAMPBELL of Horsecleugh,
 WILLIAM CATHCART, brother to the lord
 Cathcart,
 JOHN MACQUISDALE,

* Perhaps the surname could not be deciphered. The other editions have only a few of the subscriptions, and these chiefly of men of title.

Some of the places are probably now known under other names, or are differently written.—*Ed.*

GEORGE CORRY of Kelwood,
 WILLIAM KENNEDY of Ternganoth,
 JOHN KENNEDY of Kirkmichael,
 THOMAS MACALEXANDER of Corsclaise,
 ROBERT CAMPBELL of Craydow
 ANDREW NIVEN of Monkreddeu,
 WILLIAM CATHCART,
 DAVID CRAWFORD of the Kers,
 JOHN KENNEDY of Ternganoth,
 PATRICK KENNEDY of Dalgarrach,
 ALLAN CATHCART of Carlton,"

With many other gentlemen of worth, and burghesses.

These things done at Ayr, the said John passed to Nithsdale and Galloway, where in conference with the master of Maxwell, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated with him such things as he feared; who by his motion wrote to the earl Bothwell, to behave himself as became a faithful subject, and to keep good quietness in the parts committed to his charge, and so would his crime of breaking the ward be more easily pardoned. John Knox wrote unto the duke's grace, and earnestly exhorted him, neither to give ear to the bishop his bastard brother, nor yet to the persuasions of the earl of Huntly; for if he did, he assured him, that he and his house should come to a sudden ruin. By such means were the south parts kept in a reasonable quietness during the time that the troubles were in brewing in the north; and yet the bishop and the abbot of Crossraguel, did what in them lay to have raised some trouble; for besides the fearful bruits that they spread abroad, sometimes that the queen was taken, sometimes that the earl of Murray and all his band were slain, and sometimes that the queen had given herself unto the earl of Huntly; besides such bruits, the bishop, to break the country of Kyle, where quietness then was greatest, raised the Crawford's against the Reids for the payment of the bishop's pasch fines; but that was stayed by the labours of indifferent men, who favoured peace.

The abbot of Crossraguel required disputation of John Knox for maintaining of the mass, which was granted unto him, and which held in Maybole three days. The abbot had the advantage that he required, to wit, he took upon him to prove,

that Melchisedec offered bread and wine unto God, which was the ground that the mass was builded upon to be a sacrifice, &c. But in the travail of three days there could no proof be produced for Melchisedec's oblation, as in the same disputation—which is to be had in print—clearly may appear. The papists constantly looked for a wolter [turn or change in their favour], and therefore they would make some brag of reasoning. The abbot farther presented himself to the pulpit, but the voice of Mr George Hay so feared him, that after once he wearied of that exercise.

After that the queen was somewhat satisfied with hunting, and other pastime, she came to Aberdeen, where the earl of Huntly met her, and his lady, with no small train, remained in court, was supposed to have the greatest credit, departed with the queen to Buchan, met her again at Rothmay, looking that she should have passed with him to Strathbogie. But in the journey certain word came to her that John Gordon had broken promise in not re-entering in ward; for his father the earl had promised that he should enter again within the castle of Stirling, and there abide the queen's pleasure: but whether with his father's knowledge and consent, or without the same, we know not, but he refused to enter, which so offended the queen, that she would not go to Strathbogie but passed to Strathlaw through Inverness, where the castle thereof was denied unto her. The captain was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief, for so had John Gordon promised; but being thereof frustrated, the castle was rendered, and the captain named Gordon was executed. The rest were condemned, and the hands of some bound, but escaped.

This was the beginning of farther trouble; for the earl of Huntly thereat offended, began to assemble his folk, and spared not to speak that he would be revenged. But always his wife bore fair countenance to the queen; and it is verily supposed, that no other harm than the queen herself could easily have stood content with, was meant unto her own person: but the whole malice lay upon the earl of Murray, secre-

tary Lethington, and upon the laird of Pitarrow. Yet the queen began to be afraid, and by proclamation caused warn Stirling, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathearn, [and] charged all substantial men to be in Aberdeen the fifth day of October, there to remain the space of twenty days. In her returning from Inverness, she required the castle of Findlater, which was likewise denied, and so was Achindon, which more inflamed the queen. The earl of Huntly was charged to cause deliver the said houses under the pain of treason. To show some obedience, he caused the keys of both to be presented by his servant Mr Thomas Keir; but before had the queen sent young captain Stewart—son to captain James, who to this day has neither been stout, happy, nor true—with six score of soldiers, to lie about the said place of Findlater; they lodged in Cullen, not far distant from the said place. Upon a night John Gordon came with a company of horsemen, took the captain, slew certain of the soldiers, and disarmed the rest. This fact done—as the queen alleged—under trust [accusation], so inflamed her, that all hope of reconciliation was past; and so the said earl of Huntly was charged, under pain of putting him to the horn, to present himself and the said John before the queen and council within six days, which charge he disobeyed, and so was denounced rebel. Whether it was law or not, we dispute little thereunto, but it was a preparative to others that after were served with the same measure. He was sought at his place of Strathbogie, but escaped. The evil increased, for the earl assembled his folk out of all parts of the north; he marched forwards towards Aberdeen, and upon the twenty-second day of October, the year of God 1562, came to the loch of Skene. His army was judged to be seven or eight hundred men. The queen's army, both in number and manhood, far surmounted his, and yet he took no fear; for he was assured of the most part of them that were with the queen, as the issue did witness. Within the town they stood in great fear; and therefore it was concluded that they would assail the uttermost upon the fields.

The Forbese, Hays, and Leslies, took the vanguard, and promised to fight the said earl without any other help. They passed forth of the town before ten hours, they put themselves in array, but they approached not to the enemy till that the earl of Murray and his company were come to the fields, and that was after two at afternoon; for he was appointed with his company only to have beheld the battle: but all things turned otherwise than the most part of men supposed. The earl of Huntly was the night before determined to have retired himself and his company; but that morning he could not be wakened before it was ten hours, and when he was upon foot his spirits failed him, by reason of his corpulency, so that rightly a long time he could do nothing. Some of his friends, fearing the danger, left him. When that he looked upon both the companies, he said, "This great company that approacheth nearest unto us will do us no harm, they are our friends; I only fear yonder small company that stands upon the hill-side, yon are our enemies; but we are enough for them, if God be with us." And when he had thus spoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his prayer in this form: "O Lord, I have been a bloodthirsty man, and by my means has much innocent blood been spilt; but wilt thou give me victory this day, and I shall serve thee all the days of my life." Note and observe, good reader, he confessed that he had been a bloodthirsty man, and that he had been the cause of the shedding of much innocent blood, but yet would he have had victory; and what was that else, but to have had power to have shed more, and then would he have satisfied God for altogether? wherein is expressed the nature of hypocrites, who neither fear nor love God farther than present danger or profit moveth. But to our history.

The Leslies, Hays, and Forbese spying the earl of Murray and his to be lighted upon their feet, made forward against the earl of Huntly and his, who stood in Carrochy Burn—some call it Farabank,—but ere they approached near by the space of the shot of an arrow, they cast from them

their spears and long weapons, and fled directly in the faces of the earl of Murray and his company. The danger espied, the laird of Pitarrow—a man both stout and of a ready wit—with the master, now lord Lindsay, and tutor of Pitcur, said, “Let us cast down spears to the foremost, and let them not come in among us, for there is no doubt but this flying is by treason:” and so they did, so that they that fled kept themselves apart from the few number that were marching upon foot in order. The earl of Huntly seeing the vanguard flee, said unto his company, “Our friends are honest men, they have kept promise; let us now rencounter the rest;” and so he and his, as sure of victory, marched forward.

The secretary in few words made a vehement orison, and willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude; and in the end concluded thus: “O Lord, thou that rulest the heaven and earth, look upon thy servants, whose blood this day is most unjustly sought, and to man’s judgment is sold and betrayed. Our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee. Judge thou, O Lord, this day betwixt us and the earl of Huntly, and the rest of our enemies; if ever we have unjustly sought his or their destruction and blood, let us fall in the edge of the sword. And, O Lord, if thou knowest our innocence, maintain thou and preserve us for thy great mercy’s sake.”

Short after the speaking of these and the like words, the former ranks joined, for Huntly’s company made great haste; they were repulsed by the master of Lindsay, and the companies of Fife and Angus. Some of them that fled returned, and followed the earl of Murray, but gave no strokes till that Huntly’s company gave back. In the front there were slain about eighteen or twenty-four men, and in the flying there fell near a hundred; there were taken a hundred, and the rest were

spared. The earl himself was taken alive, his two sons, John foresaid, and Adam Gordon, were taken with him. The earl immediately after his taking, departed this life, without any wound, or yet appearance of any stroke, whereof death might have ensued; and so, because it was late, he was cast over athwart [across] a pair of creels, and so was carried to Aberdeen, and was laid in the tolbooth thereof, that the response which his wife’s witches* had given might be fulfilled, who all affirmed—as the most part say—that that same night should he be in the tolbooth of Aberdeen without any wound upon his body. When his lady got knowledge thereof, she blamed her principal witch, called Janet; but she stoutly defended herself—the devil can ever do—and affirmed, that she gave a true answer, albeit she spake not all the truth; for she knew that he should be there dead: but that could not profit my lady, she was angry and sorry for a season. But the devil, the mass, and witches, have as great credit of her this day, the 12th of June, 1566, as they had seven years ago.

The earl of Murray sent message unto the queen of the marvellous victory, and humbly prayed her to show that obedience to God as publicly to convene with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She gloomed [frowned] both at the messenger and at the request, and scarcely would give a good word or blithe countenance to any that she knew earnest favourers of the earl of Murray, whose prosperity was, and yet is a very venom to her boldened heart, against him for his godliness and upright plainness. Of many days she bore no better countenance; whereby it might have been evidently espied, that she rejoiced not greatly of the success of that matter; and albeit she caused execute John Gordon and divers others, yet it was the destruction of others that she sought.

* Knox seems to have entertained no doubt of the existence of witches, or persons who maintained intercourse with the devil, which was indeed the prevailing belief in Scotland for nearly two centuries after his time. About the middle of last century, an enlightened English parliament repealed the law that required the

burning of witches; and I believe there is no evidence of one having existed, since they might have lawfully done so. Yet, within my own recollection, the repeal of the above law was regarded as a great national sin, and was made a ground of public fasting and humiliation.—*Ed.*

Upon the morrow after the discomfiture, the lady Forbes, a woman both wise and fearing God, came amongst many others to visit the corpse of the said earl; and seeing him lie upon the cold stones, having only upon him a doublet of canvas, a pair of Scottish grey hose, and covered with an arras-work; she said, "What stability shall we judge to be in this world? There lieth he that yesterday in the morning was held the wisest, the richest, and a man of greatest power that was in Scotland." And in very deed she lied not, for in man's opinion, under a prince, there was not such a one these three hundred years in this realm produced: but felicity and worldly wisdom so blinded him, that in the end he perished in them, as shall all those that despise God and trust in themselves.

John Gordon, at his death, confessed many horrible things, devised by his father, by his brother, and by himself. There were letters found in the earl's pocket that disclosed the treason of the earl of Sutherland, and of divers others. Mr Thomas Keir, who before was the whole counsellor to the earl foresaid, disclosed whatsoever he understood might hurt the Gordons and their friends, and so was the treason plainly disclosed; which was, that the earl of Murray, with certain others, should have been murdered in Strathbogie; the queen should have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the said earl of Huntly. These things, we say, revealed, the queen left the north and came to Dundee, St Johnstone, Stirling, and then to Edinburgh. The earl of Huntly's body was carried about in a boat, and laid without burial in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, till the day of his forfeiture, as after shall be declared. The duke apprehended the lord Gordon his son-in-law, because that the queen had straitly commanded him so to do, if he repaired within his bounds. Before he delivered him, the earl of Murray laboured at the queen's hand for the safety of his life, which hardly was granted; and so was he delivered within the castle of Edinburgh, the 28th day of November, 1562, where he remained till the 8th of February; when he was put to an assize, accused, and con-

victed of treason; but was restored again, first, to the castle foresaid, and thereafter was transported to Dunbar, where he remained prisoner till the month of August, in the year of God 1565 years, as we will after hear.

In this meantime the troubles were hot in France, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two queens was great. Lethington was directed with large commission, both to the queen of England and to the Guisans.

The marriage of our queen was in all men's mouths; some would have [the infant of] Spain, some the emperor's brother, some lord Robert Dudley, some duke Denemours, and some unhappily guessed at the lord Darnley. What Lethington's credit was, we know not; but shortly after there began much to be talked of the earl of Lennox, and of his son the lord Darnley. It was said that Lethington spoke the lady Margaret Douglas, and that Robert Melville received a horse to the secretary's use from the earl of Lennox, or from his wife. Howsoever it was, Mr Fowler, servant to the said earl, came with letters to the queen's grace, by the which, license was permitted to the earl of Lennox to come to Scotland, to travail in his lawful business. That same day that the said license was granted, the secretary said, "This day I have taken the deadly hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and have done unto them no less displeasure, than if I had cutted their throats." The earl Bothwell, who before had broken ward, fearing apprehension, prepared to pass to France, but by storm of weather was driven into England, where he was stayed, and was offered to have been rendered by the queen of England: but our queen's answer was, "That he was no rebel, and, therefore, she requested that he should have liberty to pass where he pleased." And thereto Lethington helped not a little; for he travailled to have friends in every faction of the court. And so obtained the said earl license to pass to France.

The winter after the death of the earl of Huntly, the court remained for the most part at Edinburgh. The preachers were

wondrous vehement in reprehension of all manner of vice, which then began to abound; and specially avarice, oppression of the poor, excess, riotous cheer, banqueting, immoderate dancing, and whoredom, that thereof ensues. Whereat the courtiers began to storm, and pick quarrels against the preachers, alleging that all their preaching was turned to railing; whereunto one of them gave answer as followeth: "It comes to our ears that we are called railers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not ashamed, seeing that the most worthy servants of God that before us have travailed in this vocation, have so been styled: but unto you do I say, that that same God, who from the beginning has punished the contempt of his word, and has poured forth his vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you; yea, he shall not spare you before the eyes of this same wicked generation, for the pleasure whereof ye despise all wholesome admonition. Have ye not seen one greater than any of you sitting where presently ye sit, pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices, were rebuked? Was not his common talk, when the knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace? Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face, that God should revenge that his blasphemy, even in the eyes of such as were witnesses to his iniquity? Then was the earl of Huntly accused by you, as the maintainer of idolatry, and the only hinderer of all good order: him has God punished, even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard; and by your hands has God executed his judgments. But what amendment in any case can be espied in you? Idolatry was never in greater rest, virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt, vice was never more bold, nor less feared punishment. And yet who guides the queen and court? Who but the protestants. O horrible slanderers of God, and of his holy evangel! better it were unto you plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, than thus to expose his blessed evangel to mockage. If God punish not you,

that this same age shall behold and see your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgment guides me not."

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not only of the courtiers, but also of divers others against the speaker, which was John Knox; for such as are in credit, never lack flatterers. "Their brethren of the court were irreverently handled. What was that, but to raise the hearts of the people against them: they did what they might; such speaking would cause them do less." And this was the fruit that the preachers gathered of their just reprehensions.

The general assembly of the kirk, held the 25th of December, 1562, approached, in the which, great complaints were made, that kirks lacked ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends; that wicked men were permitted to be schoolmasters, and so to infect the youth; amongst whom one Mr Robert Cumming, schoolmaster in Arbroath, was complained upon by the laird of Dun, and sentence pronounced against him. It was farther complained, that idolatry was erected in divers parts of this realm; for redress whereof, some thought best, that new supplication should be presented to the queen's grace; others demanded, what answer was received of the former. The superintendent of Lothian confessed the deliverance of it; "but," said he, "I received no answer." It was answered for the part of the queen—for her supports were ever there—"That it was well known to the whole realm what troubles had occurred since the last assembly; and, therefore, that they should not wonder, albeit the queen had not answered: but betwixt that and the parliament, which was appointed to be in May, they doubted not but that such order should be taken, as all men should have occasion to stand content." This satisfied, for that time, the whole assembly. And this was the practice of the queen, and of her council, with fair words to drive time, as before we have said.

The assembly, notwithstanding, proceeded forward in establishing of such order, as whereby vice might be punished, and virtue might be maintained. And because that there was a great slander risen upon Paul

Meffan, of whom mention is made in the second book of this history, commission and charge was given to John Knox, minister of Edinburgh, and unto certain of the elders of the kirk of Edinburgh, to pass to the town of Jedburgh, where the said slander was raised, and to be found there the third of January next, for the trial to be taken in the slander raised, and to hear the articles and complaint of the said Paul, and after the trial, to report the truth to the session of the kirk of Edinburgh; to whom, with the assistance of the superintendent of Lothian, commission was given to discern thereuntil. The trial and examination of that crime was difficult. The slander was universal in that town and country: the servant woman of the said Paul had betwixt terms left his house, she had born a child, no father to it could she find, but alleged herself to have been oppressed late in an evening. The said Paul constantly affirmed himself innocent, and would have given his public purgation, but because his accusators had taken upon them to prove their accusation, that was denied. Many witnesses were produced, of whom some deponed so clearly, that the commissioners suspected that they had been suborned, and therefore they required to have inspection of the places, where some said they saw, and some said they heard them in the very act of iniquity. The sight and consideration of the place augmented greatly the suspicion; but one thing was most suspicious of all others, for the wife of the said Paul, an ancient matron, was absent from him the space of eight or nine weeks in Dundee; which time—or at least a great part thereof—the suspected and he lay nightly in one house, without other company than a child of seven or eight years of age. The judges, notwithstanding these suspicions, having a good opinion of the honesty and godliness of the man, travailed what they could—conscience not hurt—to purge him of the slander: but God, who would not

that such villany should be cloaked and concealed within his kirk, otherwise had decreed, for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the town, having no mind of such matters, who being produced by the accusators, as one that was privy to the fact, and knew the verity with all circumstances; this witness, we say, who could not be suspected, being produced, made the matter so plain and clear, that all suspicion was removed; for he it was that conveyed the woman away, he it was that caused the child to be baptized, alleging it to be his own: he it was that carried frequent messages between them, and from Paul carried money and clothes divers times. How soon that ever the said Paul saw that man produced, as witness, he withdrew himself, and left the town, by that means plainly taking upon him the crime; and so the commissioners with full information returned to Edinburgh, and notified the fact unto the kirk, who caused publicly summon the said Paul to hear the sentence pronounced; who not comparing in the end, for his odious crime and contumacy, was publicly excommunicated, and was deprived of all function within the kirk of Scotland, and so left he the realm.

For two causes we insert this horrible fact, and the order kept in the punishment of the same; first, to forewarn such as travail in that vocation, that according to the admonition of the apostle, "Such as stand, take heed lest they fall." No man in the beginning of the evangel, was judged more fervent and more upright; and yet we have heard how far Satan has prevailed against him. God grant that we may hear of his repentance.* Neither yet ought his fall any thing to prejudge the authority of the doctrine which he taught, for the doctrine of God hath authority of no creature, but has the assurance of God himself, how weak or imperfect that ever the instruments be by whom it pleases God to publish the same. The treason of Judas, the adultery of David, and the abnegation of Peter, did derogate nothing to the glory of Christ's evangel, nor yet to the doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a reprobate, and the

* The writer of the fifth book, whoever he was, gives an account of his profession of repentance, and the steps that were taken thereon.—Ed.

others to be instruments in whom mercy must needs surmount judgment. The other cause is, that the world may see what difference there is betwixt light and darkness, betwixt the uprightness of the kirk of God, and the corruption that reigns in the synagogue of Satan, the papistical rabble; for how many of that sort have been, and still remain openly known whoremongers, adulterers, violaters of virgins, yea, and committers of such abominations as we will not name; and yet are they called and permitted to be bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes themselves: for what sins can unable the sworn servants of Simon, and of his father the devil? For brag what they list of Christ, of Peter, and of Paul, their lives and conversations bear witness to whom they belong. But we return to our history of things done in court.

Amongst the minions of the court, there was one named Monsieur Chatelet, a Frenchman, that at that time passed all others in credit with the queen. In dancing of the purpose—so term they that dance, in the which man and woman talketh secretly; wise men would judge such fashions more like the bordell [brothel], than to the comeliness of honest women. In this dance, the queen chose Chatelet, and Chatelet took the queen, for he had the best dress. All this winter Chatelet was so familiar in the queen's cabinet, early and late, that scarcely could any of the nobility have access unto her. The queen would lie upon Chatelet's shoulder, and sometimes privily would steal a kiss of his neck: and all this was honest enough; for it was the gentle entreatment of a stranger. But the familiarity was so great, that upon a night, he privily did convey himself under the queen's bed; but being espied, he was commanded away. But the bruit arising, the queen called the earl of Murray, and bursting forth in a womanly

affection, charged him, "That as he loved her, he should slay Chatelet, and let him never speak a word." The other at the first made promise so to do; but after calling to mind the judgments of God pronounced against the shedders of innocent blood, and also that none should die, without the testimony of two or three witnesses, returned, and fell upon his knees before the queen, and said, "Madam, I beseech your grace, cause not me to take the blood of this man upon me; your grace has entreated him so familiarly before, that ye have offended all your nobility; and now if he shall be secretly slain, at your own commandment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of justice, and let him suffer by law according to his deserving." "O," said the queen, "ye will never let him speak?" "I shall do," said he, "madam, what in me lieth to save your honour." Poor Chatelet was brought back from Kinghorn to St Andrews, examined, put to an assize, and so beheded the 22d of February, 1562. He begged license to write to France the cause of his death, "Which," said he, "in his tongue, was, 'Pour être trouvé en lieu trop suspect;' that is, 'Because I was found in a place too much suspected.'" At the place of execution, when he saw that there was no remedy but death, he made a godly confession, and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was justly recompensed upon him. But in the end he concluded, looking unto the heavens, with these words, "O cruelle dame!" that is, "cruel mistress." What that complaint imported, lovers may divine. And so received Chatelet the reward of his dancing; for he lacked his head, that his tongue should not utter the secrets of our queen.* "Deliver us, O Lord, from the rage of such inordinate rulers."

The year of God, 1563, there was a uni-

* It ought not perhaps to be surmised that this poor Frenchman came into his "too much suspected" situation with the queen's consent, but her extreme anxiety that he might not be allowed to speak, betrayed a consciousness that he could have said something for himself which

would not have been to her credit. Murray did right not to assassinate him privately, as she desired; but he would have done better if he had procured him a fair trial, with leave to urge what he could in his own defence.—*Ed.*

versal dearth in all Scotland; but in the northland, where the harvest before the queen had travelled, there was an extreme famine, in the which many died in that country. The dearth was great over all; but the famine was principally there. The boll of wheat gave six pounds, the boll of beer six merks and a half, the boll of meal four merks, the boll of oats fifty shillings; an ox to draw in the plough, twenty merks, a wedder thirty shillings. And so all things appertaining to the sustentation of man, in triple and more exceeded their accustomed prices. And so did God, according to the threatening of his law, punish the idolatry of our wicked queen, and our ingratitude, that suffered her to defile the land with that abomination again, that God so potently had purged, by the power of his word. For the riotous feasting, and excessive banquetting, used in court and country, wheresoever that wicked woman repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his malediction upon the fruits of the earth. But O, alas! who looked, or yet looks, to the very cause of all calamities.

Lethington was absent, as before we have heard, in the queen's affairs. The papists at that Pasch, anno 1563, in divers parts of the realm, had erected that idol the mass. Amongst whom the bishop of St Andrews, the prior of Whithorn, with divers others of their faction, would avow it. Besides the first proclamation, there had letters passed in the contrary, with certification of death to the contravener. The brethren universally offended, and espying that the queen, by her proclamation, did but mock them, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish for example of others; and so some priests in the westland were apprehended. Intimation [was] made unto others, as unto the abbot of Crossraguel, the parson of Sanquhar, and such, that they [the brethren] should neither complain to queen nor council, but should execute the punishment that God has appointed to idolaters in his law, by such means as they might, wherever they should be apprehended.

The queen stormed at such freedom of

speaking, but she could not amend it; for the spirit of God, of boldness and of wisdom, had not then left the most part of such as God had made instruments in the beginning. They were of one mind to maintain the truths of God, and to suppress idolatry; particularities had not divided them: and, therefore, could not the devil, working in the queen and in papists, do then what they would; and, therefore, she began to invent a new craft. She sent for John Knox to come unto her, where she lay at Lochleven. She travailed with him earnestly two hours before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the west, not to put hands to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them. The other perceiving her craft, willed her grace to punish malefactors according to the laws, and he durst promise quietness upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland. But if her majesty thought to elude the laws, he said, he feared that some would [make] the papists understand, that without punishment they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's majesty. "Will ye," said she, "allow that they shall take my sword in their hands?" "The sword of justice," said he, "madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for an end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked, and oppressing the innocents, they, that in the fear of God execute judgment, where God has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not; neither yet sin they that bridle kings to strike innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, albeit that king Ahab was present. Phineas was no magistrate, and yet feared he not to strike Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished, the vices and crimes that God commands to be punished; and in this case I

would earnestly pray your majesty to take good advisement, and that your grace should let the papists understand, that their attempts will not be suffered unpunished. For power, by act of parliament, is given to all judges within their own bounds, to search massmongers, or the hearers of the same, and to punish them according to the laws; and, therefore, it shall be profitable to your majesty, to consider what is the thing your grace's subjects look to receive of your majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God. Ye are bound to keep laws unto them. Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, madam, if you shall deny your duty unto them—which especially craves, that ye punish malefactors—think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye shall not." Herewith she being somewhat offended, passed to her supper. The said John left her, informed the earl of Murray of the whole reasoning, and so departed of final purpose to have returned to Edinburgh, without any farther communication with the queen: but before the sun, upon the morn, were two directed—Walter Melvill was the one—to him, commanding him not to depart while [until] that he spoke the queen's majesty, which he did, and met her at the hawking, by west Kinross. Whether it was the night's sleep, or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast, that made her to forget her former anger, wise men may doubt, but thereof she never moved word, but began divers other purposes; such as the offering of a ring to her by the lord Ruthven, "whom," said she, "I cannot love; for I know him to use enchantment, and yet is he made one of my privy council." "Whom blameth your grace," said the other, "thereof?" "Lethington," said she, "was the whole cause." "That man is absent," said he, "for this present, madam; and, therefore, I will speak nothing in that behalf." "I understand," said the queen, "that you are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a superintend-

ent to be established in these countries." "Yes," said he, "those quarters have great need; and some of the gentlemen so require." "But I hear," said she, "that the bishop of Caithness would be superintendent." "He is one," said the other, "madam, that is put in election." "If ye knew him," said she, "as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk." "What he has been," said he, "madam, I neither know, nor yet will I inquire; for in time of darkness what could we do but grope and go wrong, even as darkness carried us? But if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me; and yet," said he, "madam, I am assured God will not suffer his kirk to be so far deceived, as that an unworthy man shall be elected where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon to decide betwixt the two." "Well," says she, "do as ye will; but that man is a dangerous man." And thereuntil was not the queen deceived; for he had corrupted the most part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but also to elect him; which perceived by the said John, commissioner, delayed the election, and left with the master of Maxwell, Mr Robert Pont—who was put in election with the foresaid bishop—to the end that his doctrine and conversation might be the better tried of those that had not known him before. And so was the bishop frustrated of his purpose for that present: and yet was he at that time the man that was most familiar with the said John, in his house, and at table. But now to the former conference. When the queen had long talked with John Knox, and he being often willing to take his leave, she said, "I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this realm, to open unto you, and I must have your help in it." And she began to make a long discourse of her sister, the lady Argyll, how that she was not so circumspect in all things as that she wished her to be; "and yet," said she, "my lord, her husband, whom I love, entreats her not in many things so honestly and so godly, as I think ye yourself would

require." "Madam," said he, "I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put such an end to it—and that was before your grace's arrival—that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content. And she herself promised before her friends, that she should never complain to creature, till that I should first understand the controversy by her own mouth, or else by an assured messenger. I now have heard nothing of her part; and, therefore, I think there is nothing but concord." "Well," said the queen, "it is worse than ye believe. But do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at unity, and if she behave not herself so as she ought to do, she shall find no favours of me: but, in any ways," said she, "let not my lord know that I have requested you in this matter; for I would be very sorry to offend him in that or in any other thing. And now," said she, "as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required; I shall cause summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice." "I am assured then," said he, "that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm; which to your majesty is more profitable than all the pope's power can be." And thus they departed. This conference we have inserted, to let the world see how deeply Mary, queen of Scotland, can dissemble; and how that she could cause men to think that she bore no indignation, for any controversy in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and destruction, as short after did appear.

John Knox departed, and prepared himself for his journey, appointed to Dumfries. And from Glasgow, according to the queen's commandment, he wrote this letter to the earl of Argyle. The tenor whereof follows:

THE LORD COMETH AND SHALL NOT TARRY.

"After commendation of my services unto your lordship, if I had known of your lordship's sudden departing, the last time it chanced me to see and speak to you, I had opened unto you some part of my grief: but supposing that your lordship

should have remained still with the queen's grace, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that which now my conscience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour toward your wife is very offensive unto many godly. Her complaint is grievous, that ye altogether withdraw the use of your body from her. If so be, ye have great need to look well to your own estate; for albeit that you within yourself felt no more repugnance, than any flesh this day on earth, yet by promise, made before God, are ye debtor unto her, as reasonably ye shall be required of her. But if that ye burn on the one side—albeit ye do no worse—and she in your default on the other, you are not only mansworn before God, but also do what in you lieth, to kindle against yourself his wrath and heavy displeasure. These words are sharp, and God is witness, that in dolour of heart I write them: but because they are true, and pronounced by God himself, I dare not but admonish you, perceiving you, as it were, sleeping in sin. The proud stubbornness, whereof your lordship has often complained, will nothing excuse you before God. For if ye be not able to convict her of any crime, you ought to bear with other imperfections, as that ye would that she should bear with you, in the like. In the bowels of Christ Jesus, I exhort you, my lord, to have respect to your own salvation, and not to abuse the lenity and long suffering of God: for it is a fearful treasure that you heap upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and you obstinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that you abstract your comfort and company from your lawful wife. I write nothing in defence of her misbehaviour toward your lordship in any sort. But I say, if you be not able to convict her of adultery committed since your last reconciliation, which was in my presence, that you can never be excused before God, of this fremmit [foreign or distant] and strange entreatment of your wife. And if by you such impiety be committed, as is bruited, then, before God, and unto your own conscience, I say, that every moment of that filthy pleasure, shall turn to you in a year's displeasure; yea, it shall be

the occasion and cause of everlasting damnation, unless speedily you repent. And repent you cannot, except that you desist from that impiety. Call to mind, my lord, 'That the servant knowing the will of his Lord, and doing the contrary, shall be plagued with many plagues.' Sin, my lord, is sweet in drinking, but in digesting more bitter than the gall. The Eternal move your heart earnestly to consider, how fearful a thing it is ever to have God to be an enemy. In the end, I most heartily pray your lordship, not to be absent from Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, for such causes, as I will not write. This much only I forewarn your lordship, that it will not be profitable for the common quietness of this realm, that the papists brag, and that justice be mocked that day. And thus I cease farther to trouble your lordship, whom God assist.—Your lordship's to command in godliness.

Sic subscribitur, JOHN KNOX.

In haste from Glasgow, }
the 7th May, 1563." }

This bill was not well accepted of the said earl; and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in public, but contrarily showed himself most familiar with the said John. He kept the diet, and sat in judgment himself, where the bishop and the rest of the papists were accused, as after follows.

The summonses were directed against the massmongers with expedition, and in the straitest form. The day was appointed, the 19th of May, a day only before the parliament. Of the pope's knights compared the bishop of St Andrews, the prior of Whithorn, the parson of Sanquhar, William Hamilton of Camskeith, John Gordon of Barskiogh, with divers others. The protestants convened whole to crave for justice. The queen asked counsel of the bishop of Ross, and of the old laird of Lethington—for the younger was absent, and so the protestants had the fewer unfriends—who affirmed, "That she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience." And so was preparation made for their accusation. The bishop and his band

of the exempted sort made it nice to enter before the earl of Argyle, who sat in judgment; but at last he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man—who now sleeps in the Lord—Robert Norwell, instead of the bishop's cross, bore before him a steel hammer; whereat the bishop and his band were not a little offended, because the bishop's privileges were not then current in Scotland—which day God grant our posterity may see of longer continuance than we possessed it.—The bishop and his fellows, after much ado, and long drift of time, came in the queen's will, and were committed to ward, some to one place, and some to another. The lady Erskine—a meet morsel for the devil's mouth—got the bishop for her part. All this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the protestants, that they should not press the queen with any other thing concerning matters of religion.

At that parliament, which began within two days thereafter, she obtained of the protestants whatsoever she desired. For this was the reason of many, "We see what the queen has done, the like of this was never heard of within this realm; we will bear with the queen, we doubt not but all shall be well." Others were of a contrary judgment, and forespake things, as after they came to pass, to wit, that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the queen, how soon that ever the parliament was past, should set the papists at freedom: and therefore willed the nobility not to be abused. But because many had their private commodity to be handled at that parliament, the common cause was the less regarded.

The earl of Huntly, whose corpse had lain unburied till that time, it was brought to the tolbooth: he was accused, his arms rent off, himself, the earl of Sutherland, and eleven barons and lairds, being Gordon to surname, were that day forfeited. The lady Huntly craftily protested, and asked the support of a man of law. In that parliament were restored the laird of Grange in Fife, Mr Henry Balnavis, John Lesly, and Alexander Whitelaw.

Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that parliament, was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the queen rode to the tolbooth. The first day she made a painted oration; and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, "*Vox Dianæ!* The voice of a goddess—for it could not be *Dei*—and not of a woman! God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly!" &c.

All things misliked the preachers; they spake boldly against the targetting of their tails [superfluities of their dress], and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's vengeance, not only against those foolish women, but against the whole realm; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented for order to be taken for apparel, and for the reformation of other enormities, but all was scripp'd at [derided].

The earldom of Murray needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified that concerned the help of friends and servants; and therefore they might not urge the queen, for if they so did, she would hold no parliament; and what then should become of them that had melled [been partakers] with the slaughter of the earl of Huntly. Let that parliament pass over, and when the queen shall ask any thing of the nobility, as she must do before

her marriage; then should the religion be the first thing that shall be established. It was answered, That the poets and painters erred not altogether, who feigned and painted Occasion with a bald hind-head: for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered again. The matter fell so hot betwixt the earl of Murray and some others of the court, and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spake not together more than a year and a half; for the said John, by his letter, gave a discharge to the said earl of all farther introduction or care with his affairs. He made unto him a discourse of their first acquaintance, in what estate he was when that first they spake together in London, how God had promoted him, and that above man's judgment; and in the end made this conclusion: "But seeing that I perceive myself frustrated of my expectation, which was, that ye should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your singular commodity, I commit you to your own wit, and to the conducting of those who better can please you.* I praise my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credit and authority with your sovereign. If so ye long continue, none within the realm shall be more glad than I shall be: but if that after this ye shall decay—as I fear ye shall—then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was neither by

* One cannot but admire the firm intrepidity of the "stern reformer," in thus breaking connexion with his early and powerful friend, when he thought him too compliant with the sinful measures of the court. It is evident, from the tone of his letter to Murray, that he felt the sacrifice he was making; but his conscience required it: and supposing his conscience to have been unreasonably scrupulous, his integrity must be admitted. At the same time, it must be confessed, that Murray had a most difficult and delicate part to act. The queen was his sister and sovereign, and he did not see it to be his duty to oppose her errors otherwise than by respectful advice and remonstrance. He declared from the first, when he went to bring her home from France, that he would not prevent her from having mass in private; indeed, how could he, without personal violence to herself and her servants? Knox regarded the saying of a mass in Scotland, the same as setting up an idol in the

land of Israel, and thought it ought to be put down by the same means as Israel was commanded to use in extirpating idolatry. It is probable his arguments failed to convince the judgment of the earl, as I believe they would fail to convince most men of the present age; and then, notwithstanding his affection for Knox, he could not honourably obey him contrary to his own convictions. The same remarks will apply to the general licentiousness of the court. It is not alleged that Murray gave any countenance to this. We know not what remonstrances he made against it; but he did not actively labour to put it down as Knox would have had him; and perhaps he found it impossible, without personal violence, and rebellion against his sovereign. This is one of those cases in which good men, from their different views of things, find themselves obliged to separate, to prevent painful collision.—*Ed.*

bearing with impiety; neither yet by maintaining of pestilent papists."

This bill and discharge was so pleasing to the flatterers of the said earl, that they triumphed of it, and were glad to have got their occasion; for some envied that so great familiarity was betwixt the said earl and John Knox; and therefore from the time they got once that occasion to separate them, they ceased not to cast oil in the burning flame, which ceased not to burn, till that God by water of affliction began to slacken it, as we shall after hear. But lest that they should altogether have been seen to have forsaken God—as in very deed both God and his word was far from the hearts of the most part of the courtiers in that age, a few excepted—they began a new shift, to wit, to speak of the punishment of adultery, of witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of the glebes and manses to the ministers of the kirk, and the reparation of the kirks; and thereby they thought to have pleased the godly that were highly offended at their slackness.

The act of oblivion passed, because some of the lords had interest, but the acts against adultery, and for the manses and glebes, were so modified, that no law, and such a law might stand *in eodem prædicamento*; to speak plain, no law and such acts were both alike. The acts are in print; let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the parliament was dissolved, John Knox, in his sermon before the most part of the nobility, began to enter into a deep discourse of God's mercies which that realm had felt, and of that ingratitude which he espied almost in the whole multitude, which God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. "And now, my lords," said he, "I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that in your own presence I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witnesses if that I shall make any lie in things that are bypast from the beginning of God's mighty working within this realm. I have been with you in your most desperate temptations. Ask

your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if that I—not I, but God's Spirit by me—in your greatest extremity willed you not ever to depend upon your God, and in his name promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies, so that ye would only depend upon his protection, and prefer his glory to your own lives and worldly commodity. In your most extreme dangers I have been with you; St Johnstone, Cupar muir, and the Craggs of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind, and God forbid that ever I forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you against whom was death and destruction threatened, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes. Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as you please? The queen, say ye, will not agree with us: ask ye of her that which by God's word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the devil; let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and he shall prosper you in your enterprises. But I can see nothing but such a recoiling from Christ Jesus, as the man that first and most speedily flieth from Christ's ensigncy, holdeth himself most happy. Yea, I hear some say [the dean of Restalrig], that we have nothing of our religion established neither by law or parliament: albeit the malicious words of such can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker for his treason against God committed, and against this poor commonwealth, deserves the gallows; for our religion being commanded, and so established by God, is accepted within this realm in public parliament. And if they will say that was no parliament, we must, and will

say, and also prove, that that parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it within this realm. Yea, if the king then living was king, and the queen now in this realm be lawful queen, that parliament cannot be denied.

“ And now, my lords, to put end to all, I hear of the queen’s marriage; dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings strive all for the best gain; but this, my lords, will, I say—note the day, and bear witness after,—whensoever the nobility of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel—and all papists are infidels—shall be head to our sovereign, ye do, so far as in you lieth, to banish Christ Jesus from this realm: ye bring God’s vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye shall do small comfort to your sovereign.”

These words, and this manner [of] speaking was judged intolerable, papists and protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars disdained him for that speaking. Placeboes and flatterers posted to the court to give advertisement that Knox had spoken against the queen’s marriage. The provost of Glencluden, Douglas of Drumlanrig by surname, was the man that gave the charge that the said John should present himself before the queen, which he did soon after dinner. The lord Ochiltree, and divers of [the] faithful, bore him company to the abbey, but none passed in to the queen with him in the cabinet but John Erskine of Dun, then superintendent of Angus and Mearns. The queen, in a vehement fume, began to cry out, that never prince was handled as she was. “ I have,” said she, “ borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means; I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God, I shall be once revenged.” And with these words scarcely could Marnock, her secret chamber-boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears. And the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. The said John did

patiently abide all the first fume, and at opportunity answered:—

“ True it is, madam, your grace and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your grace to be offended at me. But when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in the which ye have been nourished, for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me; and there, madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.”

“ But what have you to do,” said she, “ with my marriage?” “ If it please your majesty,” said he, “ patiently to hear me, I shall show the truth in plain words. I grant your grace offered unto me more than ever I required; but my answer was then as it is now, that God hath not sent me to await upon the courts of princes, or upon the chambers of ladies; but I am sent to preach the evangel of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear it; and it hath two parts, Repentance and Faith. Now, madam, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is that the sins of men be so noted, that they may know wherein they offend: but so it is, that the most part of your nobility are so addicted to your affections, that neither God’s word, nor yet their commonwealth, are rightly regarded; and therefore it becomes me so to speak, that they may know their duty.” “ What have you to do,” said she, “ with my marriage? Or what are you in this commonwealth?” “ A subject born within the same,” said he, “ madam. And albeit I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me—how abject that ever I am in your eyes—a profitable member within the same; yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience crave plainness of me, and therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place. Whenso-

ever that the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful [infidel] husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellency, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour. But all that was to cast oil in the flaming fire. The said John stood still without any alteration of countenance for a long season, until that the queen gave place to such inordinate passion; and in the end, he said, "Madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely abide the tears of my own boys, whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping; but seeing that I have offered you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain—albeit unwillingly—your majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray my commonwealth through my silence." Herewith was the queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the cabinet, and to abide farther of her pleasure in the chamber. The laird of Dun tarried, and lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet; and so they both remained with her near the space of an hour. The said John stood in the chamber as one whom men had never seen—so were all afraid—except that the lord Ochiltree bore him company; and therefore began he to forge talking [devise conversation] with the ladies who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel, which espied, he merrily said, "O fair ladies, how pleasing was this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear? But fie upon

that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not! and when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting [border tasselling], pearl, nor precious stones." And by such means procured he company of women, and so passed the time till that the laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house with new advertisement. The queen would have had the sensement of the lords of articles, if that such manner of speaking deserved not punishment; but she was counselled to desist. And so that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Short after the parliament, Lethington returned from his negotiation in England and France. God, in the February before, had stricken that bloody tyrant the duke of Guise, which somewhat broke the fard [violence] of our queen for a season. But short after the returning of Lethington, pride and malice began to show themselves again. She set at liberty the bishop of St Andrews, and the rest of the papists that before were put in prison for violating of the laws. Lethington at his return showed himself not a little offended, that any bruit should have risen of the queen's marriage with the king of Spain; for he took upon him that such thing never entered into her heart: but how true that was, we shall after hear. The end of all his acquittance and complaint, was to discredit John Knox, who had affirmed, that such a marriage was both proponed, and upon the part of our queen, by the cardinal accepted. Lethington, in his absence, had run into a very evil bruit among the nobility for too much serving the queen's affections against the commonwealth; and therefore had he, as one that lacketh no worldly wisdom, made provision both in England and Scotland: for in England he travailed for the freedom of the earl Bothwell, and by that means obtained promise of his favour. He had there also taken order for the homecoming of the earl of Lennox, as we shall after hear. In Scotland he joined with the earl of Athol, him he promoted and set for-

ward in court, and so began the earl of Murray to be defaced; and yet to the said earl, Lethington at all times showed a fair countenance.

The rest of that summer the queen spent in her progress through the west country, where in all towns and gentlemen's places she had her mass; which coming to the ears of John Knox, he began that form of prayer which ordinarily he saith after thanksgiving at his table. "1. Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of idolatry. 2. Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers. 3. Continue us in quietness and concord amongst ourselves, if thy good pleasure be, O Lord, for a season," &c. Which that divers of the familiars of the said John asked of him why he prayed for quietness to continue for a season, and not rather absolutely that we should continue in quietness? His answer was, "That he durst not pray but in faith; and faith in God's word assured him, that constant quietness could not continue in that realm where idolatry had been suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected again."

From the west country, the queen passed into Argyle to the hunting, and after returned to Stirling. The earl of Murray, the lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, and lord John of Coldingham, passed to the northland, where justice courts were held; thieves and murders were punished. Two witches were burned; the eldest was so blinded with the devil, that she affirmed, "That no judge had power over her."

That same time, lord John of Coldingham departed this life in Inverness. It was affirmed, that he commanded such as were beside him to say unto the queen, "That unless she left her idolatry, that God would not fail to plague her. He asked God mercy, that he had so far borne with her in impiety, and had maintained her in the same, and that no one thing did he more regret, than that he flattered, fostered, and maintained her in her wickedness against God and his servants." And in very deed great cause had he to have lamented his wickedness; for besides all his other infirmities, he in the end, for the queen's pleasure, became enemy to virtue, and to all

virtuous men, and a patron to impiety to the uttermost of his power: yea, his venom was so kindled against God and his word, that in his rage he bursted forth [into] these words, "Ere I see the queen's majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves, I shall leave [have] the best of them sticked in the pulpit." What farther villany came forth of both their stinking throats and mouths, modesty will not suffer us to write; whereof, if he had grace unfeignedly to repent, it is no small document of God's mercies. But however God wrought with him, the queen regarded his words as wind, or else thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himself; and affirmed plainly, that they were devised by the laird of Pitarrow and Mr John Wood, whom she both hated, because they flattered her not in her dancing and other things. One thing in plain words she spake, "That God took always from her the persons in whom she had greatest pleasure; and that she repented." But of farther wickedness no mention.

While the queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her chapel, in the palace of Holyrood-house were left certain dontibours, and others of the French menzie, who raised up their mass, more publicly than they had done at any time before; for upon those same Sundays that the kirk of Edinburgh had the ministration of the Lord's table, the papists in great numbers resorted to the abbey, to their abomination. Which understood, divers of the brethren, being sore offended, consulted how to redress that enormity. And so were appointed certain of the most zealous, and most upright in the religion, to await upon the abbey, that they might note such persons as resorted to the mass, and perceiving a great number to enter into the chapel, some of the brethren burst in also, whereat the priest and the French dames being afraid, made the shout to be sent to the town. And madam Baylie, mistress to the queen's dontibours—for maids that court could not then well bear—posted one with all diligence to the comptroller, the laird of Pitarrow, who then was in St Gile's kirk at the sermon; and cried for his assistance,

“ To save her life, and to save the queen’s palace.” Who, with greater haste than need required, obeyed her desire, and took with him the provost, the bailies, and a great part of the faithful. But when they came where the fear was bruited to have been, they found all things quiet, except the tumult they brought with themselves, and peaceable men looking to the papists, and forbidding them to transgress the laws. True it is, a zealous brother, named Patrick Cranston, passed into the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the priest ready to go to that abomination, said, “ The queen’s majesty is not here, how darest thou then be so malapart, as openly to do against the laws ?” No farther was done or said. And yet the bruit hereof was posted to the queen, with such information as the papists could give; which found such credit, as their hearts could have wished for; which was so heinous a crime in her eyes, that satisfaction for that sin was there none without blood: and, therefore, without delay were summoned Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston, to find surety to underlie the law, for forethought felony, hamesucken, violent invasion of the queen’s palace, and for spoliation of the same. These letters divulged, and the extremity feared, brethren, the few that were within the town, consulted upon the next remedy; and in the end concluded, that John Knox, to whom the charge was given to make advertisements, whensoever dangers should appear, should write to the brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter stood, and requiring their assistance, which he did, in tenor as here follows:

THE SUPERScription.

“ Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

“ It is not unknown unto you, dear brethren, what comfort and tranquillity God gave unto us, in times most dangerous, by our christian assemblies, and godly conferences, as often as any danger appeared to any member or members of our body. And that how that, since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our conventions and assemblies, the adversaries of Christ Jesus

his holy evangel, have enterprised, and boldened themselves publicly and secretly, to do many things odious in God’s presence, and most hurtful to the liberty of the true religion, now of God’s great favour granted unto us. The holy sacraments are abused by profane papists; masses have been, and yet are, openly said and maintained: the blood of some of our dearest ministers have been shed, without fear of punishment, or correction craved by us. And now, last, are two of our dear brethren, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, summoned to underlie the law, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 24th of this instant October; “ For forethought felony, pretended murder, and for invading of the queen’s majesty’s palace of Holyrood-house, with unlawful convocation,” &c. This terrible summons is directed against our brethren, because that they with two or three more, passed to the abbey upon Sunday, the 15th of August, to behold and note what persons repaired to the mass. And that because upon the Sunday before, the queen’s grace being absent, there resorted to that idol a rascal multitude, having openly the least [perhaps most] devilish ceremony—yea, even the conjuring of their accursed water—that ever they had in the time of greatest blindness. Because, I say, our said brethren passed, and that in most quiet manner, to note such abusers, these fearful summonses are directed against them, to make no doubt a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if so it come to pass, God, no doubt, has justly recompensed our former negligence and ingratitude, toward him and his benefits received in our own bosoms. God gave to us a most notable victory, of his and our enemies: he broke their strength, confounded their counsels, he set us at freedom, and purged this realm, for the most part, of open idolatry; to the end, that we, ever mindful of so wonderful a deliverance, should have kept this realm clean from such vile filthiness, and damnable idolatry. But we, alas! preferring the pleasure of flesh and blood, to the pleasure and commandment of our God, have suffered that idol, the mass, publicly to be erect-

ed again: and, therefore, justly suffers he us to fall in that danger that to look to an idolater, going to his idolatry, shall be reputed a crime, little inferior to treason. God grant that we fall not further. And now I, whom God has of his mercy made one amongst many to travail in setting forward of his true religion within this realm, seeing the same in danger of ruin, cannot but of conscience crave of you, my brethren, of all estates, that have professed the truth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, at the said day in the town of Edinburgh, even as that ye tender the advancement of God's glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance, together with the preservation of the kirk in these appearing dangers. It may be, perchance, that persuasions be made on the contrary, and that you may be informed, that either your assembly is not necessary, or else that it will offend the upper powers; but my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear shall make you so far decline from Christ Jesus, as that against your public promise, and solemn bond, ye will leave your brethren in so just a cause; and albeit there were no great danger, yet cannot our assembly be unprofitable; for many things require consultation, which cannot be had, unless the wisest and godliest convene. And thus, doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if that we uniformly seek his glory, I cease farther to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternal.

JOHN KNOX.

From Edinburgh, the 8th }
of October, 1563." }

The brethren, advertised by this bill, prepared themselves, so many as were thought expedient for every town and province, to keep the day appointed; but by the means of false brethren, the letter came to the hands of the queen, and the manner was this. It was read in the town of Ayr, where was present Robert Cunningham, styled minister of Failford, who then was held an earnest professor of the evangel, who—by what means we know not—got the said letter, and sent it with his token to Mr Henry Sinclair, then president of the

seat and college of justice, and styled bishop of Ross, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, whom God after struck according to his deservings. The said Mr Henry being enemy to all that unfeignedly profess the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue; for he had affirmed, as ever still he does affirm, that a bishop that receives profit, and feeds not the flock, even by his own labours, is both a thief and a murderer: the said Mr Henry, we say, thinking himself happy, that had found so good occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, posted the said letter with his counsel to the queen, who then lay in Stirling. The letter being read, it was concluded by the council of the cabinet, that is, by the most secret secret-council, that it imported treason. Whereof the queen was not a little rejoiced; for she thought once to be revenged of that her great enemy. It was concluded that the nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority. The day was appointed about the middle of December, which was kept of the whole council, and of divers others, such as the master of Maxwell, the old laird of Lethington, and the said president.

In the meantime the earl of Murray returned from the north, to whom the secretary Lethington opened the matter as best pleased him. The master of Maxwell, after made lord Harris, gave unto the said John as it had been a discharge of the familiarity—which before was great betwixt them—unless that he would satisfy the queen at her own sight. The answer of John Knox was, "That he knew no offence done by him to the queen's majesty, and therefore he wist not what satisfaction to make." "No offence!" said he; "have you not written letters, desiring the brethren from all parts to convene to Andrew Armstrong, and Patrick Cranston's day?" "That I grant," said the other; "but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me." "No offence," said he, "to convocate the queen's lieges?" "Not for so just a cause," said the other; "for greater things were reputed no offence within these two years." "The

time," said he, "is now other; for then our sovereign was absent, and now she is present." "It is neither the absence nor the presence of the queen," said he, "that rules my conscience, but God plainly speaking in his word; what was lawful to me the last year, is yet lawful, because my God is unchangeable."

"Well," said he, "master, I have given you my counsel, do as you list, but I think you shall repent it, if you bow not unto the queen."

"I understand not," said the master, [Knox] what you mean; I never made myself an adverse party unto the queen's majesty, except in the head of religion, and there-until I think you will not desire me to bow."

"Well," said he, "you are wise enough; but you will not find that men will bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times bypast."

"If God stand my friend," said the other, "as I am assured he of his mercy will, so long as I depend upon his promise, and prefer his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me, neither yet know I where-until any man has been with me in times past, unless it be, that of my mouth they have heard the word of God, which in times to come, if they refuse, my heart will be perfect, and for a season will lament; but the incommmodity will be their own." And after these words—whereunto the laird of Lochinvar was witness—they departed; but unto this day, the 17th December, 1571, they never met in such familiarity as they had before, &c.

The bruit of the accusation of John Knox being divulged, Mr John Spence of Condie, advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the doctrine of the evangel, came, as it were, in secret to John Knox, to inquire the cause of that great bruit; to whom the said John was plain in all things, and showed unto him the double of the letter; which heard and considered, he said, "I thank my God, I came to you with a fearful and sorrowful heart, fearing that you had done such a crime as laws might have punished, which would have been no small

trouble to the heart of all such as have received the word of life which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoiced, as well because I perceive your own comfort, even in the midst of your troubles, as that I clearly understand, that you have committed no such crime as you are burdened with; you will be accused," said he; "but God will assist you." And so he departed.

The earl of Murray and the secretary sent for the said John to the clerk of register's house, and began to lament that he had so highly offended the queen's majesty, the which they feared should come to a great inconvenience to himself, if he were not wisely foreseen: they showed what pains and travail they had taken to mitigate her anger, but they could find nothing but extremity, unless that he himself would confess his offence, and put himself in her grace's will. To which heads the said John answered as follows:

"I pray my God, through Christ Jesus," said he, "I have learned not to cry conjuration and treason at every thing that the godless multitude does condemn, neither yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the testimony of a good conscience, that I have given no occasion to the queen's majesty to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty; and so whatsoever shall thereof ensue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it: but to confess an offence where my conscience witnesseth there is none, far be it from me."

"How can it be defended?" said Lethington; "have ye not made convocation of the queen's lieges?" "If I have not," said he, "a just defence for my fact, let me smart for it." "Let us hear," said they, "your defences; for we would be glad that you might be found innocent." "No," said the other, "for I am informed, that by divers, and even by you, my lord secretary, that I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged: therefore, I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defences." At these words they seemed both offended, and so the secretary departed; but the said earl remained still, and would have entered into farther discourse of the estate

of the court with the said John, who answered, "My lord, I understand more than I would of the affairs of the court, and, therefore, it is not needful that your lordship trouble me with the recounting thereof. If you stand in good cause I am content; and if you do not, as I fear you do not already, or else you shall not do ere it be long, blame not me. You have the counsellors whom you have chosen; my weak judgment both they and you despised: I can do nothing but behold the end, which, I pray God, be other than my troubled heart feareth."

Within four days the said John was called before the queen and council, betwixt six and seven hours at night; the season of the year was the middle of December. The bruit rising in the town, that John Knox was sent for by the queen, the brethren of the town followed in such numbers, that the inner close was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber door where the queen and council sat, who had been reasoning among themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the secretary's mind. And so was the queen retired to her cabinet, and the lords were talking each one with another, as occasion served. But upon the entry of John Knox, they were commanded to take their places, and so they did, sitting as counsellors, one against another. The duke, according to his dignity, began the one side, upon the other side sat the earl of Argyle, and, consequently, followed the earl of Murray, the earl of Glencairn, the earl Marshall, the lord Ruthven, the common officers, Pitarrow then comptroller, the justice clerk, Mr John Spence of Condie, advocate, and divers others stood by. Removed from the table sat old Lethington, father to the secretary, Mr Henry Sinclair the bishop of Ross, and Mr James M'Gill, clerk of register.

Things thus put in order, the queen came forth, and with no little worldly pomp was placed in the chair, having two faithful supports, the master of Maxwell upon the one tor [arm], and secretary Lethington upon the other tor of the chair, whereupon they waited diligently, all the time of that accusation, sometimes the one occupying

her ear, sometimes the other: her pomp lacked one principal point, to wit, womanly gravity; for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bare-headed; she first smiled, and after gave a gaulf [loud burst of] laughter; whereat when her placeboes gave their plaudit, affirming with like countenance, "This is a good beginning," she said; "but wot ye whereat I laugh? Yon man made me greet [weep], and grate [wept] never a tear himself; I will see if I can cause him greet." At that word the secretary whispered her in the ear, and she him again, and with that gave him a letter; after the inspection thereof he directed his visage and speech to John Knox in this manner: "The queen's majesty is informed, that you have travailed to raise a tumult of her subjects against her, and for certification thereof, there is presented to her your own letter, subscribed in your name; yet, because her grace will do nothing without a good advisement, she has convened you before this part of the nobility, that they may witness betwixt you and her." "Let him acknowledge," said she, "his own handwrite, and then shall we judge of the contents of the letter." And so was the letter presented from hand to hand, to John Knox, who, taking inspection of it, said, "I gladly acknowledge this to be my handwrite: and also I remember, that I dited a letter in the month of October, giving signification to the brethren in divers quarters of such things as displeased me. And that good opinion have I of the fidelity of the scribes that willingly they would not adulterate my original, albeit I left divers blanks subscribed with them; and so I acknowledge both the handwrite and the ditement." "You have done more," said Lethington, "than I would have done." "Charity," said the other, "is not suspicious." "Well, well," said the queen, "read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you." "I shall do the best I can," said the other; and so with a loud voice he began to read as before is expressed.

After that the letter was read to the end, it was presented again to Mr John Spence;

for the queen commanded him to accuse, as he after did, but very gently. After, we say, that the letter was read, the queen beholding the whole table, said, "Heard ye ever, my lords, a more despitiful and treasonable letter?" When that no man gave answer, Lethington addressed himself to John Knox, and said, "Master Knox, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a letter has passed your pen, and from you is come to the knowledge of others?" John Knox answered, "My lord secretary, before I repent I must be taught of my offence." "Offence!" said Lethington; "if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied." "Remember yourself, my lord," said the other, "there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I offended often since I came last into Scotland: for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour, unto the which my pen served not? And before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime." "Then was then," said Lethington, "and now is now; we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had." John Knox answered, "The time that has been is even now before my eyes; for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the devil has gotten a visorne [mask] upon his face. Before he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that has refused idolatry; and then, I think, ye will confess the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives. And now the devil comes, under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength." "What is this?" said the queen; "Methinks, ye trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?" "No, madam," said the lord Ruthven; "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily, and whatever your grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the queen, "and let him make answer for himself." "I began, madam,"

said John Knox, "to reason with the secretary—whom I take to be a better dialectician than your grace is—that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my lord Ruthven has given the instance, which if your grace will deny, I shall address me for the proof." "I will say nothing," said the queen, "against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons: but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment." "I have no pleasure," said John Knox, "to decline from the former purpose; and yet, madam, to satisfy your grace's two questions, I answer, that at my will I never convened four persons in Scotland, but at the order which the brethren have appointed. I have given divers advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon. And if your grace complain, that this has been done without your grace's commandment, I answer, so has all that God has blessed within this realm from the beginning of this action: and, therefore, madam, I must be convicted by a just law, that I have done against the duty of God's messenger in writing of this letter, before I can either be sorry, or yet repent for the doing of it, as my lord secretary would persuade me; for what I have done, I have done at the commandment of the general kirk of this realm; and, therefore, I think, I have done no wrong." "You shall not escape so," said the queen. "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there are acts of parliament against such whisperers." That was granted of many. "But whereuntil," said John Knox, "can I be accused?" "Read this part of your own bill," said the queen, which began, "These fearful summonses is directed against them—to wit, the brethren foresaid—to make, no doubt, a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude." "Lo," said the queen, "what say you to that?" While many doubted what the said John should answer, he said unto the queen, "Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? or shall I be condemned before I be heard?" "Say what you can," said she; "for I think you have enough

ado." "I will first then desire this of your grace, madam, and of this most honourable audience, whether if your grace knows not, that the obstinate papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the evangel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?" The queen held her peace: but all the lords, with common voice, said, "God forbid that either the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the papists: for just experience has taught us what cruelty lies in their heart." "I must proceed then," said John Knox, "seeing that I perceive all will grant that it were a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude as profess the evangel of Christ within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do by force, as things done of late days do testify, whereof they, by God and by his providence, being disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the prince party under colour of law; and so what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit: for who thinks, my lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the papists—within this realm, I mean—shall end in the murdering of these two brethren now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused. I think no man of judgment can so esteem, but rather the direct contrary, that is, that by this few number they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterprise against the whole; and therefore, madam, cast up when you list the acts of your parliament. I have offended nothing against them, for I accuse not in my letter your grace, nor yet your nature of cruelty; but I affirm yet again, that the pestilent papists, who have inflamed your grace without cause against these poor men at this present, are the sons of the devil; and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning." "You forget yourself," said one; "you are not now in the pulpit." "I am in the place," said the other, "where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso

list. And hereunto I add, madam, that honest, gentle, and meek natures by appearance, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, may be subverted and altered to the direct contrary. Example we have of Nero, whom in the beginning of his empire, we find having some natural shame; but after his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alleging, that nothing was either dishonest or yet unlawful in his personage, who was emperor above others; when he had drank of this cup, I say, to what enormities he fell the histories bear witness. And now, madam, to speak plainly, papists and conjured enemies of Jesus Christ, have your grace's ear patent at all times. I assure your grace they are dangerous counsellors, and that your mother found." As this was said, Lethington smirked [smiled], and spoke secretly to the queen in her ear; what it was the table heard not. But immediately she addressed her visage and speech to John Knox, and said, "Well, you speak fair enough here before my lords, but the last time that I spoke with you secretly, you caused me weep many salt tears, and said to me stubbornly, you set not by my greeting." "Madam," said the other, "because now the second time your grace has burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest, for my silence, I should be held guilty. If your grace be ripely remembered, the laird of Dun, yet living, can testify the truth, who was present at that time whereof your grace complains. Your grace accused me that I had irreverently handled you in the pulpit; that I denied. You said, What ado had I to speak of your marriage? What was I, that I should meddle with such matters? I answered, As touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a subject of this commonwealth; but as touching the office whereunto it had pleased God to place me, I was a watchman, both over the realm, and over the kirk of God gathered within the same; by reason whereof I was bound in conscience to blow the trumpet publicly, so oft as ever I saw any upfall or apparent danger, either of the one or the other. But so it was, that a certain bruit affirmed that traffic of marriage was betwixt your grace and the Spa-

nish ally; whereunto I said, that if your nobility and states did agree, unless both you and your husband should be so straitly bound, that neither of you might hurt this commonwealth, nor yet the poor kirk of God within the same, that in that case I would pronounce that the consenters were traitors to this commonwealth, and enemies to God and to his truth planted with [in] the same. At these words, I grant your grace stormed, and bursted forth into an unreasonable weeping. What mitigation the laird of Dun would have made, I suppose your grace has not forgotten. But while that nothing was able to stay your weeping, I was compelled to say, I take God to record, that I never took pleasure to see any creature weep, yea, not my children when my own hands had beaten them, much less can I rejoice to see your grace make such regret; but seeing I have offered your grace no such occasion, I must rather suffer your grace to take your own pleasure, or that I dare conceal the truth, and so betray both the kirk of God and my commonwealth. These were the most extreme words that I spoke that day." After that the secretary had secretly conferred with the queen, he said, "Mr Knox, you may return to your house for this night." "I thank God and the queen's majesty," said the other. "And, madam, I pray God to purge your heart from papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers; for how pleasant that they appear to your ears and corrupt affections for the time, experience has taught us in what perplexity they have brought famous princes." Lethington and the master of Maxwell were that night the two stoops of her chair.

John Knox being departed, the table of the lords, and others that were present, were demanded every man by his vote, If John Knox had not offended the queen's majesty? The lords voted uniformly they could find no offence. The queen was passed to her cabinet. The flatterers of the court, and Lethington principally, raged. The queen was brought again, and placed in her chair, and they commanded to vote over again; which thing highly offended the whole nobility, and they began to speak

in open audience, "What! shall the laird of Lethington have power to control us: or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent against our consciences for pleasure of any creature?" And so the whole nobility absolved John Knox again, and praised God for his modesty, and for his plain and sensible answers. Yet before the end, one thing is to be noted, to wit, that among so many placeboes, we mean the flatterers of the court, there was not one that plainly durst condemn the poor man that was accused, the same God ruling their tongues that some time ruled the tongue of Balaam, when gladly he would have cursed God's people. This perceived, the queen began to upbraid Mr Henry Sinclair, then bishop of Ross, and said, hearing his vote to agree with the rest, "Trouble not the bairn, I pray you, trouble him not; for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of them that have passed before him?" The bishop answered coldly, "Your grace may consider, that it is neither affection to the man, nor yet love to his profession, that moved me to absolve him; but the simple truth that plainly appears in his defence, draws me after it, albeit that others would condemn him and it." This being said, the lords and whole assessors arose and departed. That night were neither dancing nor fiddling in the court, for madam was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have had John Knox in her will by vote of her nobility.

John Knox, absolved by the votes of the greatest part of the nobility from the crime intended against him, even in the presence of the queen, she raged, and the placeboes of the court stormed; and so began new assaults to be made at the hands of the said John, to confess an offence, and to put him in the queen's will, and they should promise that his greatest punishment should be to go within the castle of Edinburgh, and immediately to return to his own house. He answered, "God forbid that my confession should condemn those noblemen, that of their conscience, and with displeasure of the queen, have absolved me. And far-

ther, I am assured, you will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless that therewith you would desire me to cease from preaching: for how can I exhort others to peace and christian quietness, if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?"

The general assembly of the kirk approached, which began the 25th day of December 1563. But the just petitions of the ministers and commissioners of the kirks were despised at the first, and that with these words, "As ministers will not follow our counsels, so will we suffer ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come." And then the whole assembly said, "If the queen will not provide for our ministers, we must; for both third and two parts are rigorously taken from us, and from our tenants." "If others," said one, "will follow my counsel, the guard and the papists shall complain as long as our ministers have done." At these words, the former sharpness was coloured, and the speaker alleged, that he meant not of all ministers, but of such to whom the queen was no debtor; for what third received she of burghs? Christopher Goodman answered, "My lord secretary, if you can show me what just title either the queen has to the third, or the papists either to the two parts, then I think I should resolve you whether she were debtor to ministers within burghs or not." But thereto he received this check for answer, "*Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica.*" That is, "Let not a stranger be curious in a strange commonwealth." The man of God answered, "Albeit in your policy I am a stranger, yet so am I not in the church of God; and therefore the care thereof pertains no less to me in Scotland than if I were in the midst of England."

Many wondered at the silence of John Knox, for in all these quick reasonings he opened not his mouth; the cause whereof he himself expressed in these words: "Right honourable and beloved brethren, I have travailed, since my last arrival within this realm, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as he

is my witness, than the advancement of his glory, and the stability of his church within this realm; and yet of late days I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurps unto myself power that becomes me not. True it is, I have given advertisements to the brethren in divers quarters, of the extremity intended against certain faithful for looking to a priest going to mass, and for observing of those that transgressed just laws; but that thereuntil I have usurped farther power than is given unto me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny: for I say, that by you—that is, by the charge of the general assembly—I have as just power to advertise the brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as that I have to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you was I appointed to the one and to the other; and, therefore, in the name of God, I crave your judgment. The danger that appeared to me in my accusation was not so fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some protestants, 'What can the pope do more than send forth his letters and require them to be obeyed?' Let me have your judgments therefore, whether that I have usurped any power to myself, or if I have but obeyed your commandment."

The flatterers of the court, amongst whom Sir John Ballenden, justice-clerk, was then not the least, began to storm, and said, "Shall we be compelled to justify the rash doings of men?" "My lord," said John Knox, "you shall speak your pleasure for the present; of you I crave nothing, but if the church that is here present, do not either absolve me or else condemn me, never shall I in public or in private, as a public minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning." After long contention, the said John being removed, the whole kirk found, that a charge was given unto him to advertise the brethren in all quarters as often as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that fact not to be his only, but to be the fact of them all. Thereat were the queen's claw-backs

more enraged than ever they were, for some of them had promised to the queen to get the said John convicted, both by the council and by the church; and being frustrate of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed.

In the very time of the general assembly there comes to public knowledge a heinous murder, committed in the court, yea, not far from the queen's own lap; for a French woman that served in the queen's chamber had played the whore with the queen's own apothecary; the woman conceived and bore a child, whom with common consent, the father and the mother murdered; yet were the cries of a new born child heard, search was made, the child and mother were both deprehended, and so were both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged upon the public street of Edinburgh. The punishment was notable, because the crime was heinous: but yet was not the court purged of whores and whoredom, which was the fountain of such enormities, for it was well known that shame hastened marriage betwixt John Semple, called the dancer, and Mary Livingston, surnamed the lusty. What bruit the Marys, and the rest of the dancers of the court had, the ballads of that age did witness, which we for modesty's sake omit;* but this was the common complaint of all godly and wise men, that if they thought that such a court should long continue, and if they looked for no other life to come, they would have wished their sons and daughters rather to have been brought up with fiddlers and dancers,

and to have been exercised in flinging upon a floor, and in the rest that thereof follows, than to have been nourished in the company of the godly, and exercised in virtue, which in that court was hated, and filthiness not only maintained, but also rewarded; witness the lordship of Abercorn, the barony of Auchtermuchty, and divers others pertaining to the patrimony of the crown, given in inheritance to skippers, dancers, and dalliers with dames. This was the beginning of the regimen of Mary queen of Scots, and these were the fruits that she brought forth of France. "Lord, look thou upon our miseries, and deliver us from the tyranny of that whore, for thy own mercy's sake."

God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that he was offended at the iniquity that was committed even within this realm; for upon the 20th day of January there fell wet [rain] in great abundance, which in the falling froze so vehemently, that the earth was but one sheet of ice; the fowls both great and small froze, and might not fly,—many died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might resolve; and in that same month the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the fifteenth and eighteenth days thereof, were seen in the firmament battles arrayed, spears, and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies.† These things were not only observed, but also spoken and

* A good deal of the poetry of Mary's reign has been preserved. It occupies about 300 pages of the third volume of Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish poetry. Some pieces are abundantly licentious; but what relates to the queen is rather adulatory than otherwise. The songs which Knox refers to have not come down to us; at least, they are not in Sibbald's collection, which professes to gather up the fragments of what was worth preserving from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth. It must have been the desire of both parties in the kingdom that these songs should not be preserved. The reformers would desire their suppression for the sake of public morals, and the papists that they might not perpetuate the shame of their favourite queen.—*Ed.*

† Knox's mind was not free from superstition, as we have seen in what he says about

witchcraft. Here he speaks of certain natural appearances as expressions of the Divine displeasure against the wickedness of the people. The cessation of the tide for twenty-four hours was probably owing to an earthquake in some other part of the world, as it is on record, that at the time of the earthquake in Lisbon, last century, the rivers and lakes of Scotland were visibly affected. The battle in the heavens must have been the Aurora Borealis, or Northern lights, which in our climate, may not appear for many years together; and when seen for the first time in an age, they cause much alarm. Half a century ago, they were frequent, and remarkably brilliant. They were spoken of then by old people as something unknown in former times; and I believe few young persons of the present age ever saw them. We happened to be at war with our brethren in America, at the

constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit. But the queen and our court made merry; there was banquetting upon banquetting; the queen would banquet all the lords; and that was done upon policy, to remove the suspicion of her displeasure against them, because that they would not at her devotion condemn John Knox. To remove, we say, that jealousy, she made the banquet to the whole lords, whereat she would have the duke amongst the rest. It behoved them to banquet her again; and so did banquetting continue till Fastron-even* and after. But the poor ministers were mocked and reputed as monsters; the guard, and the affairs of the kitchen were so griping, that the ministers' stipends could not be had; and yet at the assembly preceding, solemn promise was made in the queen's name, by the mouth of the secretary Lethington, in the audience of many of the nobility, and of the whole assembly, who affirmed, that he had commandment of her highness to promise unto them full contentation to all the ministers within the realm of things bygone, and of such order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the protestants should have occasion to stand content; the earl of Murray affirmed the same, with many other fair promises given by writ by Lethington himself; as in the register of the acts done in the general assembly may be seen; but how that, or yet any other thing promised by her or in her name, unto the kirk of God, was observed, the world can witness.

The ministers perceiving all things tend to ruin, discharged their conscience in public and in private, but they received for their labours indignation and hatred; and

time above-mentioned; and the battles in the sky were supposed to have some relation to those in the western hemisphere. I recollect one fine winter evening—it must have been about the year 1780—when the whole heavens were in a blaze; light aerial spears were darting from one point to another, and we thought we even heard bullets whizzing in our ears. I was very thoughtlessly making merry with something, when an old servant of my father's gravely reproved me, and asked if I did not see what was gaun on in the lift [sky]? The phenomena are believed to be electrical; but why

among others, that worthy servant of God, Mr John Craig, speaking against the manifest corruption that then without shame or fear declared the self, said, sometimes were hypocrites known by their disguised habits, and we had men to be monks, and women to be nuns; but now all things are so changed, that we cannot discern the earl from the abbot, nor the nun from such as would be held noblewomen; so that we have got a new order of monks and nuns; "but," said he, "seeing ye ashame not of that unjust profit, would to God that therewith ye had the cowl of the nun, the veil, yea, and the tail joined withal, that so ye might appear in your own colours." This liberty did so provoke the choler of Lethington, that in open audience he gave himself unto the devil, if that ever after that day he should regard what became of the ministers, but he should do what he could that his companions should have a scare with him; "and let them bark and blow," said he, "as loud as they list." And so that was the second time that he had given his defiance to the servants of God. And hereupon arose whispering and complaints, all by the flatterers of the court, complaining that men were not charitably handled. Might not sins be reprov'd in general, albeit that men were not so specially taxed, that all the world might know of whom the preacher spoke? Whereunto was this answer made, "Let men ashame publicly to offend, and the ministers shall abstain from specialities; but so long as protestants are not ashamed manifestly to do against the evangel of Jesus Christ, so long cannot the ministers of God cease to cry, that God will be revenged upon such abusers of his holy word." And thus had the servants of

they should visit us so rarely, is not easily explained. In Lapland and Greenland, they are almost as common as the moon, and as useful during their long winter.

"Even in the depth of polar night, they find
A wondrous day, enough to light the chase,
And guide their airy steps to Finland fairs."

Thomson's Seasons.

In the list of remarkable events in the Edinburgh Almanack, their first appearance is dated 1716, which must mean their first appearance in the memory of men then living.—*Ed.*

* The evening before the first day of lent.—*Ed.*

God a double battle, fighting upon the one side against the idolatry and the rest of the abominations maintained by the queen; and upon the other part, against the unthankfulness of such as sometimes would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the church within the realm.

The threatenings of the preachers were fearful, but the court thought itself in such security that it could not miscarry. The queen, after the banquetting, kept a diet by the direction of Monsieur la Usurie Frenchman, who had been acquainted with her malady before, being her physician: and thereafter she, for her second time, made her progress to the north, and commanded to ward in the castle of Edinburgh the earl of Caithness, for a murder committed by his servants upon the earl of Marshall's men; he obeyed, but he was suddenly relieved; for such bloodthirsty men and papists, such as he, are best subjects to our queen. "Thy kingdom come, O Lord; for in this realm is nothing—among such as should punish vice and maintain virtue—but abomination abounding without bridle."

The flatterers of the court did daily enrage against the poor preachers; happiest was he that could invent the most bitter taunts and disdainful mockings of the ministers. And at length they began to jest at the term idolatry, affirming, that men wist not what they spake, when they called the mass idolatry. Yea, some proceeded farther, and feared not at open tables to affirm, that they would sustain the argument, that the mass was no idolatry. These things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in the public pulpit of Edinburgh, with this complaint, direct by the speaker to his God. "O Lord, how long shall the wicked prevail against the just? How long shalt thou suffer thyself and thy blessed evangel to be despised of men, of men, we say, that boast themselves defenders of thy truth; for of thy manifest and known enemies we complain not; but of such as unto whom thou hast revealed thy light: for now it comes unto our ears, that men, not papists, we

say, but chief protestants, will defend the mass to be no idolatry. 'If so were, O Lord, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably, O Lord, have I deceived thy people, which thou, O Lord, knowest I have ever more abhorred than a thousand deaths. But," said he, turning his face toward the place where such men, as so had affirmed, sat, "If I be not able to prove the mass to be the most abominable idolatry that ever was used since the beginning of the world, I offer myself to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false teacher; and it appears to me," said the preacher, "that the affirmer should be subjected to the same law: for it is the truth of God that you persecute and blaspheme: and it is the inventions of the devil, that obstinately against his word you maintain. Whereat, albeit now ye flirt and ye fleir, as though all that were spoken were but wind, yet I am as assured, as I am assured that my God liveth, that some that hear this your defection and railing against the truth and servants of God, shall see a part of God's judgments poured forth upon this realm—and principally upon you that fastest cleave to the favour of the court—for the abominations that are by you maintained." Albeit that such vehemency provoked tears of some, yet those men that knew themselves guilty, in a mocking manner said, "We must recant, and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry."

The general assembly, held in June, 1564, approached, unto the which a great part of the nobility, of those that are called protestants, convened: some for assistance of the ministers, and some to accuse them, as we will after hear.

A little before these troubles, which Satan raised in the body of the church, began one Davie, an Italian, to grow great in the court. The queen used him for secretary, in things that appertained to her secret affairs, in France or elsewhere. Great men made court unto him, and their suits were the better heard; but of his beginning and progress, we delay now farther to speak, because that his end will require the description of the whole, and refer it

unto such, as God shall raise up to do the same.*

The first day of the general assembly the courtiers, nor the lords that depended upon the court, presented not themselves in session with their brethren; whereat many wondered. An ancient and honourable man, the laird of Lundie, said, "Nay, I wonder not at their present absence; but I wonder that at our last assembly, they drew themselves apart, and joined not with us, but drew from us some of our ministers, and willed them to conclude such things as were never proponed in the public assembly, which appears to me to be a thing very prejudicial to the liberty of the church: and, therefore, my judgment is, that they shall be informed of this offence, which the whole brethren have conceived of their former fault; humbly requiring them, that if they be brethren, that they will assist their brethren with their presence and counsel, for we had never greater need. And if they be minded to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now than afterwards." Thereto agreed the whole assembly, and gave commission to certain brethren, to signify the minds of the assembly to the lords, which was done the same day afternoon. The courtiers at first seemed not a little offended, that they should be as it were suspected of defection: yet, nevertheless, upon the morrow, they joined to the assembly, and came unto it. But they drew again themselves, like as they did before, apart, and entered into the inner council-house. They were the duke's grace, the earls Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Marshall, Rothes, the master of Maxwell, secretary Lethington, the justice clerk, the clerk of register, and comptroller, the laird of Pitarrow.

After a little consultation, they directed a messenger, Mr George Hay, then called the minister of the court, requiring the superintendents, and some of the learned ministers, to confer with them. The assembly answered, "That they convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the

kirk; and that, therefore, they could not lack their superintendents, and chief ministers, whose judgments were so necessary, that without them the rest should sit as it were idle: and, therefore, willed them—as of before—that if they acknowledged themselves members of the kirk, that they would join with their brethren, and propone in public such things as they pleased; and so they should have the assistance of the whole in all things that might stand with God's commandment. But to send from themselves a portion of their company, they understood that thereof hurt and slander might arise, rather than any profit or comfort unto the kirk: for they feared, that all men should not stand content with the conclusion, where the conference and reasons were but heard of a few."

This answer was not given without cause; for no small travail was made, to have drawn in some ministers to the faction of the courtiers, and to have sustained their arguments and opinions. But when it was perceived by the most politic amongst them, that they could not prevail by that means, they proponed the matter in other terms, purging themselves, first, that they never meant to separate themselves from the society of their brethren; but, because they had certain heads to confer with certain ministers; therefore, for avoiding of confusion, they thought it more expedient to have the conference before a few, rather than in the public audience. But the assembly did still reply, "That secret conference would they not admit in those heads that should be concluded by general vote." The lords promised, "That no conclusion should be taken, neither yet vote required, till that both the propositions and the reasons should be heard, and considered of the whole body." And upon that condition were directed unto them, with express charge to conclude nothing without the knowledge and advice of the assembly, the laird of Dun, superintendent of Angus, the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, Mr John Row, Mr John Craig, William Christi-

* From this it appears that Knox did not intend to bring down his history so far as to the death of Rizzio, which event is related in the

fifth book, which is another evidence that it is not of Knox's writing.—*Ed.*

son, Mr David Lindsay, ministers, with the rector of St Andrews, and Mr George Hay, the superintendent of Glasgow. Mr John Willock was moderator, and John Knox waited upon the scribe. And so they were appointed to sit with the brethren. And that because the principal complaint concerned John Knox, he was also called for.

Secretary Lethington began the harangue, which contained these heads: First, How much we were indebted unto God, by whose Providence, we had liberty of religion under the queen's majesty, albeit that she was not persuaded in the same. Secondly, How necessary a thing it was that the queen's majesty by all good offices—so spoke he—of the part of the church, and of the ministers, principally should be retained in that constant opinion, and that they unfeignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her. And, last, How dangerous a thing it was, that ministers should be noted one to disagree from another, in form of prayer for her majesty, or in doctrine concerning obedience to her authority. "And in these two last heads," said he, "we desire you all to be circumspect; but especially we most crave of you our brother, John Knox, to moderate yourself, as well in form of prayer for the queen's majesty, as in doctrine that ye propone concerning her estate and obedience: neither shall you take this," said he, "as spoken to your reproach, '*quia mens interdum in corpore pulchro*,' but because that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the same modesty and foresight; and what opinion that may engender in the people's heads, wise men do foresee," &c. The said John prepared him for answer as follows: "If such as fear God have occasion to praise him that because idolatry is maintained, the servants of God despised, wicked men placed again in honour and authority—Mr Henry Sinclair was a short time before made president, who before durst not have sat in judgment—and, finally," said he, "if we ought to praise God because that vice and impiety overflow this whole realm without punishment, then have we occasion to rejoice and to praise God: but if

these and the like use to provoke God's vengeance against realms and nations, then, in my judgment, the godly within Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and so to prevent God's judgments, lest that he, finding all in a like security, strike in his hot indignation, beginning, perchance, at such as think they offend not." "That is a head," said Lethington, "whereunto you and I never agreed; for how are you able to prove, that ever God struck or plagued any nation or people for the iniquity of their prince, if they themselves lived godly?" "I looked," said he, "my lord, to have had audience, till I had absolved the other two parts; but seeing it pleases your lordship to cut me off before the midst, I will answer to your question. The scripture of God shows to me, that Jerusalem and Judah were punished for the sin of Manasseh; and if you will allege, that they were punished because they were wicked, and offended with their king, and not because the king was wicked; I answer, that albeit that the Spirit of God makes for me, saying in express words, 'For the sins of Manasseh,' yet I will not be so obstinate as to lay the whole sin, and the plagues that thereof followed, upon the king, and utterly absolve the people; but I will grant with you, that the whole people offended with the king. But how, and in what fashion, I fear that you and I shall not agree. I doubt [not] but the whole multitude accompanied him in all the abominations which he did, for idolatry and a false religion has ever been, is, and will be pleasant to the most part of men. But to affirm that all Judah committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm, that which neither has certainty, nor yet appearance of truth: for who can think it to be possible, that all those of Jerusalem should so shortly turn to external idolatry, considering the notable reformation lately before had in the days of Hezekiah: but yet says the text, 'Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err.' True it is; for the one part, as I have said, willingly followed him in his idolatry, and the other, by reason of his authority, suffered to defile Jerusalem, and the temple of God with all abominations;

and so were they all criminal of his sin, the one by act and deed, the other by suffering and permission. Even as whole Scotland is this day guilty of the queen's idolatry, and ye, my lords, especially above all others." "Well," said Lethington, "that is the chief head wherein we never agreed; but of that we shall speak hereafter. What will you say as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the queen's majesty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her authority, as also of the form of the prayer which commonly ye use?" &c.

"My lord," said he, "more earnestly to move the people, or yet otherwise to pray than heretofore I have done, a good conscience will not suffer me; for He who knows the secrets of hearts, knows that privately and publicly I have called unto God for her conversion, and have willed the people to do the same, showing them the dangerous estate wherein not only she herself stands, but also of the whole realm, by reason of her indurate blindness," &c.

"That is it," said Lethington, "wherein we find greatest fault. Your extremity against her mass in particular, passes measure. You call her a slave to Satan; you affirm, that God's vengeance hangs over the realm, by reason of her iniquity. And what is this else, but to raise up the hearts of the people against her majesty, and against them that serve her?" Then there was heard an acclamation of the rest of the flatterers, that such extremity could not profit. The master of Maxwell said in plain words, "If I were in the queen's majesty's place, I would not suffer such things as I hear." "If the words of preachers," said John Knox, "shall always be reft to the worst part, then it will be hard to speak any thing so circumspectly—provided that the truth be spoken—which shall not escape the censure of the calumniator. The most vehement, and, as you speak, excessive manner of prayer, that I use in public is this:—'O Lord, if thy good pleasure be, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, in the which she has been brought up, and yet remains,

for the lack of true doctrine; and let her see, by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit, that there is no mean to please thee but Jesus Christ thy only Son, and that Jesus Christ cannot be found but in thy holy word, nor yet received but as it prescribes, which is to renounce our own wits, and preconceived opinions, and worship thee as thou commandest; that in so doing she may avoid that eternal damnation which abides all obstinate and impenitent unto the end; and that this poor realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably follows idolatry maintained against thy manifest word, and the open light thereof.' This," said he, "is the form of my common prayer, as yourselves can witness. Now, what is worthy reprehension in it I would hear," &c.

"There are three things," said Lethington, "that never liked me. And the first is, you pray for the queen's majesty with one condition, saying, 'Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure be;' whereby it may appear, that you doubt of her conversion. Where have you example of such prayer?" "Wheresoever the examples are," said the other, "I am assured of the rule, which is this, 'If we shall ask any thing according to his will, he will hear us.' And our Master, Christ Jesus, commanded us to pray unto our Father, 'Thy will be done.'" "But," said Lethington, "wherever found you any of the prophets so to have prayed?" "It sufficeth me," said the other, "my lord, that the master and teacher both of prophets and apostles has taught me so to pray." "But in so doing," said he, "you put a doubt in the people's head of her conversion." "Not I, my lord," said the other; "but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me doubt of her conversion." "Wherein," said he, "rebels she against God?" "In all the actions of her life," said the other; but in these two heads especially. Former, That she will not hear the preaching of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ. And, secondly, That she maintans that idol the mass." "She thinks not that rebellion," said Lethington, "but good religion." "So thought they," said the other, "that sometimes offered their children

unto Moloch, and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered 'them unto devils, and not unto God.' And this day the Turks think themselves to have a better religion than the papists have; and yet, I think, you will excuse neither of them both from committing rebellion against God: neither yet justly can you do the queen, unless that you will make God to be partial." "But yet," said Lethington, "why pray you not for her without moving any doubt?" "Because," said the other, "I have learned to pray in faith; now faith, you know, depends upon the word of God, and so it is that the word teaches me, that prayers profit the sons and daughters of God's election, of which number, whether she be one or not, I have just cause to doubt; and, therefore, I pray God 'illuminate her heart, if his good pleasure be.'" "But yet," said Lethington, "you can produce the example of none that so has prayed before you." "Thereto I have already answered," said John Knox. "But, yet, for farther declaration, I will demand one question, which is this, whether if you think that the apostles prayed themselves as they commanded others to pray?" "Who doubts of that?" said the whole company that were present. "Well then," said John Knox, "I am assured that Peter said these words to Simon Magus, 'Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, that if it be possible the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.' Here we may clearly see, that Peter joins a condition with his commandment, that Simon should repent and pray, to wit, if it were possible that his sin might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant that some sins were unto the death, and so without all hope of repentance or remission. And think you not, my lord secretary," said he, "but the same doubt may touch my heart as touching the queen's conversion, that then touched the heart of the apostle?" "I would never," said Lethington, "hear you or any other call that in doubt." "But your will," said the other, "is no assurance to my conscience. And, to speak freely, my lord, I wonder if you yourself doubt not of the queen's conversion; for more evi-

dent signs of induration have appeared, and still do appear in her, than Peter outwardly could have espied in Simon Magus: for albeit sometimes he was a sorcerer, yet joined he with the apostles, believed, and was baptized; and albeit that the venom of avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the Holy Ghost, yet when he heard the fearful threatenings of God pronounced against him, he trembled, desired the assistance of the prayers of the apostles, and so humbled himself, so far as the judgment of men could pears [see], like as a true penitent, and yet we see that Peter doubts of his conversion. Why then may not all the godly justly doubt of the conversion of the queen, who has used idolatry, which is no less odious in the sight of God than is the other, and still continues in the same, yea, that despises all threatenings, and refuses all godly admonitions?" "Why say you that she refuses admonition?" said Lethington. "She will gladly hear any man." "But what obedience to God," said the other, "or to his word, ensues of all that is spoken unto her? Or when shall she be seen to give her presence to the public preaching?" "I think never," said Lethington, "so long as she is thus entreated." "And so long," said the other, "you and all others must be content that I pray so as that I may be assured to be heard of my God, that is, that his good will may be done, either in making her comfortable to his church, or if that he has appointed her to be a scourge unto the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled."

"Well," said Lethington, "let us come to the second head. Where find ye that the scripture calls any the bond slaves of Satan? or that the prophets of God speak so irreverently of kings and princes?" "The scripture," said John Knox, "says, that 'by nature we are all the sons of wrath.' Our Master Christ Jesus affirms, that 'such as do sin are servants to sin,' and that it is the only Son of God that sets men at freedom. Now what difference is there betwixt the sons of wrath, the servants of sin, and the slaves to the devil, I understand not, except I be taught. And if the sharpness of the term offend you, I

have not invented that phrase of speaking, but have learned it out of God's scriptures; for these words I find spoken unto Paul, 'Behold I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark these words, my lord, and stir not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost. And the same apostle, writing to his scholar Timothy, says, 'Instruct with meekness those that are contrary minded, if that God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and that they may come to amendment out of the snare of the devil, which are taken of him at his will.' If your lordship do rightly consider these sentences, you shall not only find my words to be the words of the Holy Ghost, but also the condition which I use to add, to have the assurance of God's scriptures." "But they speak nothing against kings in special," said Lethington, "and yet your continual crying is, 'The queen's idolatry, the queen's mass, will provoke God's vengeance.'" "In the former sentences," said the other, "I hear not kings and queens excepted, but all unfaithful are pronounced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant the devil. But, belike, my lord," said he, "ye little regard the estate wherein they stand, when ye would have them so flattered, that the danger thereof should neither be known, nor yet declared to the poor people." "Where will ye find," said Lethington, "that any of the prophets did so entreat kings and queens, rulers or magistrates?" "In more places than one," said the other, "Ahab was a king, and Jezebel was a queen, and yet what the prophet Elijah said to the one and to the other, I suppose ye are not ignorant." "That was not cried out before the people," said Lethington, "to make them odious unto their subjects." "That Elijah said, 'Dogs shall lick the blood of Ahab,'" said John Knox, "'and eat the flesh of Jezebel,' the scripture assures me; but that it was whispered in their own ear, or in a corner, I read not. But the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the court understood well enough

what the prophet had pronounced; for so witnessed Jehu, after that God's vengeance had stricken Jezebel." "They were singular motions of the Spirit of God," said Lethington, "and appertain nothing to this our age." "Then hath the scripture far deceived me," said the other; "for St Paul teacheth me, that 'whatsoever is written within the holy scriptures, the same things are written for our instruction.' And my Master says, that 'every learned and wise scribe brings forth of his treasure both things old and things new.' And the prophet Jeremiah affirms, that every realm and every city that likewise offendeth, as then did Jerusalem, should likewise be punished. Why then that the facts of the ancient prophets, and the fearful judgments of God executed before us upon the disobedient, appertain not unto this our age, I neither see nor yet can understand. But now, to put end to this head, my lord," said he, "the prophets of God have not spared to rebuke wicked kings, as well in their face as before the people and subjects. Elisha feared not to say to king Jehoram, 'What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother; for as the Lord God of Hosts lives, in whose sight I stand, if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, I would not look towards thee nor see thee.' Plain it is, that the prophet was a subject in the kingdom of Israel, and yet how little reverence he gives to the king we hear. Jeremiah the prophet was commanded to cry to the king and to the queen, and to say, 'Behave yourselves lowly, execute justice and judgment, or else your carcasses shall be casten to the heat of the day, and unto the frost of the night.' Unto Cononiah, Sallum, and Zedekiah he speaks in special, and shows unto them, in his public sermons, their miserable ends; and therefore ye ought not to think it strange, my lords," said he, "albeit that the servants of God tax the vices of kings and queens, even as well as of other offenders, and that because their sins are more noisome to the commonwealth than are the sins of inferior persons."

The most part of this reasoning, secretary

Lethington leaned on the master of Maxwell's breast, who said, "I am almost weary; I would that some other would reason on the chief head, which is not touched."

Then the earl of Morton chancellor, commanded Mr George Hay to reason against John Knox, on the head of the obedience due unto magistrates, who began so to do. Unto whom John Knox said, "Brother, that you shall reason in my contrary I am well content, because I know you both a man of learning and modesty; but that ye shall oppone yourself in the truth whereof I suppose your own conscience is no less persuaded than is mine, I cannot well approve; for I would be sorry that I and you should be reputed to reason as two scholars of Pythagoras, to show the quickness of our ingyne [genius], as it were, to reason on both parts. I do protest here before God, that whatsoever I sustain, I do the same of conscience; yea, I dare no more sustain a proposition known to myself untrue, than that I dare teach false doctrine in the public place; and therefore, brother, if conscience move you to oppone yourself to that doctrine which you have heard of my mouth in that matter, do it boldly, it shall never offend me: but that you shall be found to oppone yourself unto me, you being persuaded in the same truth, I say yet again, it pleases me not; for therein may be greater inconvenience than either you or I do consider for the present."

The said Mr George answered, "That I would oppone myself unto you as willing to impugn or confute that head of doctrine, which not only you, but many others, yea, and I myself have affirmed, far be it from me; for so should I be found contrarious to myself: for my lord secretary knows my judgment on that head." "Marry," said the secretary, "you are the well worst of the two; for I remember yet our reasoning when the queen was in Carrick." "Well," said John Knox, "seeing, brother, that God has made you one to occupy the chair of verity, wherein I am assured we agree in all principal heads of doctrine, let it never be said that we disagree in disputation." John Knox was moved thus to

speak, because he understood more of the craft than the other did.

"Well," said Lethington, "I am somewhat better provided in this last head than I was on the other two. Mr Knox," said he, "yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th to the Romans; we heard the mind of the apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God has established powers upon the earth; we heard the necessity that mankind has of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared: but in two things I was offended, and I think some more of my lords that then were present. The one was, you made difference betwixt the ordinance of God and the persons that were placed in authority; and you affirmed, that men might resist the persons, and yet not offend God's ordinance. This is the one—the other you had no time to explain; but this methought you meant, that subjects were not bound to obey their princes if they commanded unlawful things, but that they might resist their princes, and were not ever bound to suffer." "In very deed," said the other, "you have both rightly marked my words and understood my mind; for of the same judgment have I long been, and so yet I remain." "How will you prove your division and difference," said Lethington, "and that the person placed in authority may be resisted, and God's ordinance not transgressed, seeing that the apostle says, 'He that resists the powers, resists the ordinance of God?'" "My lord," said he, "the plain words of the apostle make the difference, and the facts of many approved by God, prove my affirmative. First, the apostle affirms, that the powers are ordained of God for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors; whereof it is plain, that the ordinance of God and the power given unto man is one thing, and the person clothed with the power or with the authority, is another; for God's ordinance is the preservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintaining of virtue, which is in itself holy, just, constant, stable, and perpetual; but men clothed with the authority,

are commonly profane and unjust; yea, they are mutable and transitory, and subject to corruption, as God threatened them by his prophet David, saying, 'I have said, Ye are gods, and every one of you the sons of the Most High; but ye shall die as men, and ye princes shall fall like others.' Here, I am assured, the persons, the soul, and body, of wicked princes are threatened with death; I think, that so ye will not affirm is the authority, the ordinance, and the power wherewith God has endowed such persons; for, as I have said, as it is holy, so it is the permanent will of God. And now, my lord, that the prince may be resisted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated, it is evident, for the people resisted Saul, when he had sworn by the living God that Jonathan should die; the people, I say, swore in the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, so that a hair of his head fell not. Now Saul was their anointed king, and they were his subjects, and yet they so resisted him, that they made him no better than mansworn." "I doubt," said Lethington, "if in so doing the people did well." "The Spirit of God," said the other, "accuses them not of any crime, but rather praises them, and condemns the king, as well for his foolish vow and law made without God, as for his cruel mind, that so severely would have punished an innocent man; but herein will not I stand, this that follows shall confirm the former. This same Saul commanded Abimelech and the priests of the Lord to be slain, because they had committed treason, as he alleged, for intercommuning with David: his guard and principal servants would not obey his unjust commandment; but Doeg the king's flatterer, put the king's cruelty in execution. I will not ask your judgment, whether that the servants of the king, in not obeying his commandment, resisted God or not; or whether Doeg, in murdering the priests, gave obedience to a just authority: for I have the Spirit of God, speaking by the mouth of David, to assure me as well of the one as of the other; for he, in his 52d Psalm, condemns that fact as a most cruel murder; and affirms, that God would

punish, not only the commander, but also the merciless executor; and, therefore, I conclude, that they who gainstood his commandment, resisted not the ordinance of God. And now, my lord, to answer to the place of the apostle, who affirms, that such as resist the power resist the ordinance of God; I say, that the power in that place is not to be understood of the unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God has armed his magistrates and lieutenants to punish sin and to maintain virtue. As if any man should enterprise to take from the hands of a lawful judge a murderer, an adulterer, or any other malefactor who by God's law deserved the death, this same man resisted God's ordinance, and procured to himself vengeance and damnation, because that he stayed God's sword to strike. But so it is not, if that men in the fear of God oppone themselves the fury and blind rage of princes; for so they resist not God, but the devil, who abuses the sword and authority of God." "I understand sufficiently," said Lethington, "what you mean; and unto the one part I will not oppone myself, but I doubt of the other; for if the queen would command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her: but and if she would command others to do it, or yet by a colour of justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be found to defend him against the queen and against her officers." "Under protestation," said the other, "that the auditor thinks not that I speak in favour of myself, I say, my lord, that if you be persuaded of my innocence, and if God had given you such power or credit as might deliver me, and yet suffered me to perish, that in so doing you should be criminal and guilty of my blood." "Prove that, and win the play," said Lethington. "Well, my lord," said the other, "remember your promise, and I shall be short in my probation. The prophet Jeremiah was apprehended by the priests and prophets—who were a part of the authority within Jerusalem—and by the multitude of the people, and this sentence was pronounced against him, 'Thou

shalt die the death; for thou hast said, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without an inhabitant.' The princes hearing the uproar, came from the king's house, and sat down in judgment in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house. And there the priests and prophets, before the princes, before all the people, intended their accusation in these words:— 'This man is worthy to die; for he has prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard.' Jeremiah answered, 'That whatsoever he had spoken proceeded from God; and therefore,' said he, 'as for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as ye think good and right. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the Lord has sent me unto you to speak all these words.' Now, my lord, if the princes and the whole people should have been guilty of the prophet's blood, how shall ye or others be judged innocent before God, if ye shall suffer the blood of such as have not deserved death to be shed, when that ye may save it?"

"The cases are not like," said Lethington. "And I would learn," said the other, "whereuntil the dissimilitude stands." "First," said Lethington, "the king had not condemned him to death. And next, the false prophets, the priests, and the people, accused him without a cause; and therefore they could not be but guilty of his blood." "Neither of these," said John Knox, "fights against my argument; for albeit that neither the king was present, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the princes and chief counsellors there sitting in judgment, who represented the king's person and authority, hearing the accusation laid unto the charge of the prophet; and therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is said, to wit, that in case he should be condemned, and so put to death, that the king, the council, and the whole city of Jerusalem, should be guilty of his blood, because he had committed no

crime worthy of the death. And if ye think that they should all have been criminal only, because they all accused him, the plain text witnesses the contrary; for the princes defended him, and so no doubt did a great part of the people; and yet he boldly affirms, that they should be all guilty of his blood if that he should be put to death. And the prophet Ezekiel gives the reason why all are guilty in a common corruption, because, says he, 'I sought a man amongst them that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it, but I found none; therefore, I have poured forth my indignation upon them.' Hereof, my lord, it is plain," said he, "that God craves not only that a man do no iniquity in his own person, but also that he oppose himself to all iniquity, so far forth as in him lies."

"Then will you," said Lethington, "make subjects to control their princes and rulers." "And what harm," said the other, "should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects, that they should do wrong nor violence to no man?" "All this reasoning," said Lethington, "is out of purpose; for we reason as though the queen should become such an enemy to our religion, that she should persecute, and put innocent men to death; which I am assured she never thought, nor never will do. For if I should see her begin at that end, yea, or if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as forward in that argument as you are, or as any other within the realm; but there is no such a thing. Our question is, whether we may and ought suppress the queen's mass? or whether that her idolatry shall be laid to our charge?" "What you may," said John Knox, "by force, I dispute not; but what you may and ought to do by God's express commandment, that can I tell. Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but the idolater ought to die the death, unless we will accuse God."* "I know," said Leth-

* Every intelligent reader must perceive that Knox conducts his argument with admirable

dexterity, while proceeding all along upon an erroneous principle, namely, that the law of

ington, "the idolater is commanded to die the death; but by whom?" "By the people of God," said the other: "for the commandment was made to Israel, as you may read, 'Hear, Israel,' says the Lord, 'the statutes and the commandments of the Lord thy God.' Yea, a commandment is given, 'That if it be heard that idolatry is committed in any one city, that inquisition shall be taken, and if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people shall arise and destroy that city, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor child.'" "But there is no commandment given to the people to punish their king," said the secretary, "if he be an idolater." "I find no privilege granted unto kings," said the other, "by God, more than unto the people, to offend God's majesty." "I grant," said Lethington; "but yet the people may not be judge unto their king to punish him, albeit he is an idolater." "God," said the other, "is the universal judge, as well to king as to the people; so that what his word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other." "We agree in that," said Lethington; "but the people may not execute God's judgment, but must leave it unto himself, who will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other kind of his

plagues." "I know," said John Knox, "the last part of your reason to be true; but for the first, to wit, that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgment against their king, being an offender, I am assured you have no other warrant except your own imagination, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend princes than God."

"Why say you so?" said Lethington. "I have the judgments of the most famous men within Europe, and of such as you yourself will confess both godly and learned." And with that he called for his papers, which produced by Mr Robert Maitland, he began to read with great gravity the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, the minds of Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, how christians should behave themselves in time of persecution; yea, the book of Baruch was not omitted, with this conclusion: "The gathering of these things," said he, "has cost me more travail, than I took these seven years in reading of any commentaries." "The more pity," said the other; "and, yet, what you have profited your own cause, let others judge. But as for my argument, I am assured, you have infirmed it nothing. For your first two witnesses speak against the anabaptists, who deny that christians should be subjects unto

Moses, which required idolaters to be punished with death, was binding on christians. Lethington maintained the same principle; and, hence, though one of the ablest men of his day, he argues like a mere child; for, by admitting Knox's premises, it was impossible to avoid his conclusion. Had the secretary understood, that the peculiarities of the law of Moses were meant for the Israelites only, and were confined to the land of promise, which they received on the express condition that they should suffer no idol in it; and had he known that christian churches were distinct from, and independent of, the kingdoms of this world, he could have maintained his argument to advantage. He might have said, Mr Knox, you profess to be pastor of a church of Christ, which as such has nothing to do with affairs of state. You and your brethren have a right to superintend your own affairs, and take cognizance of the principles and conduct of all within your own body, to censure them, to reprove them with all necessary plainness and severity, and excommunicate such as refuse to be reclaimed from their sinful practices. But the queen and her court do not belong to your spiritual community. They are what the apostle Paul calls without the church, of whom he says, "What have I to do to judge

them who are without? Do not ye judge them that are within? but them who are without God judgeth." And he might have followed this up by a reference to the uniform practice of the apostles, who never interfered with the civil government of any country, or taught christians to rise up against their idolatrous rulers. The apostles laboured every where to turn men from idols to serve the living God; but they never thought of putting to death those who would not be so turned. Surely if the law of Moses was binding on our Scots reformers, it must have been equally binding on the twelve apostles, who had been born and brought up under it. I might say more on this subject, but I have written largely upon it in my Letters to a Covenanter, which the reader may consult if he please. These remarks are not meant to derogate from the intrepidity and integrity of our reformer, who was honest in making use of the light which he had. God is pleased to bless the labours of those who do so, more than those of more enlightened, but less faithful men; and Knox, with all his mistakes, was honoured to be the instrument of greater benefit to his country, than almost any other man of any age.—*Ed.*

magistrates, or yet that it is lawful for a christian to be a magistrate, which opinion I no less abhor than you, or any others that live do. The others speak of christians subject unto tyrants and infidels, so dispersed that they have no other force but only to sob to God for deliverance. That such, indeed, should hazard any further than these godly men wills them, I could not hastily be of counsel. But my argument has another ground; for I speak of one people assembled together in one body of a commonwealth, unto whom God has given sufficient force, not only to resist, but also to suppress all kind of open idolatry: and such a people, yet again I affirm, are bound to keep their land clean and unpolluted. And that this my division shall not appear strange unto you, you shall understand, that God required one thing of Abraham and of his seed, when he and they were pilgrims and strangers in Egypt and Canaan; and one other thing required he of them, when they were delivered from the bondage of Egypt, and the possession of the land of Canaan granted unto them. At the first, and during all time of their bondage, God craved no more, but that Abraham should not defile himself with idolatry; neither was he, nor yet his posterity, commanded to destroy the idols that were in Canaan or in Egypt. But when God gave unto them the possession of the land, he gave unto them this strait commandment, 'Beware that thou make confederacy or league with the inhabitants of this land; give not thy sons unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters to their sons. But thus shall ye do unto them: cut down their groves, destroy their images, break down their altars, and leave you no kind of remembrance of those abominations, which the inhabitants of the land used before: for ye are an holy people unto the Lord thy God. Defile not thyself, therefore, with their gods.' To this same commandment, I say, are ye, my lords, and all such as have professed the Lord Jesus within this realm, bound. For God has wrought no less miracle upon you both spiritual and corporeal, then he did upon the carnal seed of Abraham. For in what estate your bodies,

and this poor realm were, within these seven years, yourselves cannot be ignorant: ye and it were both in the bondage of a strange nation; and what tyrants reigned over your conscience, God perchance may yet once again let you feel, because that ye do not rightly acknowledge the benefit received. When our poor brethren before us gave their bodies to the flames of fire for the testimony of the truth, and when scarcely could ten be found in a country, that rightly knew God, [it] had been foolishness either to have craved of the nobility, or of the subjects, the suppressing of idolatry; for that had been nothing but to have exposed the simple sheep in a prey to the wolves: but since that God has multiplied knowledge, yea, and has given the victory to his truth, even in the hands of his servants, if ye suffer the land again to be defiled, ye and your princess both shall drink the cup of God's indignation; she, for her obstinate abiding in manifest idolatry, in this great light of the evangel of Jesus Christ, and ye, for your permission and maintaining of her in the same."

Lethington said, "In that point we will never agree. And where find ye, I pray you, that ever any of the prophets or of the apostles taught such a doctrine, that the people should be plagued for the idolatry of their prince; or yet, that the subjects might suppress the idolatry of their rulers, or punish them for the same?" "What was the commission given to the apostles, my lord," said he, "we know; it was to preach, and plant the evangel of Jesus Christ, where darkness before had dominion: and, therefore, it behoved them, first to let them see the light, before they should will them to put to their hands to suppress idolatry. What precepts the apostles gave unto the faithful in particular, other than that they commanded all to flee from idolatry, I will not affirm. But I find two things which the faithful did. The one was, that they assisted their preachers, even against their rulers and magistrates. The other was, they suppressed idolatry wheresoever God gave unto them force, asking no license at the emperor, or of his deputies. Read the ecclesiastical history, and you shall find

examples sufficient. And as to the doctrine of the prophets, we know, that they were interpreters of the law of God; and we know, that they spake as well unto the kings as unto the people. I read that neither of both would hear them; and, therefore, came the plague of God upon both. But that they more flattered the kings, than they did the people, I cannot be persuaded. Now, God's law pronounces death, as before I have said, to idolaters, without exception of any person. Now, how the prophets could rightly interpret the law, and show the causes of God's judgments, which ever they threatened should follow idolatry, and for the rest of abominations that accompany it—for it is never alone; but still a corrupt religion brings with it a filthy and corrupt life—how, I say, the prophets could reprove the vices, and not show the people their duty, I understand not; and, therefore, I constantly believe, that the doctrine of the prophets was so sensible, that the kings understood their own abominations, and the people understood what they ought to have done, in punishing and repressing them. But because that the most part of the people were no less rebellious unto God then were their princes, therefore the one and the other conjured against God, and against his servants. And yet, my lord, the facts of some prophets are so evident, that easily thereof we may collect what doctrine they taught: for it were no small absurdity to affirm, that their facts should repugn to their doctrine." "I think," said Lethington, "you mean of the history of Jehu. What will you prove thereby?" "The chief head," said John Knox, "that you deny, to wit, that the prophets never taught that it appertained to the people to punish the idolatry of their kings; the contrary whereof I affirm. And for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a prophet. For you know, my lord," said he, "that Elisha sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him in commandment to destroy the sons of his master Ahab for the idolatry committed by him, and for the innocent blood that Jezebel his wicked wife had shed; which he obeyed,

and put in full execution; for the which God promised unto him the stability of the kingdom to the fourth generation. Now," said he, "here is the fact of a prophet, that proves that subjects were commanded to execute God's judgment upon their king and prince." "There is enough," said Lethington, "to be answered thereunto; for Jehu was a king before he put any thing in execution; and besides this, the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated." "My lord," said the other, "he was a mere subject, and no king when the prophet's servant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow captains, hearing of the message, blew the trumpet, and said 'Jehu is king,' yet I doubt not but Jezebel both thought and said, 'He was a traitor;' and so did many others that were in Israel and in Samaria. And as touching that you allege, that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitated, I say, that it had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commands the idolater to die the death; and, therefore, I yet again affirm, that it is to be imitated of all those that prefer the true honour, the true worship and glory of God, to the affections of flesh, and of wicked princes." "We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples," said Lethington, "unless we have like commandment and assurance." "I grant," said the other, "if the example repugn to the law; as, if an avaricious and deceitful man would borrow gold, silver, raiment, or any other necessities, from his neighbours, and withhold the same, alleging, that so they might do and not offend God, because the Israelites at their departing from Egypt did so to the Egyptians. The example served to no purpose unless that they could produce the like cause, and the like commandment that the Israelites had, and that because their fact repugned to this commandment of God, 'Thou shalt not steal.' But where the example agrees with the law, and is, as it were, the execution of God's judgments expressed in the same, I say that the example approved of God stands to us in place of a commandment: for, as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not condemn in the ages subsequent that which he

has approved in his servants before us. But in his servants before us, He by his own commandment has approved, that subjects have not only destroyed their kings for idolatry, but also have rooted out their whole posterity, so that none of their race was left after to empire above the people of God." "Whatsoever they did," said Lethington, "was done at God's commandment." "That fortifies my argument," said the other; "for God by his commandment has approved, that subjects punish their kings for idolatry and wickedness by them committed." "We have not the like commandment," said Lethington. "That I deny," said the other; "for the commandment, that the idolater shall die the death is perpetual, as you yourself have granted; you doubted only who should be the executors against the king, and I said the people of God, and have sufficiently proven, as I think, that God has raised up the people, and by his prophet has anointed a king to take vengeance upon the king and his posterity, which fact God, since that time, has never retracted; and, therefore, to me it remains for a constant and clear commandment to all people professing God, and having the power to punish vice, what they ought to do in the like case. If the people had enterprised any thing against God's commandment, we might have doubted whether they had done well or evil; but seeing that God did bring the execution of his law again in practice, after it was come into oblivion and contempt, what reasonable man can doubt now of God's will, unless that he will doubt of all things which God renews not unto us by miracles, as it were from age to age. But I am assured, that the answer of Abraham unto the rich man, who being in hell, desired that Lazarus, or some of the dead, should be sent unto his brethren and friends, to forewarn them of his incredible pain and torment, and that they should behave themselves so that they should not come into that place of torment; the answer, I say, given unto him, shall confound all such as crave farther approbation of God's will than is already expressed within his holy

scripture: for Abraham said, 'They have Moses and the prophets, whom if they will not believe, neither will they believe albeit that any of the dead should rise again.' Even so say I, my lord, that such as will not be taught what they ought to do, by the commandment of God once given, and once put in practice, will not believe nor obey, albeit that God should send angels from heaven to instruct that doctrine." "You have produced but one example," said Lethington. "One sufficeth," said the other; "but yet, God be praised, we lack not others; for the whole people conspired against Amaziah king of Judah, after that he had turned away from the Lord, followed him to Lachish, and slew him, and took Uzziah and anointed him king instead of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the league and covenant which was made betwixt their kings and them, at the inauguration of Joash his father, to wit, 'That the king and the people should be the people of the Lord,' and then should they be his faithful subjects; from the which covenant, when that first the father, and after the son declined, they were both punished to the death, Joash by his own servant, and Amaziah by the whole people." "I doubt," said Lethington, "whether they did well or not." "It shall be free for you," said the other, "to doubt as you please; but where I find execution according to God's law, and God himself not to accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their cause. And, farther, it appears to me, that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance of their fact; for he blessed them with victory, peace, and prosperity, the space of fifty-two years after." "But prosperity," said Lethington, "does not always prove that God approves the facts of men." "Yes," said the other: "when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to God's own promise, expressed in his law, I say, that the prosperity succeeding the fact is a most infallible assurance that God has approved that fact. Now so it is, that God has promised in his law, that when his people shall exterminate and de-

stroy such as decline from him, that he will bless them, and multiply them, as he has promised unto their fathers. But so it is, that Amaziah turned from God; for so the text does witness; and plain it is the people slew their king; and like plain it is, that God blessed them: therefore, yet again conclude I, that God approved their fact, in so far as it was done according to God's commandment, was blessed according to his promise." "Well," said Lethington, "I think not the ground so sure, as I durst build my conscience thereupon." "I pray God," said the other, "that your conscience have no worse ground than this is, whensoever you shall begin that like work which God in your own eyes has already blessed. And now, my lord," said he, "I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I weary longer to stand."—Commandment was given that he should sit down; but he refused, and said, "Melancholious reasons would have some mirth intermixed."—"My last example," said he, "my lords, is this. Uzziah the king, not content of his royal estate, malapertly took upon him to enter within the temple of the Lord, to burn incense upon the altar of incense; 'And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men, and they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto Uzziah to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to offer incense; go forth of the sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and you shall have no honour from the Lord God.' Hereof, my lords, I conclude, that subjects not only may, but also ought to withstand and resist their princes, whensoever they do any thing that expressly repugns to God, his law, or holy ordinance."

"They that withstood the king," said Lethington, "were not simple subjects, but were the priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ, and such priests have we none this day, to withstand kings if they do wrong." "That the high priest was the figure of Christ," said the other, "I grant; but that he was not a subject, that I deny; for I am assured, that he in his priesthood had no

prerogative above those that passed before him. Now, so it is, that Aaron was subject unto Moses, and called him his lord. Samuel, being both prophet and priest, subjects himself to Saul, after he was inaugurate of the people. Zadok bowed before David, and Abiathar was deposed from the priesthood by Solomon, which all confessing themselves subjects to the kings, albeit that therewith they ceased not to be the figures of Christ. And whereas you say, that we have no such priests this day, I might answer, that neither have we such kings this day as then were anointed at God's commandment, and sat upon the seat of David, and were no less the figures of Christ Jesus in their just administration, than were the priests in their appointed office. And such kings I am assured we have not now, more than we have such priests: for Jesus Christ being anointed in our nature, of God his Father, both King, Priest, and Prophet, has put end to all such external unction: and yet, I think, you will not say, that God has now diminished his graces from those whom he appoints ambassadors betwixt him and his people, than that he does from kings and princes; and, therefore, why that the servants of Jesus Christ may not as justly withstand kings and princes, that this day no less offend God's majesty than Uzziah did, I see not, unless that you will say, that we, in the brightness of the evangel, are not so straitly bound to regard God's glory, nor yet his commandment, as were the fathers who lived under the dark shadows of the law." "Well," said Lethington, "I will dip no farther into that head. But how resisted the priests the king? They only spoke unto him without any farther violence intended." "That they withstood him," said the other, "the text assures me; but that they did nothing but speak, I cannot understand; for the plain text affirms the contrary, to wit, that they caused him hastily to depart from the sanctuary, yea, that he was compelled to depart; which manner of speaking I am assured in the Hebrew tongue imports other thing than exhorting, or commanding by word." "They did that," said Lethington, "after

that he was espied leprous." "They withstood him before," said the other; "but yet their last fact confirms my proposition so evidently, that such as would oppose themselves unto it, must needs oppose them unto God; for my assertion is, that kings have no privilege more than have the people, to offend God's majesty; and if that so they do, that they are no more exempted from the punishment of the law than is any other subject; yea, and that subjects may not only lawfully oppose themselves to their kings, whensoever they do any thing that expressly repugns God's commandment, but also that they may execute judgment upon them according to God's law; so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer according to God's law, not as a king, but as an offender, and that the people may put God's law in execution, this history clearly proveth: for as soon as the leprosy was espied in his forehead, he was not only compelled to depart out of the sanctuary, but also he was removed from all public society and administration of the kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a house apart, even as the law commanded, and got no greater prerogative in that case than any other of the people should have done; and this was executed by the people; for it is no doubt but more were witnesses of his leprosy than the priests alone. But we find none oppose themselves to the sentence of God pronounced in his law against the leprous; and, therefore, yet again say I, that the people ought to execute God's law, even against their princes, when that their open crimes by God's law deserve death, but especially when they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now," said he, "my lords, I will reason no longer; for I have spoken more than I intended." "And yet," said Lethington, "I cannot tell what can be concluded." "Albeit ye cannot," said the other, "yet I am assured what I have proven, to wit, '1. That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and thereuntil offended not God. 2. That subjects have refused to strike innocents when a king commanded, and in so doing denied

no just obedience. 3. That such as struck at the commandment of the king were reputed murderers. 4. That God has not only of a subject made a king, but also has armed subjects against their natural kings, and commanded them to take vengeance upon them according to his law. 5. And, last, That God's people has executed God's law against their king, having no farther regard to him in that behalf than if that he had been the most simple subject within the realm.' And therefore, albeit ye will not understand what should be concluded, yet I am not assured, that not only may God's people, but also, that they are bound to do the same where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives unto them the like power."

"Well," said Lethington, "I think you shall not have many learned men of your opinion." "My lord," said the other, "the truth ceases not to be the truth, howsoever it be, that men either misknow it, or yet gainstand it. And yet," said he, "I lack not the consent of God's servants on that head." And with that he presented the secretary the apology of Magdeburgh; and willed him to read the names of the ministers who had subscribed the defence of the town to be a most just defence; and therewith added, "That to resist a tyrant, is not to resist God, nor yet his ordinance." Which when he had read, he scrippied and said, "*Homines obscuri.*" The other answered, "*Dei tamen servi.*" And so Lethington arose and said, "My lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both parties, it becomes you now to decide, and to put an order to preachers, that they be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the queen's mass from her?" While that some began to give their votes—for some were appointed, as it were, leaders to the rest—John Knox said, "My lords, I suppose that ye will not do contrary to your lordships' promise made to the whole assembly, which was, That nothing should be voted in secret till that first all matters should be debated in public, and that then the votes of the whole assembly should put end to the controversy. Now have I sustained the argument only, and have rather shown

my conscience in most simple manner, than that I have insisted upon the force and vehemence of any one argument; and therefore I, for my part, utterly dissent from all voting, till that the whole assembly have heard the propositions and the reasons of both parties; for I unfeignedly acknowledge, that many in that company are more able to sustain the argument than I am." "Think you it reasonable," said Lethington, "that such a multitude as is now convened, should reason and vote on these heads and matters that concern the queen's majesty's own person and affairs?" "I think," said the other, "that whatsoever should bind the multitude, the multitude should hear, unless that they have resigned their power unto their commissioners, which they have not done, so far as I understand; for my lord justice-clerk heard them with one vote say, That in nowise could they consent that any thing should either here be voted or concluded." "I cannot tell," said Lethington, "if my lords that be here present, and that must bear the burdens of such matters, should be bound to their will. What say ye," said he, "my lords? will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?" After long reasoning, some that were made for the purpose, said, "Why may not the lords vote, and then show unto the kirk whatsoever is done." "That appears unto me," said John Knox, "not only a backward order, but also a tyranny usurped upon the kirk: but for me, do as ye list," said he, "for as I reason, so I vote; yet protesting as before, that I dissent from all voting, till that the whole assembly understand as well the questions as the reasons." "Well," said Lethington, "that cannot be done now, for the time is spent; and therefore, my lord chancellor," said he, "ask you the votes, and take every one of the ministers and one of us." And so was the rector of St Andrews commanded first to speak his conscience; who said, "I refer it to the superintendent of Fife, for I think we are both of one judgment: and yet," said he, "if ye will that I speak first, my conscience is, that if the queen oppone herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, that in that case the nobility and

states of this realm that have professed the true doctrine, may justly oppone themselves unto her; but as concerning her own mass, I know it is idolatry, but I am not yet resolved, whether that by violence we may take it from her or not." The superintendent of Fife said, "That same is my conscience." And so affirmed some of the nobility. But others voted frankly, That as the mass was abomination, so was it just and right that it should be repressed; and that in so doing, men did no more wrong to the queen's majesty than they that should by force take from her a poisoned cup when she was going to drink it. At last, Mr John Craig, fellow minister with John Knox in the church of Edinburgh, was required to give his judgment and vote; who said, "I will gladly show unto your honours what I understand; but I greatly doubt whether my knowledge and conscience shall satisfy you, seeing that ye heard so many reasons, and are so little moved with them: but yet I shall not conceal from you my judgment, adhering first to the protestation of my brother, to wit, That our voting prejudice not the liberty of the general assembly. I was," said he, "in the university of Bononia, in the year of God 1562, where, in the place of the blackfriars of the same town, I saw in the time of their general assembly this conclusion set forth; this same I heard reasoned, determined, and concluded.

CONCLUSIO.

'Principes omnes tam supremi, quam inferiores, possunt et debent reformari, vel deponi per eos, per quos eliguntur, confirmantur, vel admittuntur ad officium; quoties a fide præstita subditis, per juramentum, deficient. Quoniam relatio juramenti subditorum et principum mutua est, et utrinque æquo jure servanda et reformanda, juxta legem et conditionem juramenti, ab utraque parte facti.' That is, 'All rulers, be they supreme or be they inferior, may and ought to be reformed or deposed by those by whom they are chosen, confirmed, or admitted to their office, as oft as they break their promise made by oath to their subjects; because that the prince is

no less bound to the subjects than are the subjects to their princes, and therefore ought it to be kept and reformed equally, according to the law and condition of the oath that is made of either party.'

"This conclusion, my lords, I heard sustained and concluded, as I have said, in a most notable auditory. The sustainer was a learned man, Mr Thomas de Finola, the rector of the university, a man famous in that country; Mr Vincentius de Placentia, affirmed the conclusion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man. The occasion of the disputation and conclusion, was a certain disorder and tyranny that was attempted by the pope's governors, who began to make innovations in the country against the laws that were before established, alleging themselves not to be subject to such laws, by reason that they were not instituted by the people, but by the pope, who was king of that country; and therefore they, having full commission and authority of the pope, might alter and change statutes and ordinances of the country, without all consent of the people. Against this their usurped tyranny, the learned and the people opposed themselves openly: and when that all reasons which the pope's governors could allege were heard and confuted, the pope himself was fain to take up the matter, and to promise to keep not only the liberty of the people, but also that he should neither abrogate any law or statute, neither yet make any new law without their own consent. And, therefore," said he, "my lords, my vote and conscience is, that princes are not only bound to keep laws and promises to their subjects, but also, that in case they fail, they justly may be deposed; for the bond betwixt the prince and the people is reciprocal." Then started up a clawback of that corrupt court, and said, "Ye wot not what ye say; for ye tell us what was done in Bononia; we are in a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth." "My lord," said he, "my judgment is, that every kingdom is a commonwealth, or at least should be, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom; and, therefore, I think,

that in a kingdom no less diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated, than is in a commonwealth, because that the tyranny of princes, who continually reign in a kingdom, is more hurtful to the subjects than is the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths. But yet, my lords, to assure you and all others farther, that head was disputed to the uttermost; and in the end it was concluded, that they spoke not of such things as were done in divers kingdoms and nations by tyranny and negligence of people, "But we conclude," said they, "what ought to be done in all kingdoms and commonwealths, according to the law of God, and unto the just laws of men. And if by the negligence of the people, or by tyranny of princes, contrary laws have been made, yet may that same people, or their posterity, justly crave all things to be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths: and such as will not do so, deserve to eat the fruit of their own foolishness."

Mr James Macgill, then clerk of register, perceiving the votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainness of the foresaid servant of God, said, "I remember that this same question was long debated once before this, in my house, and there, by reason that we were not all of one mind, it was concluded, that Mr Knox should in all our names have written to Mr Calvin for his judgment in the controversy." "Nay," said John Knox, "my lord secretary would not consent that I should write, alleging, that the greatest weight of the answer stood in the narrative, and therefore promised that he would write, and that I should see it. But when," said he, "divers times I required him to remember his promise, I found nothing but delay." Whereto the secretary did answer, "True it is, I promised to write, and true it is that Mr Knox required divers times me so to do; but when I had ripely advised, and had more deeply considered the weight of the matter, I began to find more doubts than that I did before, and this one amongst others,—How durst I, being a subject, and

the queen's majesty's secretary, take upon me to seek resolution of controversies depending betwixt her highness and her subjects, without her own knowledge and consent." Then was there an acclamation of the claw-backs of the court, as if Apollo had given his response. It was wisely and faithfully done.

"Well," said John Knox, "let worldly men praise worldly wisdom as highly as they please, I am assured, that by such shifts, idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Christ Jesus is betrayed, whereof God will one day be revenged." At this and the like sharpness, many offended, the voting ceased, and every faction began plainly to speak as affection moved them. John Knox in the end was commanded yet to write to Mr Calvin, and to the learned in other churches, to know their judgments in that question, which he refused, showing this reason, "I myself am not only fully resolved in conscience, but also I have had the judgments in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm, of the most godly and learned that are known

in Europe. I came not to this realm without their resolution; and for my assurance I have the handwritings of many, and, therefore, if I should now move the same question again, what should I do other, but either show my own ignorance and forgetfulness, or else inconstancy; and, therefore, it may please you to pardon me, albeit I write not. But I will teach you the surer way, which is this, that you write and complain upon me, that I teach publicly, and affirm constantly, such doctrine as offends you, and so shall you know their plain minds, and whether that I and they agree in judgment or not." Divers said the offer was good, but no man was found that would be the secretary, and so did that assembly and long reasoning break up. After which time the ministers, which were called precise, were held of all the courtiers as monsters. In all that time the earl of Murray was so fremmed to [estranged from] John Knox, that neither by word nor by write was there any communication betwixt them.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN
THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

In the next month, which was July, the queen went into Athol to the hunting; and from thence she made her progress into Murray, and returned to Fife in September. All this while there was appearance of love and tender friendship betwixt the two queens; for there were many letters, full of civility and compliments sent from either of them to the other in sign of amity; besides costly presents for tokens.* And in the meantime, the earl of Lennox laboured to come home forth of England, and in the month of October he arrived at Holyrood-house, where he was graciously received by the queen's majesty; namely, when he had presented the queen of England her letters, written in his favour: and because he could not be restored to his lands without act of parliament, therefore, there was a parliament procured to be held at Edinburgh the 13th day of December: but before the queen would cause to proclaim a parliament, she desired the earl of Murray, by whose means chiefly the said earl of Lennox came into Scotland; that there should no word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned religion, in the parliament. But

he answered, That he could not promise it. In the meantime, the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox were agreed.

At the day appointed, the parliament was held at Edinburgh, where the said earl of Lennox was restored, after two and twenty years' exile; he was banished and forfeited by the Hamiltons, when they had the rule. There were some articles given in by the church, especially for the abolition of the mass universally, and for punishment or vice; but there was little thing granted, save that it was statute, that scandalous livers should be punished first by prison, and then publicly shown unto the people with ignominy; but the same was not put in execution. In the end of this month of December, the general assembly of the church was held at Edinburgh. Many things were ordained for settling of the affairs of the church.

In the end of January the queen passed to Fife, and visiting the gentlemen's houses, was magnificently banquetted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this realm; which caused the wild fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a-piece.† At this time

* There are two epigrams extant, written by George Buchanan, on a rich diamond sent from queen Mary to queen Elizabeth.

† Equal to 10d. sterling.

was granted by an act of parliament, the confirmation of the feus of church lands, at the desire of divers lords, whereof the earl of Murray was chief. During the queen's absence, the papists of Edinburgh went down to the chapel to hear mass; and seeing there was no punishment, they waxed more bold. Some of them thiinking thereby to please the queen, upon a certain Sunday in February they made an evening song of their own, setting two priests on the one side of the choir, and one or two on the other side, with Sandie Steven, minstrel—baptizing their children, and making marriages—who within eight days after [was] convicted of blasphemy, [for] alleging, that he would give no more credit to the New Testament than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the doctors of the church. The said superstitious evening song was the occasion of a great slander, for many were offended with it; which being by the brethren declared to the lords of the privy council, especially to the earl of Murray, who lamented the cause to the queen's majesty, showing her what inconveniency should come, if such things were suffered unpunished: and after sharp reasoning, it was promised, that the like should not be done hereafter. The queen also alleged, that they were a great number; and that she could not trouble their conscience.

About the 20th of this month, arrived at Edinburgh, Henry Stewart, lord Darnley; from thence he passed to Fife: and in the place of Wemyss he was admitted to kiss the queen's hand: whom she liked so well, that she preferred him before all others, as shall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the month of March, the earl Bothwell arrived out of France, whereat the earl of Murray was highly offended, because of the evil report made to him of the lord Bothwell; and passing immediately to the queen's majesty, demanded of her if it was her will, or by her advice, that he was come home; and seeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other should leave the country, and therefore desired that he might have justice. Her answer was, that seeing the earl Bothwell was a

nobleman, and had done her service, she could not hate him: nevertheless she would do nothing that might be prejudicial to the earl of Murray, but desired that the matter might be taken away. Within few days she caused summon the earl Bothwell, to answer to the course of law, the 2d of May, for the conspiracy which the earl of Arran had alleged two years before, and for the breaking of the ward of the castle. In the meanwhile, there was nothing in the court but banquetting, balling, and dancing, and other such pleasures as were meet to provoke the disordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the queen's cousin from England, the lord Darnley, to whom she did show all the expressions imaginable of love and kindness.

Within few days, the queen being at Stirling, order was given to secretary Lethington to pass to the queen of England. The chief point of his message was, to declare to the queen of England, that the queen was minded to marry her cousin, the lord Darnley; and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both queens: for by his mother he was cousin-german to the queen of Scotland, also of near kindred and of the same name by his father. His mother was cousin-german to the queen of England. Here mark God's providence; king James the Fifth having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the earl of Lennox his heir of the crown; but he prevented by sudden death, that design ceased. Then came the earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry king James his widow, but that failed also: he marries Mary Douglas, and his son marrieth Mary, king James the Fifth his daughter: and so the king's desire is fulfilled, to wit, the crown continueth in the name and in the family. The queen of England, nevertheless, showed herself nothing pleased therewith, but rather declared, that she would in nowise suffer her subjects to make such contracts or alliance that might be prejudicial to her, and for the same purpose sent a post to the queen with letters, wherein she complained greatly of the mind of our mistress, seeing the great affection she bore to her, intending to de-

clare her heretrix of her realm of England, providing only that she would use her counsel in marriage; but she could not approve her marriage with the lord Darnley, although he was their near cousin by birth, since he was below the rank of the queen by condition, being but a private subject. At the same time, she wrote to the earl of Lennox and to his son, commanding them to repair both into England. Some write, that all this was but counterfeit by the queen of England, and from her heart she was glad of the marriage: for by that means the succession of the crown of England was secured, the lord Darnley being the right heir after the queen of Scotland; and queen Elizabeth was not angry to see her married to one of inferior rank, for by that means she thought the Scots queen would be less proud. During this time, there were certain letters directed to the brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundee, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and other places, from the brethren of Kyle, and other places in the west country, desiring the professors of the evangel in all places to remember what the eternal God had wrought, and how potently he had abolished all kind of idolatry and superstition, and placed his word in this realm; so that no man could say otherwise, but it was the work of God; who also had delivered this country from the bondage and tyranny of strangers. Nevertheless, by our slothfulness, we have suffered that idol the mass, not only to be planted again, but to increase so, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occasion of our destruction. And for that the papists purposed to set up their idol at Easter following in all places, which was to be imputed to the slothfulness and want of godly zeal of the professors; therefore, they admonished the brethren to strive to avert the evil in time, and not to suffer such wickedness to continue and increase, lest that God's heavy wrath come upon us unawares like a consuming fire. By these letters, many brethren were animated, and their spirits wakened, minding to provide as God should give them grace. And first of all, by the advice of the most learned in Edin-

burgh, there was a supplication made, and given to the queen's majesty by the superintendent of Lothian, containing in effect, that the church in general of the realm had divers times most humbly craved of her majesty, that committers of adultery should be punished according to the law of God, and the acts of parliament, nevertheless they continued in their wickedness, and the papists of obstinate malice pretended nothing else but to erect and set up their idolatry and superstition, and especially at Easter day following they intended to put the same in practice, which the brethren and professors of the evangel could not suffer; therefore wished her majesty to take heed of the matter.

This supplication the secretary received of the hands of the superintendents of Lothian and Glasgow, and told them, in the queen's name, that there should be such provision made as should serve to their contentment; and for the same purpose, the queen's majesty wrote to all such places as were suspected, especially to the bishop of St Andrews and Aberdeen—as was said—not to use any mass, and that they should not do any such thing as was feared by the protestants, or convene any council, and thereto commanded them. Now, the communion was administered in Edinburgh the first day of April, 1565. At which time, because it was near Easter, the papists used to meet at their mass; and as some of the brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the bailiffs, took one Sir James Tarbet, riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the tolbooth, and immediately re-vested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the market-cross, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself fast tied to the said cross, where he tarried the space of one hour, during which time, the boys served him with his Easter eggs. The next day following, the said Tarbet, with his assistants, were accused and convicted by an assize, according to the act of parliament:

and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment, he was set upon the market-cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by, and keeping him, the boys and others were busy with eggs casting; and some papists there were that stopped [hindered] as far as they could; and as the press of people increased about the cross, there appeared to have been some tumult. The provost, Archibald Douglas, came with some halberdiers and carried the priest safe again to the tolbooth. The queen being advertised, and having received sinister information that the priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punishment; for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her religion; and it was affirmed, that the town should have been sacked, and a great number executed to death. She sent to such as she pleased, commanding them to come to her at Edinburgh suddenly with their whole forces; and in the meantime, she sent her advocate, Mr Spence of Condie, to Edinburgh, to take a sure trial of the matter. The provost and council wrote to the queen the truth of the matter as it was, desiring her majesty to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports; and therewith sent to her majesty the process and enrolment of the court of the priest convicted. Thus the queen's majesty being informed of the truth by her said advocate, sent again and stayed the said meeting of men, and sent to the town a grave letter, whereof the copy followeth:

The queen's letter to the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh.

“Provost, bailies, and council of our city of Edinburgh, we received your letter from our advocate, and understand by this report what diligence you took to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; wherein, as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult, so can we not take in good part, nor think ourself satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, who were pleased to do justice perforce, and without the magistrates' authority, be condignly and really punished

for their rashness and misbehaviour; for if all private persons should usurp to take vengeance at their own hands, what lies in ours? And to what purpose have good laws and statutes been established? Since, therefore, we have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders prescribed by the laws, but have always maintained justice in that case without respect of persons, it is our will, and we command you, as you will answer to us upon your obedience and allegiance, that you will take before you certain of the most responsible persons who are declared authors of the said sedition, and usurpers of our authority; and to administer justice upon them, in such sort as we may know a sincerity on your parts, and our authority nowise slighted: but if you fail, persuade yourselves—and that shortly—we will not oversee it, but will account this contempt not only to be in the committers thereof, but in yourselves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part, remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which we look for so soon as reason will permit.

“Subscribed with our hand at Stirling, this 24th of April, anno 1565.”

By this manner of writing and high threatening, may be perceived how grievously the queen's majesty would have been offended if the said Tarbet and mass-monger had been handled according to his merit, being not only a papist idolater, but a manifest whoremaster, and a common fighter and blasphemer; nevertheless, within few days, the queen charged the provost and bailies to set him at liberty, commanding them further, that no man should trouble or molest him in any sort for whatsoever cause, and soon after rewarded him with a benefice; and likewise his assistants, John Low and John Kennedy, [were] set at liberty in the same manner. At this Eastertide in Stirling, the queen made her domestic servants use papistical rites and ceremonies; and more, she persuaded others by fair means to do the same, and threatened those that were most constant at the earl of Cassill's house. Upon the second day of May, 1565, convened at Edinburgh the earl of Murray with his friends in great

numbers, to keep the day of law against the earl Bothwell; who being called, appeared not, only the laird of Riccarton protested, that the personal absence of the earl Bothwell should not be prejudicial to him, by reason that for just fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, since he had so potent an enemy as the lord of Murray, who, next the queen's majesty, was of greatest estimation and authority of any man within this realm, to whom assisted at this present day of law, seven or eight hundred men, which force he could not resist, and therefore had absented himself; which protestation being made, those that had been sureties for his appearance, were outlawed. The said earl Bothwell a few days after, passed into France, after he had been in Liddesdale; where, suspecting almost every man, he was not in great assurance of his life: notwithstanding, he was not put to the horn; for the queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a soldier, as appeared within less than half a year: for she would not suffer the lord Morton, nor my lord Erskine, my lord of Murray's great friends, to keep the day. There assisted my lord of Murray, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Crawford, with great numbers, and many lords and barons, who for the most part convened the same afternoon to treat and consult for the maintaining of religion; where some articles were devised and delivered to the lord of Murray to be presented to the queen's majesty and privy council, which articles were enlarged at the general assembly following, as shall be declared. In the meantime, as they were informed in court of this great assembly of people in Edinburgh, they were afraid; for naturally the queen hated and suspected all such conventions as were not in her own presence, and devised by herself. The chief counsellors in the court were the earls of Lennox and Athol. The queen wrote incontinent for all the lords to come to Stirling, so soon as she was advertised that they had treated in Edinburgh of religion: she wrote likewise for the superintendents and other learned men who went thither, and being there, they caused to keep the

ports or gates, and make good watch about the town. The special cause of this convention, was to give to the lord Darnley title of honour, openly and solemnly, with consent of the nobles before the marriage. The fourth day of May, the earl of Murray came to Stirling, where he was well received by the queen's majesty, as appeared, and immediately, as he passed with her to my lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing in effect, that forasmuch as, or since, the queen had contracted marriage with the lord Darnley; and that therefore sundry lords of the nobility had underwritten, ratified and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him in full parliament the crown matrimonial—by a new court solecism in policy, the crown for the second time is surnamed Matrimonial; before, when the queen was first married, it was so called also—to serve and obey him and her, as their lawful sovereigns. The queen desired my lord Murray to subscribe, as many others had done before, which he refused to do; "Because," said he, "it is required necessarily that the whole nobility be present, at least the principal, and such as he himself was posterior unto, before that so grave a matter should be advised and concluded." The queen's majesty, no ways content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, the greatest part of the nobility were there present and content with the matter, wished him to be so much a Stewart, as to consent to the keeping of the crown in the family, and the surname, according to their father's will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death; but he still refused for the causes above written.

Now, as the lords were assembled, an ambassador from England, named Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, arrived at Stirling, and in his company the laird of Lethington. The ambassador was at the castle gate ere ever they were aware; and as he stood there in the entry, he was desired to pass to his lodgings. The next day he had audience of the queen, and was graciously received according to the dignity of his message. The whole sum of his message was this: to show and declare to the queen,

how highly the queen his mistress was offended with this precipitated marriage, and wondered what had moved her to take a man of inferior rank and condition to herself; and, therefore, dissuaded her therefrom, and specially desiring her, most earnestly, to send home her subjects, the earl of Lennox, and the lord Darnley: but all in vain, for the matter was well far proceeded. In her heart queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage; first, because if queen Mary had married a foreign prince, it had been an accession to her greatness, and, consequently, she had been more redoubted by the other; next, both Henry and Mary were alike, and in equal degree of consanguinity unto her; the father of Mary, and the mother of Henry, being children to her father's sister. With many fair words the queen let the ambassador depart, promising to do all she could to satisfy the queen of England; and, for the same purpose, she would send an ambassador to her.

In the meantime the queen's marriage with the lord Darnley, was prepared, and propounded in council, and the chief of the nobility, such as the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, with the rest, granted freely to the same, providing that they might have the religion established in parliament by the queen, and the idolatrous mass and superstition abolished. Shortly it was concluded, that they should convene again to St Johnstone, where the queen promised to take a final order for religion. The day was appointed, to wit, the last of May, at Perth; my lord of Argyle came too late. The queen's majesty communed with the lords, who were very plain with her, saying, "Except the mass were abolished, there should be no quietness in the country." The twelfth day of May, the lord Darnley was belted—that is, created—earl of Ross, with great solemnity, a belt or girdle being tied about his waist or middle; and, albeit all kind of provision was made to make him duke of Rothsay, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royal were prepared to him for the same. For the entertainment of this triumph there were many knights made, to the number of fourteen.

The next day, which was the 13th of May, the queen called for the superintendents by name, John Willock, John Winram, and John Spotswood, whom she cherished with fair words, assuring them that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God, and satisfying of men's consciences, and the good of the commonwealth; and albeit she was not persuaded in any religion but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised to them, that she would hear conference and disputation in the scriptures: and, likewise, she would be content to hear public preaching, but always out of the mouth of such as pleased her majesty; and above all others, she said she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, for he was a mild and sweet natured man, with true honesty and uprightness, Sir Erskine of Dun. Soon after the queen passed to St Johnstone, after that she had directed Mr John Hay, prior of Monimusk, to pass to England, who sped at the queen of England's hand, even as Sir Nicholas Throkmorton did in Scotland. Before the day which was appointed for the meeting at St Johnstone, my lord of Murray, most careful of the maintenance of religion, sent to all the principal churches, advertising them of the matter, and desiring them to advise, and send the most able men in learning and reputation, to keep the day. But their craft and dissimulation appeared; for the dean of Restalrig, who lately arrived out of France, with others, such as Mr John Lesley, parson of Ure, afterward bishop of Ross, caused the queen to understand that thing whereof she was easily persuaded, to wit, that there ought to be given to all men liberty of conscience, and for this purpose, to shun or put off the first day appointed. The queen wrote to the nobility, that because she was informed that there were great meetings out of every shire and town in great number, and then the other party—so termed she the papists—were minded together to the said convention, which should apparently make trouble or sedition, rather than any other thing; therefore, she thought it expedient, and willed them to stay the said meetings, and to defer the

same till such a day that she should appoint with advice of her council. At this time there was a parliament proclaimed to be held at Edinburgh, the twentieth day of July. By this letter, some of the protestants, having best judgment, thought themselves sufficiently warned of the inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her council at this time, was only the earls of Lennox and Athol, the lord Ruthven, but chiefly David Rizzio, the Italian, ruled all; yet the earl of Ross was already in greatest credit and familiarity. These letters were sent out to the lords about the eight and twentieth day of May; and within twelve days thereafter, she directed new missives to the chief of the nobility, desiring, or commanding them, to come to St Johnstone the three and twentieth day of June following, to consult upon such things as concerned religion, and other things as her majesty should propose; which day, was even the day before that the general assembly should have been held in Edinburgh. This last letter uttered the effect of the former; so that the protestants thought themselves sufficiently warned. Always [however], as the earl of Murray was passing to St Johnstone, to have kept the said day, he chanced to fall sick of the flux in Lochleven, where he remained till the queen came forth of St Johnstone to Edinburgh, where the general assembly of the whole church of Scotland was held, the four and twentieth day of July. The earls of Argyle and Glencairn assisted the church, with a great company of lords, barons, and others: it was there ordered and concluded, that certain gentlemen, as commissioners from the church national, should pass to the queen's majesty, with certain articles, to the number of six, desiring her most humbly to ratify and approve the same in parliament. And because the said articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to insert the same word by word:

“*Imprimis*, That the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistical idolatry, and papal jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout this realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's own person, with punishment

against all persons that should be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: and that the sincere word of God, and Christ's true religion, now at this present received, be published, approved, and ratified, throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's own person, as in the subjects: and that the people be to resort upon the Sundays, at the least, to the prayers, and preaching of God's word, even as they were before to the idolatrous mass. And these heads to be provided by act of parliament, and ratified by the queen's majesty.

“*Secondly*, That provision be made for sustentation of the ministry, as well for the time present, as the time to come: and that such persons as are presently admitted to the ministry, may have their livings assigned unto them, in places where they travail in their calling; or at least next adjacent thereto. And that the benefices now vacant, or have been vacant since the month of March, 1558, or that hereafter shall happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's word, and discharge the vocation concerning the ministry, by trial and admission of the superintendents and overseers: and that no benefice or living, having many churches annexed thereunto, be disposed altogether in any time to come, to any [one] man, but at the least the churches thereof be severally disposed, and that to several persons; so that every man having charge, may serve at his own church, according to his vocation: and to that effect, likewise the glebes and the manses, be given to the ministers, that they may make residence at their churches, whereby they may discharge their consciences according to their vocation; and also that the kirks may be repaired accordingly: and that a law be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

“*Thirdly*, That none be permitted to have charge of souls, colleges, or universities, neither privately or publicly teach and instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the superintendents or visitors of churches, and found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.

"*Fourthly*, For the sustentation of the poor; that all lands founded for hospitality of old, be restored again to the same use; and that all lands, annats, rents, or any other emoluments pertaining any ways sometimes to the friars, of whatsoever order they had been of; as likewise the annuities, altarages, obits, and the other duties pertaining to priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and uphold of the town-schools in towns, and other places where they be.

"*Fifthly*, That such horrible crimes as now abound within this realm without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his word; such as idolatry, blasphemy of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath day, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, maintenance of bordals [brothels], murder, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished; and judges appointed in every province and diocese, for execution thereof, with power to do the same; and that by act of parliament.

"*Lastly*, That some order be devised and established for ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of the tithes, who are oppressed by the leasers of the tithes set over their heads without their own consent and advice."

The persons who were appointed by the church to carry these articles, and present them to the queen's majesty, were the lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spot and Grange of Angus, and James Barron for the burghs. These five passed from Edinburgh to St Johnstone, where they presented the said articles to the queen's majesty, desiring and requiring her highness most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them answer. The next day, ere they were aware, the queen departed to Dunkeld, and immediately they followed; and after they had got audience, they desired the queen's majesty most humbly to give their despatch. She answered, that her council was not there present, but she intended to be in Edinburgh within eight days, and there they should receive their answer. At the same time, as the general

assembly was held in Edinburgh, the brethren perceiving the papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at St Leonard's Craig, where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose, elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed. And when the five commissioners above named, had waited upon the court four or five days after her majesty's coming to Edinburgh, there the matter was proposed in council: and after long and earnest reasoning upon these articles, at length it was answered to the commissioners by the secretary, that the queen's majesty's command was, that the matter should be reasoned in her presence; which for the gravity of the same, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the queen's majesty had heard more in that matter, than ever she did before: but within eight days thereafter, she understood that a great part of the nobility should be present in Edinburgh, where they should have a final answer. At length, the one and twentieth of August, they received the answer in writing in her presence, according to the tenor hereof as followeth:

The queen's majesty's answer to the articles presented to her highness, by certain gentlemen, in the name of the whole assembly of the church.

"To the first, desiring the mass to be suppressed and abolished, as well in the head, as in the members, with punishment against the contraveners; as also, the religion professed to be established by act of parliament, it was answered, first, for her majesty's part, That her highness is no way yet persuaded in the said religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the mass; and therefore believeth, that her loving subjects will not press her to receive any religion against her conscience, which should be unto her a continual trouble by remorse of conscience, and therewith a perpetual unquietness. And to deal plainly with her subjects, her majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion wherein she hath been nourished and brought up; and believeth the same to be well grounded; knowing, besides the

grudge of conscience that she should receive, upon the change of her own religion, that she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the married ally of this realm, and of other great princes, her friends and confederates, who would take the same in evil part, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her necessities; and having no assured consideration that may countervail the same, she will be loath to, put in hazard all her friends at an instant, praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodness, that she hath neither in times past, nor yet intends hereafter, to press the conscience of any, but that they may worship God in such sort, as they are persuaded in their conscience to be best, that they will also not press her conscience. As to the establishing of religion in the body of the realm, they themselves know, as appears by their articles, that the same cannot be done only by consent of her majesty, but requires, necessarily, the consent of the states in parliament; and, therefore, so soon as the parliament holds, those things which the states agree upon amongst themselves, her majesty shall consent unto the same; and in the meantime shall make sure, that no man be troubled for using religion according to conscience; so that no man shall have cause to doubt, that for religion's sake men's lives and heritage shall be in any hazard.

“To the second article it is answered, That her majesty thinks it no ways reasonable, that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to put the patronage of benefices forth of her own hands; for her own necessity, in bearing of her part and common charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part, in her own hands. Nevertheless, her majesty is well pleased, that consideration being had of her own necessity; and what may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers, a special assignation be made to them in places most commodious and meet; with which her majesty shall not meddle, but suffer the same to come to them.

“To the third article, it is answered,

That her majesty shall do ther. in as shall be agreed by the states in parliament.

“To the fourth article, Her majesty's liberality towards the poor shall always be so far extended, as can be reasonably required at her hands.

“To the fifth and sixth articles, Her majesty will refer the taking order therein, unto the states assembled in parliament.”

As the queen's majesty came from St Johnstone, over Forth to the Callendar,* she was conveyed to the water side of Forth with two hundred spears: for at that time it was bruited, that there were some lying in wait at the path of Drone. In the meantime the earl of Murray was in Lochleven, and the earl of Argyle with him. Now, in the Callendar, the lord Livingston had desired the queen's majesty to be witness to the christening of a child; for his lady was lately delivered and brought to bed: and when the minister made the sermon and exhortation concerning baptism, the queen's majesty came in the end, and said to the lord Livingston, that she would show him that favour that she had not done in any other before; that is, that she would give her presence to the protestant sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The queen being in the Callendar, was informed both by word and letters, by false brethren, that a great part of the protestants of Edinburgh, had lately convened upon St Leonard's Craigs, and there made a conspiracy against her; and had chosen for the same purpose, certain captains to govern the rest; and without any trial, or perfect notice taken in the case, she sent to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, and Andrew Slater, and put them in prison in the castle. This new and unaccustomed fashion of proceeding seemed to be very strange: and because the said four persons were not apprehended, she sent the next day a charge to the provost and bailies, and to her own great treasurer, to pass to the houses of the said four men, and

* Callendar House, in the vicinity of Falkirk.
—Ed. 2 T

likewise to their booths or shops, and there to take inventory of all their goods and chattels; and commanded the said treasurer to take the keys of the said houses and booths, together with the said inventory; which was executed in effect, especially upon the said Alexander Guthrie's wife, he being then common clerk, and one of the greatest in estimation within the town; his wife and children were shut out of their house, and compelled to seek some other lodging in the town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of spirit and judgment were wonderfully abashed and wounded, seeing and perceiving these things so furiously handled upon sinister and wrong information; men never called to their answer, nor heard, nor any trial taken therein. Immediately thereafter, as she came to Edinburgh, she called to council such as pleased her majesty, and there complains of the said matter, alleging it to be a conspiracy and manifest treason. And another matter likewise was complained upon, that the earl of Argyle—as the queen was surely informed—was riding with a great army to invade the earl of Athol and his lands. For the first matter, it was concluded by the council, that diligent inquisition should be made in the matter, and to that purpose appointed the queen's advocates, Mr John Spence of Condie, and Mr Robert Crichton, to examine such as they would; and when the said advocates had called before them, and examined a sufficient number, and their depositions [were] subscribed and delivered to the queen, there was nothing found worthy of death nor treason: at length the said four persons were summoned to answer at law.

For the matter, that the queen's majesty should send to the earls of Argyle and Athol, some of her council, or familiar servants, to take order touching it. And when the secretary, the justice clerk, and lord of St Colm, had passed to the said earl of Argyle, they found no such thing; but in Athol there was great fear come of a sudden fray; for, after many proclamations, the fiery-cross—which they made use of in lieu of beacons—was raised in Athol.

Now, as the day of the parliament approached, the lords pretending to consult before, what should be done, as well in religion, as for the commonwealth; the fifteenth day of July, there convened at Stirling, the duke, the earls of Argyle and Murray, Rothes, and other lords and barons; and as they were devising and consulting, the queen's majesty taking their meeting in evil part, sent her advocates, Mr John Spence, and Mr Crichton, to them at Stirling, requiring the cause of their meeting. They answered, that the special occasion of their meeting was for the cause of religion, and the assurance thereof, according as they had lately written to the queen's majesty in Seaton, from the town of Edinburgh, they desiring then to prorogue the day. Finally, when the said advocates could by no means persuade them to come to Edinburgh, they returned again to Edinburgh, and declared to the queen's majesty according as they had found. In the meantime the parliament was prorogued at the queen's majesty's command, to the first of September, next after following; for it was thought, that the best part and principal of the chief nobility being absent, there could no parliament be held: at the same time, the queen's majesty perceiving that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripeness, so that the minds and secrecy of men's hearts must needs be disclosed, she wrote to a great number of lords, barons, gentlemen, and others that were nearest in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Merse, Teviotdale, Perth, Linlithgow, Clydesdale, and others, to resort to her, in this form of words hereafter following:

THE QUEEN'S LETTER.

“Trusty friends, we greet you well; we are grieved indeed by the evil bruit spread amongst our lieges, as that we should have molested any man in the using of his religion and conscience freely, a thing which never entered into our mind; yet, since we perceive the too easy believing such reports hath made them careless, and so we think it becomes us to be careful for the safety and preservation of our state; wherefore, we pray you most affectionately, that with all possible haste—after the receipt of

this our letter—you, with your kindred, friends, and whole force, well furnished with arms for war—be provided for fifteen days after your coming—address you to come to us, to wait and attend upon us, according to our expectation and trust in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our authority, and will do us therein acceptable service.

“Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the seventeenth day of July, 1565.”

There was likewise proclamation made in Edinburgh, that the queen minded not to trouble, nor alter the religion; and also proclamations made in the shires above mentioned, for the same purpose, that all freeholders, and other gentlemen, should resort—in the aforesaid manner—to Edinburgh, where the earl of Ross was made duke of Rothsay, with great triumph, the 23d day of July. The same afternoon the queen complained grievously upon the earl of Murray, in open audience of all the lords and barons; and the same day the banns of the earl of Ross, and duke of Rothsay, and the queen's marriage were proclaimed. About this time the lord Erskine was made earl of Mar.

In the meantime there were divers messages sent from the queen's majesty to the lord of Murray, first Mr Robert Crichton, to persuade him by all means possible, to come and resort to the queen's majesty. His answer was, that he would be glad to come to herself, according to his bounden duty; yet, forasmuch as such persons as were most privy in her company, were his capital enemies, who also had conspired his death, he could no ways come, so long as they were in court. Soon after, my lord Erskine, and the master of Maxwell, passed to him to St Andrews, rather suffered and permitted by the queen, than sent by her highness; after them the laird of Dun, who was sent by the means of the earl of Mar: but all this did not prevail with him; and when all hope of his coming was past,

a herald was sent to him, charging him to come to the queen's majesty, and answer to such things as should be laid to his charge, within eight and forty hours next after the charge, under pain of rebellion; and because he appeared not the next day after the eight and forty hours, he was denounced rebel, and put to the horn. The same order they used against the earl of Argyle, for the queen said she would serve him and the rest with the same measure they had meted to others, meaning the said Argyle.

In the meanwhile, as the fire was well kindled and inflamed, all means and ways were sought, to stir up enemies against the chief protestants that had been lately at Stirling; for the earl of Athol was ready bent against the earl of Argyle; the lord Lindsay against the earl Rothes in Fife—they being both protestants—for they had contended now a long time for the heirship of Fife. And that no such thing should be left undone, the lord Gordon, who now had remained near three years in prison in Dunbar, was, after some little travail of his friends, received by the queen; and being thus received into favour, was restored first to the lordship of Gordon, and soon after to the earldom of Huntly, and to all his lands, honours, and dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the north to the earl of Murray.

The 18th of July, late in the evening, near an hour after the sun's going down, there was a proclamation made at the market-cross of Edinburgh, containing in effect: *—

“That forasmuch as at the will and pleasure of Almighty God, the queen had taken to her husband a right excellent and illustrious prince, Henry, duke of Rothsay, earl of Ross, lord Darnley, therefore it was her will, that he should be held, and obeyed, and revered as king; commanding all letters and proclamations to be made in the names of Henry and Mary in times coming.”

The next day following, at six hours in the morning, they were married in the

* The dispensation being come from Rome for the marriage; before which, according to the Romish law, it was unlawful to marry, be-

ing cousins-german, brother and sister's children, and so the degree of consanguinity forbidden.

chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, by the dean of Restalrig; the queen being all clothed in mourning: but immediately, as the queen went to mass, the king went not with her, but to his pastime. During the space of three or four days, there was nothing but balling, and dancing, and banquetting.

In the meantime, the earl Rothes, the laird of Grange, the tutor Pitcur, with some gentlemen of Fife, were put to the horn for non-appearance; and immediately the swash, tabor, and drums, were stricken or beaten, for men of war to serve the king and queen's majesty, and to take their pay. This sudden alteration, and hasty creation of kings, moved the hearts of a great number. Now, among the people there were divers bruits; for some alleged, that the cause of this alteration was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion of dignity, or such worldly causes: but they that considered the progress of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principal cause to be only for religion. In this meantime, the lords passed to Argyle, taking apparently little care of the trouble that was to come: howbeit they sent into England M. Nicholas Elphinston for support, who brought some monies into this country, to the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling. There came one forth of England to the queen, who got presence the seventh of August in Holyroodhouse. He was not well, &c.

About the fifteenth of August, the lords met at Ayr, to wit, the duke Hamilton, the earls Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with divers barons and gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, where they concluded to be in readiness with their whole forces the four and twentieth day of August. But the king and queen with great celerity prevented them; for their majesties sent through Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathearn, Teviotdale, and Clydesdale, and other shires, making their proclamations in this manner:—"That forasmuch as certain rebe's, who—under colour of religion—intended nothing but the trouble and subversion of the common-

wealth, were to convene with such as they might persuade to assist them; therefore, they charged all manner of men under pain of life, lands, and goods, to resort and meet their majesties at Linlithgow, the 24th day of August." This proclamation was made in Lothian the third day of the said month.

Upon Sunday, the nineteenth of August, the king came to the High kirk of Edinburgh, where John Knox made the sermon: his text was taken out of the six and twentieth chapter of Isaiah his prophecy, about the thirteenth verse, where in the words of the prophet, he said, "O Lord our God, other lords than thou have ruled over us." Whereupon he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them: and among other things he said, "That God sets in that room—the offences and ingratitude of the people—boys and women." And some other words which appeared bitter in the king's ears, as, "That God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel." And because he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the king—sitting in a throne made for that purpose—was so moved at this sermon, that he would not dine; and being troubled, with great fury he passed in the afternoon to the hawking. Immediately John Knox was commanded to come to the council, where in the secretary's chamber were convened the earl of Athol, the lord Ruthven, the secretary, the justice-clerk, with the advocate. There passed along with the minister a great number of the most apparent men of the town. When he was called, the secretary declared, "That the king's majesty was offended with some words spoken in the sermon,—especially such as are above rehearsed,—desiring him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr Craig supply the place." He answered, "That he had spoken nothing but according to his text, and if the church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him."

Within four days after, the king and queen sent to the council of Edinburgh, commanding them to depose Archibald Douglas, and to receive the laird Craigmillar for their provost, which was presently obeyed.

The five and twentieth of August, the king and queen's majesties passed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and from thence to Stirling, and from Stirling to Glasgow. At their first arrival, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrival to Glasgow, the lords came to Paisley, where they remained that night, being in company about one thousand horses. On the morrow they came to Hamilton, keeping the high passage from Paisley hard by Glasgow, where the king and queen easily might behold them. The night following, which was the penult of August, they remained in Hamilton with their company; but for divers respects moving them, they thought it not expedient to tarry; especially, because the earl of Argyle was not come: for his diet was not before the second of September following, to have been at Hamilton. Finally, they took purpose to come to Edinburgh, the which they did the next day. And albeit Alexander Erskine, captain under the lord his brother, caused to shoot forth of the castle two shot of cannon, they being near the town; and likewise that the laird Craigmillar, provost, did his endeavour to hold the lords forth of the town, in causing the common bells to be rung for the convening of the town to the effect aforesaid; yet they entered easily at the west port or gate, without any molestation or impediment, being in number, as they esteemed themselves, one thousand three hundred horses. Immediately they despatched messengers southward and northward to assist them; but all in vain: and immediately after they were in their lodgings, they caused to strike or beat the drum, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they should resort the day following to the church, where they should receive good pay: but they profited little that way;

neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were at Edinburgh than they had done in five or six nights before.

The noblemen of this company were, the duke, the earls Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, and Lawers, the tutor of Pitcur, the lairds of Barr, Carnell, and Dreghorn, and the laird of Pitarrow, comptroller, went with them; some said merrily, that they were come to keep the parliament, for the parliament was continued till the first day of September; upon the which day, they wrote to the king and queen's majesties a letter, containing in effect, that albeit they were persecuted most unjustly, which they understood proceeded not of the king and queen's majesty's own nature, but only by evil counsel, yet notwithstanding they were willing and content to suffer according to the laws of the realm, providing that the true religion of God might be established, and the dependents thereupon be likewise reformed: beseeching their majesties most humbly to grant these things; but otherwise, if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand it should be dear bought. They had written twice, almost to the same effect, to the king and queen's majesties, after their passing from Edinburgh; for the laird of Preston presented a letter to the king and queen's majesties, and was therefore imprisoned, but soon after released; nevertheless they got no answer. The same day that they departed out of Hamilton, the king and queen's majesties issued out of Glasgow in the morning betimes, and passing towards Hamilton, the army met their majesties near the bridge of Calder. As they mustered, the master of Maxwell sat down upon his knees, and made a long oration to the queen, declaring what pleasure she had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the earl Murray. Soon after, they marched forward in battle array; the earl of Lennox took the vanguard, the earl of Morton the middle battle, and the

king and queen the rear. The whole number were about five thousand men, whereof the greatest part were in the vanguard. As the king and queen's majesties were within three miles of Hamilton, they were advertised that the lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night it was uncertain. Nevertheless, soon after their return to Glasgow, the king and queen were certainly advertised that they were passed to Edinburgh; and therefore caused immediately to warn the whole army to pass with them to Edinburgh the next day, who early in the morning, long before the sun was risen, began to march: but there arose such a vehement tempest of wind and rain from the west,* as the like had not been seen before in a long time; so that a little brook turned incontinent into a great river; and the raging storm being in their face, with great difficulty went they forward: and albeit the most part waxed weary, yet the queen's courage increased manlike so much, that she was ever with the foremost. There were divers persons drowned that day in the water of Carron; and among others, the king's master, a notable papist, who for the zeal he bore to the mass, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well closed in a case, which notwithstanding could not serve [save] him.

Before the end of August, there came a post to the queen's majesty, sent by Alexander Erskine, who declared, that the lords were in the town of Edinburgh, where there were a multitude of innocent persons, and therefore desired to know if he should shoot. She commanded incontinent that he should return again to the said Alexander, and command him, in her name, that he should shoot so long as he had either powder or bullet, and not spare for any body.

At night, the king and queen came well wet to the Callander, where they remained that night, and about eight hours at night, the first of September, the post came again to the castle, and reported the queen's com-

mand to Alexander Erskine, who incontinently caused to shoot six or seven shot of cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having respect to no reason, but only to the queen's command.

The lords perceiving that they could get no support in Edinburgh, nor soldiers for money, albeit they had travailed all that they could; and being advertised of the queen's returning with her whole company, they took purpose to depart: and so the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole company, and came to Lanark, and from thence to Hamilton, where the master of Maxwell came to them, with his uncle the laird of Drumlanrig. And after consultation, the said master wrote to the queen's majesty, that being required by the lords as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and after that he had given them counsel to disperse their army, they thought it expedient to pass to Dumfries to repose them, where they would consult and make their officers, and send to their majesties; and thus beseeching their majesties to take this in good part. The town of Edinburgh sent two of the council of the town to make their excuse. The next day the king and queen passed to Stirling, and sent to Edinburgh, and caused a proclamation to be made, commanding all men to return to Glasgow, where having remained three or four days, and understanding that the lords were passed to Dumfries, they returned to Stirling, and from thence to Fife; and in their passage, caused to take in castle Campbell, which was delivered without impediment to the lord of Sanquhar.

Before the king and queen went out of Stirling, there came from Edinburgh two ensigns of footmen to convey them into Fife. In the meantime the burghs were taxed in great sums unaccustomed, for the payment of these soldiers: farther, there was raised divers troops of horsemen, to the number of five or six hundred horse. The

* Probably this is a misprint in the original for east; as it is difficult to conceive how a west

wind could have blown in their faces when proceeding from Glasgow to Edinburgh.—Ed.

soldiers had taken two poor men that had received the lords' wages; which [the] two men being accused and convicted of, at the queen's command, were hanged at Edinburgh, the third day after the lords' departing. At this time, Mr James Balfour, parson of Flesk, had got all the guiding in the court.

The third day after the queen's coming to Fife, the whole barons and lairds of Fife, convoyed her majesty, till she came to St Andrews, where the said lairds and barons, especially the protestants, were commanded to subscribe to a bond, containing in effect, that they obliged themselves to defend the king and queen's persons, against Englishmen and rebels: and in case they should come to Fife, they should resist them to their utmost power; which charge every man obeyed.

The second night after the queen's coming to St Andrews, she sent a band, or troop of horsemen, and another of foot, to Lundie, and at midnight took out the laird, being a man of eighty years old: then they past to Falside, and took likewise Thomas Scott, and brought him to St Andrews, where they, with the laird of Bavard, and some others, were commanded to prison. This manner of handling and usage being unknown and strange, was heavily spoken of, and a great terror to others, who thought themselves warned of greater severity to come. In the meantime the houses of the earls of Murray, Rothes, and the houses of divers gentlemen, were given in keeping to such as the queen pleased, after that their children and servants had been cast out. At the same time the duke, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with the laird of Cunninghamhead, and the rest, were charged to come and present themselves in St Andrews, before the king and queen's majesties, to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge, within six days, under the pain of rebellion: and the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced rebels, and put to the horn.

As the queen remained in St Andrews, the inhabitants of Dundee, being sore afraid, because of some evil report made of

them to the queen, as if they had troubled the queen, in seeking men of war, and suffered some to be raised in their town for the lords—for there was nothing done in Dundee, but it was revealed to the queen—especially that the minister had received a letter from the lords, and delivered the same to the brethren, persuading them to assist the lords; which being granted by the minister, the queen remitted it [for trial]. After great travail and supplication made by some noblemen, at length the king and queen being in the town, they agreed for two thousand merks, five or six of the principal left out, with some others, that were put to their shift. After the king and queen had remained two nights in the town of Dundee, they came to St Andrews; and soon after, they came over Forth, and so to Edinburgh. During this time the master of Maxwell wrote to the king and queen, making offers for, and in the name of the lords.

The next day after the king and queen's coming to Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made at the market-cross: and because the same is very notable, I thought good to insert it here word by word, albeit it be somewhat long:

“Henry and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots; to all and sundry, our lieges and subjects whom it may concern, and to whose knowledge these letters shall come, greeting.

“Forasmuch as in this uproar lately raised up against us, by certain rebels and their assistants, the authors thereof—to blind the eyes of the simple people—have given them to understand, that the quarrel they have in hand is only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly designs, and so, under that plausible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easy to be seduced. Now, for the preservation of our good subjects, whose case were to be pitied if they blindly should suffer themselves to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodness of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to discover the poison that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all

persons of clear judgment, the same was evident enough before: for what other thing—is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and in a manner to invert the very order—might move the principal raisers of this tumult to put themselves in arms against us so unnaturally, upon whom we had bestowed so many benefits, but that the great honour we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them misknow themselves; and their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless they retain in their hands us, and our whole realm, to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God—for disclosing their hypocrisy—had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to govern; for now by letters, sent from themselves to us, which make plain profession, that the establishing of religion will not content them, but we must be forced to govern by council, such as it shall please them to appoint us; a thing so far beyond all measure, that we think the only mention of so unreasonable a demand is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolks their most mortal enemies, and all men to run on them without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain still in the state of a kingdom: for what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policy; and, in a manner, to invert the very order of nature, to make the prince obey, and subjects command. The like was never demanded by [of] any of our most noble progenitors heretofore, yea, not of governors and regents; but the prince, and such as have filled their place, chose their council of such as they thought most fit for the purpose. When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first returning into this our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure, and now, when we are at our full maturity, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils, and be put under tutory? So long as some of them bore the whole sway with us, this matter was never called in question; but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all at their pleasure, they will put a bridle into our mouths,

and give us a council chosen after their fantasy. This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand: this is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives, and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels against your natural prince. To speak in good language, they would be kings themselves, or at the least leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the kingdom.

We have thought good to make publication hereof, to show, that you suffer not yourselves to be deceived under pretence of religion, to follow them, who preferring their particular advancement to the public tranquillity, and having no care of you in respect of themselves, would—if you would hearken to their voice—draw you after them, to your utter destruction. Assuring you, that as you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your goods, and lived at liberty of your conscience, so may you be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us always your good and loving princess, to so many as shall continue yourselves in due obedience, and do the office of faithful and natural subjects.

“Given under our signet at St Andrews, the tenth of December, and of our reigns the first and twenty three years, 1565.”

Now, the lords desired, next to the establishing of religion, that the queen's majesty, in all the affairs of the realm and commonwealth, should use the counsel and advice of the nobility and ancient blood of the same; whereas, in the meantime, the counsel of David, and Francisco, the Italians, with Fowler, the Englishman, and Mr James Balfour, parson of Flisk, was preferred above all others, save only the earl of Athol, who was thought to be a man of gross judgment, but nevertheless in all things given to please the queen. It was now finally come to this point, that instead of law, justice, and equity, only will ruled in all things. There was through all the country set out a proclamation in the king

and queen's names, commanding all persons to come and meet them at Stirling, the first day of October following, with twenty days' provision, under pain of life, lands, and goods. It was uncertain whether their majesties intended to pass from Stirling or not, and I believe the principal men knew not well at that time; for a report was, that by reason the castles of Hamilton and Draffen were kept fortified and victualled at the duke's command, that they would pass to siege the said houses, and give them some shot of a cannon; others said, they would pass towards my lord of Argyle, who had his people always armed, whereof his neighbours were afraid, especially the inhabitants of Athol and Lennox; but at length it was concluded that they should pass to Dumfries, as shall be declared.

During this time there were propositions made continually to the king and queen, by the lords, desiring always their majesties most humbly to receive them into their hands. Their articles tended continually to these two heads, viz. to abolish the mass, root out idolatry, and establish the true religion; and that they, and the affairs of the realm, should be governed by the advice and counsel of the true nobility of the same; offering themselves, and their cause, to be tried by the laws of the country. Yet nothing could be accepted nor taken in good part, albeit the master of Maxwell laboured by all means to redress the matter, who also entertained the lords most honourably in Dumfries, for he had the government of all that country. But he himself incurred the queen's wrath so, that he was summoned to present himself, and appear before the king and queen's majesties, after the same form that the rest of the lords were charged with; and also commanded to give over the house of Lochmaben, and the castle, which he had in keeping for the queen. And, albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the horn, as the rest. Nevertheless, there was no man that doubted of his good will and partaking with the lords, who, in the meantime sent Robert Melvin to the queen of England, and declared their state to her majesty, desiring support.

Now, the chief care and solicitude that

was in the court, was, by what means they might come to have money; for, notwithstanding this great preparation for war, and imminent appearance of trouble, yet were they destitute of the sinews of war. Albeit the treasurers, and new comptroller, to wit, the laird of Tullibardine, had disbursed many thousands, yet there was no appearance of payment of soldiers, nor scarcely how the king and queen's houses and pompous trains should be upholden; there were about six hundred horsemen, besides the guard, and three ensigns of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to £1000 sterling every month; a thing surpassing the usual manner of Scotland. At this time arrived the earl of Bothwell, who was welcome, and graciously received by the queen, and immediately placed in council, and made lieutenant of the west and middle marches. Now, as every one of the barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting; the earl of Athol demanded of Edinburgh £200 sterling, but they refused to pay it; notwithstanding, October 27th, there was a certain number of the principal and rich persons of the town warned by a macer to pass to the palace of Holyrood-house to the king and queen, who declared to them by their own mouth's speaking, that they had use for money, and therefore knowing them to be honest men, and the inhabitants of the best city in their country, they must needs charge them; and for security they should have other men bound for pledges, or any hand therefore. The sum that they desired was £1000 sterling, and no less. They being astonished, made no answer; but parson Flisk standing by, said, that seeing the king and queen's majesties desired them so civilly, in a thing most lawful in their necessity, they did show themselves not honest to keep silence and give no answer to their majesties, for that must needs be had of them which was required; and if they would not, they should be constrained by the laws, which they would not abide; for some of them had deserved hanging—said he—because they had lent large sums of money to the king and queen's enemies and rebels; and, therefore, they must short-

ly suffer great punishment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded how much they would lend? Some made this excuse, and some that, by reason there were that offered to lend money, amongst whom there was one offered to lend £20. To him the earl of Athol said, thou art worthy to be hanged that speakest of £20, seeing the princes charge thee so easily. Finally, they were all imprisoned, and soldiers set over them, having their muskets ready charged, and their match lighted, even in the house with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one prison to another, there were six chosen out, and sent in the night to the castle of Edinburgh, convoyed with musketeers round about them, as if they had been murderers, or most vile persons. At length—the third day—by means of the laird of Craigmillar, provost, and some others, the sum was made more easy, to wit, 1000 merks sterling, to be paid immediately, and to have the superiority of Leith in pledge, to wit, upon condition of redemption. And besides the said sum of 1000 merks sterling, they paid £1000 sterling for the meeting at Dumfries. At the day appointed for electing the officers [magistrates], the queen sent in a ticket, such as she would have them to choose for provost, bailies, and council, whereof there was a number of papists, the rest not worthy. Of the number given in by the queen, they named such as should rule for that year; notwithstanding, without free election, the laird Craigmillar remained provost, who showed himself most willing to set forward religion, to punish vice, and to maintain the commonwealth. All this time the ministers cried out against the mass, and such idolatry; for it was more advanced by the queen than before.

The first day of October, met in Edinburgh the superintendent of Lothian, with all the ministers under his charge, according to their ordinary custom; for every superintendent used to convene the whole ministry, and there it was complained on, that they could get no payment of their stipends, not only about the city, but

throughout the whole realm. Therefore, after reasoning and consultation taken, they framed a supplication directed to the king and queen, and immediately presented the same to their majesties, by Mr John Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian, and Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith. It contained in effect, that forasmuch as it had pleased the king and queen's majesties—with advice of the privy council—to grant unto the ministers of the word their stipends to be taken of the thirds of the benefices, which stipends are now detained from the said ministers, by reason of the troubles and changing of the comptroller, whereby they are not able to live; and, therefore, most humbly craveth the king and queen's majesties to cause them to be paid. Their answer was, that they would cause order to be taken therein to their contentment.

Soon after the lord Gordon came to Edinburgh, and left the most part of his people at Stirling with his carriage; the king and queen, for hope of his good service to be done, restored him to his father's place, to the earldom of Huntly, the lands and heritage thereof. October 8th, the king and queen marched forth of Edinburgh towards Dumfries, and as they passed from the palace of Holyrood-house, all men were warned with jack and spear. The first night they came to Skerling, and the next to Crawford. The day after, the lairds of Drumlanrig and Lochinvar met the queen, albeit they had been with the lords familiar enough. The lords perceiving that all hope of reconciliation was past, they rode to Annan, where they remained till the queen came to Dumfries, and then they passed to Carlisle. Now, the master of Maxwell, who had entertained the lords familiarly, and subscribed with them, and had spoken as highly against their enemies as any of themselves, and had received large money by that means, to wit, £1000, to raise a band or troop of horsemen; and that the same day the king and queen came to Dumfries. The third day after their coming he came to them, conveyed by the earl Bothwell, with divers other noblemen. At length the earls of Athol and Huntly were sureties for him, and all things past

remitted, upon condition that he should be a faithful and obedient subject hereafter. The same day they made musters, the next day the army was dispersed, being about 18,000 men; the king and queen passed to Lochmaben, where the master of Maxwell gave a banquet, and then forthwith marched to Tweeddale, so to Peebles, and then to Edinburgh.

The best and chief part of the nobility of this realm, who also were the principal instruments of the reformation of religion, and therefore were called the lords of the congregation, in manner above rehearsed, were banished and chased into England. They were courteously received and entertained by the earl of Bedford, lieutenant, upon the borders of England. Soon after the earl of Murray took post towards London, leaving the rest of the lords at Newcastle. Every man supposed that the earl of Murray should have been graciously received of the queen of England, and that he should have got support according to his heart's desire; but far beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the queen of England: but by means of the French ambassador, called Monsieur de Four, his true friend, he obtained audience. The queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, how he, being a rebel to her sister of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her realm? These, and the like words got he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the ambassador being absent, she refused to give the lords any support, denying plainly that ever she had promised any such thing as to support them, saying, she never meant any such thing in that way; albeit her greatest familiars knew the contrary. In the end, the earl of Murray said to her, "Madam, whatsoever thing your majesty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithful promises of aid and support by your ambassador, and familiar servants, in your name: and further, we have your own handwriting confirming the said promises." And afterward he took his leave, and came northward from London, towards

Newcastle. After the earl of Murray's departure from the court, the queen sent them some aid, and wrote unto the queen of Scotland in their favour: whether she had promised it in private to the earl of Murray, or whether she had repented her of the harsh reception of the earl of Murray [it is impossible to say].

At this time David Rizzio, Italian, began to be higher exalted, insomuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And during this time, the faithful within this realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly. Yet supplications and intercessions were made throughout all the congregations, especially for such as were afflicted and banished, that it would please God to give them patience, comfort, and constancy; and this especially was done at Edinburgh, where John Knox used to call them that were banished, the best part of the nobility, chief members of the congregation: whereof the courtiers being advertised, they took occasion to revile and bewray his sayings, alleging, he prayed for the rebels, and desired the people to pray for them likewise. The laird of Lethington, chief secretary, in presence of the king and queen's majesties and council, confessed that he heard the sermons, and said, there was nothing at that time spoken by the minister, whereat any man need to be offended: and further, declared plainly, that by the scripture it was lawful to pray for all men.

In the end of November, the lords, with their complices, were summoned to appear the fourth day of February, for treason, and *lese majestie*; but, in the meantime, such of the nobility as had professed the evangel of Christ, and had communicated with the brethren at the Lord's table, were ever longer the more suspected by the queen, who began to declare herself in the months of November and December, to be maintainer of the papists: for at her pleasure, the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Cassils, with divers others, without any dissimulation known, went to the mass openly in her chapel: yet, nevertheless, the earls of Huntly and Bothwell went not to mass, albeit they were in great favour with the

queen. As for the king, he passed his time in hunting and hawking, and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of

as the court remained at Edinburgh, the banished lords, by all means possible, by writings and their friends, made suit and means to the king and queen's majesties to be received into favour. At this time, the abbot of Kilwinning came from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and after he had got audience of the king and queen, with great difficulty he got pardon for the duke and his friends and servants, upon this condition, that he should pass into France, which he did soon after.

The five and twentieth of December convened in Edinburgh the commissioners of the churches within this realm for the general assembly. There assisted to them the earls of Morton and Mar, the lord Lindsay and secretary Lethington, with some barons and gentlemen. The principal things that were agreed and concluded, were, that forasmuch as the mass, with such idolatry and papistical ceremonies, was still maintained expressly against the act of parliament, and the proclamations made at the queen's arrival; and that the queen had promised that she would hear conference and disputation: that the church therefore offered to prove by the word of God, that the doctrine preached within this realm was according to the scriptures; and that the mass, with all the papistical doctrine, was but the invention of men, and mere idolatry. Secondly, That by reason of the change of the comptroller, who had put in new collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the ministry, by these means the ministry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the ordinance made in the year of God 1562, in favour and support of the ministry.

During this time, as the papists flocked to Edinburgh for making court, some of them that had been friars, as black Aber-

crombie and Roger, presented supplication to the queen's majesty, desiring in effect, that they might be permitted to preach, which was easily granted. The noise was further, that they offered disputation: for as the court stood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reason they knew the king to be of their religion, as well as the queen, with some part of the nobility, who with the king after declared themselves openly. And especially the queen was governed by the earls of Lennox and Athol; but in matters most weighty and of greatest importance, by David Rizzio, the Italian before mentioned, who went under the name of the French secretary; by whose means all grave matters, of what weight soever, must pass; providing always that his hands were anointed. In the meantime, he was a manifest enemy to the evangel, and therefore a greater enemy to the banished lords. And at this time, the principal lords that waited at court were divided in opinions; for the earl of Morton, chancellor, with the earl of Mar, and secretary Lethington, were on the one part, and the earls of Huntly and Bothwell on the other part, so that a certain dryness was among them; nevertheless, by means of the earl of Athol, they were reconciled. Now, as there was preparation made by the papists for Christmas, the queen being then at mass, the king came publicly and bore company; and the friars preached the days following, always using another style than they had done seven years before, during which time they had not preached publicly; they were so little esteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

At the same time, convened in Edinburgh the general assembly of the ministers, and commissioners of the churches reformed, within this realm; there assisted them of the nobility, the earls of Morton and Mar, the lord Lindsay, and secretary Lethington, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this assembly were, that for the avoiding of the plagues and scourges of God, which appeared to come

upon the people for their sins and ingratitude, there should be proclaimed by the ministers a public fast, to be universally observed throughout all the reformed churches; which manner of fasting was soon after devised by John Knox, at the command of the church, and put in print, wherefore needs not here to be recited in this place. What followed upon the said fast shall be plainly, God willing, declared. The second thing that was ordained in this assembly, was concerning the ministers, who for want of payment of their stipends, were like to perish, or else to leave their ministry; wherefore it was found necessary, that supplication should be made to the king and queen's majesties: and for the same purpose, a certain number of the most able men were elected to go to their majesties aforesaid, to lament and bemoan their case, which persons had commission to propose some other things, as shall be declared. The names of them that passed from the church to the king and queen's majesties were, Mr John Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian; John Winram, superintendent of Fife; Mr John Row, minister of Perth; Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith; who easily obtained audience of the king and queen's majesties: and after their reverence done, Mr John Row, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lamenting and bewailing the miserable state of the poor ministers, who by public command had been reasonably satisfied three years or more, by virtue of the act made with advice of the honourable privy council, for the taking up of the thirds of the benefices, which was especially made in their favours: nevertheless, the laird of Tullibardine, new comptroller, would answer them nothing; wherefore, they besought their majesties for relief. Secondly, Seeing that in all supplications made to the king and queen's majesties by the church at all times, they desired most earnestly that all idolatry and superstition, and especially the mass, should be rooted out and abolished quite out of this realm; and that in the last general assembly of the church, by their commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the

same; and that their answer was then, that they knew no impediment in the mass; therefore, the assembly desired, that it might please their highnesses to hear disputation, to the end that such as now pretend to preach in the chapel royal, and maintain such errors, the truth being tried by disputation, that they might be known to be abusers, submitting themselves always to the word of God written in the scriptures. To this it was answered by the queen, that she was always minded that the ministers should be paid their stipends; and if there was any fault therein, the same came by some of their own sort—meaning the comptroller Pitarrow—who had the handling of the thirds: always [nevertheless] by the advice of her council, she should cause such order to be taken therein, that none should have occasion to complain. As to the second, she would not jeopard her religion upon such as were there present; for she knew well enough that the protestants were more learned. The ministers and commissioners of churches perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time in the old manner, went home every one to their own churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making supplication unto Almighty God, that it would please him of his mercy to remove the apparent plague. And in the meantime the queen was busied with banquetting about with some of the lords of the session of Edinburgh, and after with all men of law, having continually in her company David Rizzio, who sat at the table near to herself, sometimes more privately than became a man of his condition, for his over-great familiarity was already suspected; and it was thought, that by his advice alone the queen's sharpness and extremity towards the lords was maintained.

In the end of January, arrived an ambassador from France, named Monsieur Rambullet, having with him about forty horse in train, who came through England. He brought with him the order of the Cockle from the king of France, to the king, who received the same at the mass, in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house.

There assisted the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Eglinton, with divers such other papists as would please the queen, who, three days after, caused the herald to convene in council, and reasoned what arms should be given to the king. Some thought he should have the arms of Scotland; some others said, seeing it was not concluded in parliament, that he should have the crown matrimonial, he could have arms, but only as duke of Rothsay, earl of Ross, &c. The queen bade give him only his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, his arms were left blank; and the queen caused put her own name before her husband's in all writs; and thereafter she caused to leave out his name wholly: and because formerly he had signed every thing of any moment, she caused to make a seal like the king's, and gave it to David Rizzio, who made use of it by the queen's command, alleging, that the king, being at his pastime, could not always be present.

About the same time the earl of Glencairn came from Berwick to his own country. Soon after, the earl of Bothwell was married unto the earl of Huntly's sister. The queen desired that the marriage might be made in the chapel at the mass; which the earl Bothwell would in no wise grant. Upon Sunday, the third day of March, began the fasting at Edinburgh. The seventh day of March, the queen came from the palace of Holyrood-house to the town, in wondrous gorgeous apparel, albeit the number of lords and train was not very great. In the meantime the king, accompanied with seven or eight horse, went to Leith, to pass his time there, for he was not like to get the crown matrimonial.

In the tolbooth were devised and named the heads of the articles that were drawn against the banished lords. Upon the morrow, and Saturday following, there was great reasoning concerning the attainder: some alleged that the summons was not well libelled or dressed; others thought the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved; and, indeed, they were still seeking proof, for there was no other way but the queen would have them all attainted,

albeit the time was very short; the twelfth day of March should have been the day, which was the Tuesday following. Now, the matter was stayed by a marvellous tragedy, for by the lords—upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about supper-time—David Rizzio, the Italian, named the French secretary, was slain in the gallery, below stairs—the king staying in the room with the queen, told her, that the design was only to take order with that villain—after that he had been taken violently from the queen's presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life; which act was done by the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindsay, the master of Ruthven, with divers other gentlemen. They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided cords for the same purpose; but the great haste which they had, moved them to despatch him with whingers or daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes. They sent away, and put forth all such persons as they suspected. The earls Bothwell and Huntly hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the close, intending to have made work, if they had had a party strong enough; but the earl Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse: at the which words they retired immediately, and so passed forth at a back window they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the town to Edmondstone, on foot, and from thence to Crichton. This David Rizzio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the king [being] set aside, but also his equipage and train did surpass the king's; and at the parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be chancellor; which made the lords conspire against him. They made a bond to stand to the religion and liberties of the country, and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain David Rizzio. The king and his father subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's word without his signet.

There was a French priest, called John Daniot, who advised David Rizzio to make his fortune, and begone, for the Scots

would not suffer him long. His answer was, that the Scots would brag but not fight. Then he advised him to beware of the bastard: to this he answered, that the bastard should never live in Scotland, in his time—he meant the earl Murray—but it happened, that one George Douglas, bastard son to the earl of Angus, gave him the first stroke. The queen, when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge, which she did.

Immediately it was noised in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murder committed within the king's palace, wherefore the provost caused to ring the common bell, or "sonner le tocsin,"—as the French speak—and straightway passed to the palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood in the outer court, the king called to the provost, commanding him to pass home with his company, saying, the queen and he were merry. But the provost desired to hear the queen speak herself; whereunto it was answered by the king, "Provost, know you not that I am king? I command you to pass home to your houses;" and immediately they retired. The next day—which was the second Sunday of our fast in Edinburgh—there was a proclamation made in the king's name, subscribed with his hand, that all bishops, abbots, and other papists should avoid and depart the town; which proclamation was indeed observed, for they had a "flea in their hose." There were letters sent forth in the king's name, and subscribed with his hand, to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, the bailies of Leith and Canongate, commanding them to be ready in armour to assist the king and his company, and likewise other private writings directed to divers lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition. In the meantime, the queen, being above measure enraged, offended, and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometimes railing upon the king, and sometimes crying out at the windows, desired her servants to set her at liberty; for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of March, the earl of

Murray, with the rest of the lords and noblemen that were with him, having received the king's letter—for after the bond, above named, was subscribed, the king wrote unto the banished lords to return into their country, being one of the articles of the said bond—came at night to the abbey, being also convoyed by the lord Hume, and a great company of the borderers, to the number of a thousand horses. And, first, after he had presented himself to the king, the queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her; and he obeying, went to her, who, with a singular gravity received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-great affection which he bore continually to her majesty. The earls of Athol, Caithness, and Sutherland, departed out of the town, with the bishops, upon the Monday, the third day after the slaughter of David Rizzio. The earls of Lennox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, and Ochiltree, sitting in council, desired the queen, that forasmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that she would—for avoiding of greater inconveniences—forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many noblemen restored. The queen dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words, nevertheless she desired, that all persons armed or otherwise—being within the palace at that time—should remove, leaving the palace void of all, saving only her domestic servants. The lords being persuaded by the uxorious king, and the facile earl of Murray, condescended to her desire, who finally, the next morning, two hours before day, passed to Seaton, and then to Dunbar, having in her company the simple king, who was allured by her sugared words. From Dunbar immediately were sent pursuivants with letters throughout the country; and especially letters to the noblemen and barons, commanding them to come to Dunbar, to assist the king and queen within five days. In the meantime the lords being informed of the sudden departure, they were astonished, and knew not what were best for them to do; but be-

cause it was the self-same day—to wit, the twelfth day of March—that they were summoned unto; therefore, having good opportunity, they passed to the tolbooth, which was richly hung with tapestry, and adorned—but not for them—and set themselves, making protestations, the earl of Glencairn, and some others, being present. The earl of Argyle, who was written for by the king, came to Linlithgow; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above specified, to wit, by the death of David Rizzio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms; and likewise the church reformed, and all that professed the evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered and freed from the apparent dangers which were like to have fallen upon them; for if the parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the best judgment, that the true protestant religion should have been wrecked, and popery erected; and for the same purpose, there were certain wooden altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house, which should have been erected in St Giles' church.

The earls Bothwell and Huntly being informed of the king and queen's sudden departure forth of Edinburgh, came to Dunbar, where they were most graciously received by the queen's majesty; who consulted with them and the master of Maxwell, together with parson Owen, and parson Flisk, chief counsellors, what was best to be done, and how she should be revenged upon the murderers. At first they did intend to go forward, and leaving no manner of cruelty unpractised, putting to death all such as were suspected: this was the opinion of such as would obey their queen's rage and fury for their own advantage; but in the end they concluded, that she should come to Edinburgh, with all the force and power she could make, and there proceed to justice: and for the same purpose, she caused to summon, by open proclamation, all persons of defence, and all noblemen and gentlemen, to come to her in Dunbar incontinent. In the meantime, the captains laboured by

all means to take up, and enroll men and women. The earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, with the rest that were in Edinburgh, being informed of the queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the slaughter; and perceiving they were not able to make any party, thought it best to give place to her fury for a time, for they were divided in opinions, and finally, departed out of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the seventeenth of March, every one a several way; for the queen's majesty was now bent only against the slayers of David Rizzio; and to the purpose she might be the better revenged upon them, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted, for whatsoever crime.

The eighteenth day of March, the king and queen came to Edinburgh, having in their company horse and foot, to the number of 8000 men; whereof there were four companies of footmen of war. The town of Edinburgh went out to meet them, for fear of war. And, finally, coming within the town, in most awful manner they caused to place their men of war within the town, and likewise certain field-pieces against their lodging, which was in the middle of the town, over against the Salt-trone. Now, a little before the queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her cruel pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; and amongst others, Mr James M'Gill, the clerk register, the justice clerk, and the common clerk of the town: the chief secretary Lethington was gone before; likewise John Knox passed west to Kyle: the men of war likewise kept the ports or gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a proclamation made at the Market-cross, for the purgation of the king from the aforesaid slaughter; which made all understanding men laugh at the passages of things, since the king not only had given his consent, but also had subscribed the bond before named; and the business was done in his name, and for his honour, if he had had wisdom to know it. After this proclamation, the king lost his credit among all men, and so his friends, by this his inconstancy and weakness. And, in the meantime, the men of

war committed great outrages in breaking up doors, thrusting themselves into every house: and albeit the number of them was not great, yet the whole town was too little for them. Soon after, the king and queen passed to the castle, and caused to warn all such as had absented themselves, by open proclamation, to appear before their majesties, and the privy council, within six days, under pain of rebellion; which practice was devised in the earl of Huntly's case, before the battle of Corrichy: and because they appeared not, they were denounced rebels, and put to the horn, and immediately thereafter, their estates given, or taken up by the treasurer. There was a certain number of the townsmen charged to enter themselves prisoners in the tolbooth, and with them were put in certain gentlemen: where, after they had remained eight days, they were convoyed down to the palace by the men of war, and then kept by them eight days more: and of that number was Thomas Scott, sheriff depute of St Johnstone, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly, to wit, hanged and quartered, for keeping the queen in prison, as was alleged, although it was by the king's command: and two men likewise were condemned to death, and carried likewise to the ladder foot; but the earl Bothwell presented the queen's ring to the provost, which then was justice, for safety of their life. The names of those two were John Mowbray, merchant, and William Harlow, saddler. About the same time, notwithstanding all this hurly-burly, the ministers of the church, and professors of religion, ceased not; as for the people, they convened to public prayers, and preaching with boldness; yea, a great number of noblemen assisted likewise. The earl Bothwell had now, of all men, greatest access and familiarity with the queen, so that nothing of any great importance was done without him; for he showed favour to such as liked him; and, amongst others, to the lairds of Ormiston, Halton, and Calder, who were so reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble. The earls of Argyle and Murray, at

the queen's command, passed to Argyle where, after they had remained about a month, they were sent for by the queen; and coming to Edinburgh, they were received by the queen into the castle, and banquetted, the earls of Huntly and Bothwell being present.

At this time the king grew to be condemned and disesteemed, so that scarcely any honour was done to him, and his father likewise. About Easter, the king passed to Stirling, where he was shaven, after the papist manner: and in the meantime, at the palace of Holyrood-house, in the chapel, there resorted a great number to the mass, albeit the queen remained still in the castle, with her priests of the chapel royal, where they used ceremonies after the popish manner.

At the same time departed this life Mr John Sinclair, bishop of Brechin, and dean of Restalrig, of whom hath been oft mention, president of the college of justice, called the session; who also succeeded in the said office and dignity after the decease of his brother Mr Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, dean of Glasgow, who departed this life at Paris, about a year before. They were both learned in the laws, and given to maintain the popish religion, and therefore great enemies to the protestants. A little before died Mr Abraham Crichton, who had been president likewise. Now, in their room, the queen placed such as she pleased, and had done her service—always [although] very unfit. The patrimony of the kirk, bishoprics, abbies, and such other benefices, were disposed by the queen to courtiers, dancers, and flatterers. The earl Bothwell, whom the queen preferred above all others, after the decease of David Rizzio, had for his part Melrose, Haddington, and Newbottle; likewise the castle of Dunbar was given unto him, with the principal lands of the earldom of March, which were of the patrimony of the crown.

At the same time, the superintendents, with the other ministers of the churches, perceiving the ministry like to decay for lack of payment of stipends to ministers, they gave this supplication at Edinburgh.

THE SUPPLICATION OF THE MINISTERS TO THE QUEEN.

“Unto your majesty, and your most honourable council, most humbly and lamentably complains your highness’ poor orators [preachers], the superintendents, and other ministers of the reformed church of God, travailling throughout all your highness’ realm, in teaching and instructing your lieges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus his Son; that where your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, that the travailling ministry throughout this realm, should be maintained upon the rents of the benefices of this realm of Scotland; and for that cause your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, upon the 15th day of December, 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, that if the said part of the rents of the whole benefices ecclesiastical within this realm would be sufficient to maintain the ministers throughout the whole realm, and to support your majesty in the setting forward of your common affairs, should be employed accordingly: failing thereof, the third part of the said fruits, or more, to be taken up yearly in time coming, until a general order be taken therein; as the act made thereupon at more length bears: which being afterward considered by your majesty, the whole thirds of the fruits aforesaid, were propounded to the uses aforesaid, by act of council. And we, your majesty’s poor orators, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your majesty to us, by the space of three years, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption; notwithstanding all this, now of late, we your majesty’s poor orators aforesaid, are put wrongfully and unjustly from their aforesaid part of the above specified thirds, by your majesty’s officers, and thereby brought to such extreme penury, and extreme distress, as we are not able any longer to maintain ourselves. And, albeit we have given in divers and sundry complaints to your majesty herein, and have received divers promises of redress, yet have we found no relief: there-

fore, we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider our most grievous complaint, together with the right above specified, whereon the same is grounded. And if your majesty, with the advice of your council aforesaid, finds our right sufficient to continue us in possession of our part assigned to us, while, and until a general order be taken; which possession was ratified by the yearly allowance of your majesty’s exchequer’s account, that your majesty would grant us letters upon the aforesaid act and ordinance passed thereupon, against all intruders and meddlers with the aforesaid thirds, to answer and obey, according to the aforesaid act and ordinance of our possession proceeding thereupon; and, likewise, that we may have letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the aforesaid thirds in the possessors’ hands, while, and until sufficient caution be found to us, for our part aforesaid. And your answer most humbly we beseech.”

This supplication being presented by the superintendent of Lothian, and Mr John Craig, in the castle of Edinburgh, was graciously received by the queen, who promised that she would take sufficient order therein, so soon as the nobility and council might convene.

The 19th of June, the queen was delivered of a man-child—the prince, in the aforesaid castle—and immediately sent into France and England her posts, to advertise the neighbour princes, and to desire them to send gossips or witnesses of the prince’s baptism. In the meantime there was joy and triumph made in Edinburgh, and such other places where it was known, after thanks and praises given unto God, with supplications for the godly education of the prince; and principally, wishing that he should be baptized according to the manner and form observed in the reformed churches within this realm.

About the same time, to wit, the 25th of June, the general assembly of the whole church convened at Edinburgh. The earls of Argyll and Murray assisted at the assembly: Paul Methvin, who before, as we heard, was excommunicated, gave in his supplication, and desired to be heard, as he

had done divers times; for the said Paul had written oft times out of England to the laird of Dun, and to divers others, most earnestly desiring to be received again into the fellowship of the church. After reasoning of the matter, it was finally granted, that he should be heard; and so being before the assembly, and falling upon his knees, burst out with tears, and said, he was not worthy to appear in their presence; always he desired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expression of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certain ministers to prescribe to him the form of his declaration of repentance, which was thus in effect; first, that he should present himself bare-footed and bare-headed, arrayed in sackcloth, at the principal entry of St Gile's kirk in Edinburgh, at seven hours in the morning, upon the next Wednesday, and there to remain the space of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the prayer was made, psalms sung, and text of scripture was read, and then to come into the place appointed, for expression of repentance, and tarry the time of sermon; and to do so likewise the next Friday following, and also upon the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole church, to declare his repentance with his own mouth. The same form and manner he should use in Jedburgh and Dundee; and that being done, to present himself again at the next general assembly following in winter, where he should be received to the communion of the church. When the said Paul had received the said ordinance, he took it very grievously, alleging, they had used over-great severity; nevertheless, being counselled and persuaded by divers notable personages, he began well in Edinburgh to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compassion of

his state; and likewise in Jedburgh: but he left his duty in Dundee, and passing again into England, the matter, not without offence to many, ceased.*

The ministers complaining that they could not be paid their stipends, were licensed by the assembly to pass to other churches to preach, but in nowise to leave the ministry. And because that the queen's majesty had promised often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient that supplication should be yet made, as before, that the queen's majesty should cause such order to be taken, that the poor ministers might be paid their stipends. The bishop of Galloway, who was brother to the earl of Huntly, and now a great man in the court, travailed much with the queen's majesty in that matter, and got of her a good answer, and fair promises. A few years before, the said bishop of Galloway desired of the general assembly to be made superintendent of Galloway; but now being promoted to great dignity, as to be of the number of the lords of the privy council, and likewise one of the session, he would no more be called overlooker, or overseer of Galloway, but bishop. Always, truth it is, that he laboured much for his nephew, the earl of Huntly, that he might be restored to his lands and honours; for the said earl was new chancellor, since the slaughter of David Rizzio, and had for his clawback the bishop of Ross, Mr John Lesley, one of the chief counsellors to the queen: but of all men the earl Bothwell was most in the queen's favour, so far, that all things passed by him; yea, by his means the most part of all those that were partakers in the slaughter of David Rizzio got remission and relief. But from that day he was not present at any sermon, albeit before he professed the evangel by outward

* There was something very remote from the spirit of the gospel in the degrading penance enjoined to this offender. The law of Moses forbade excessive punishment, lest it should make a man vile in the sight of his brethren. This is in the true spirit of the gospel. Christ meant the discipline of the church to reclaim and humble, but not to degrade any of his members. There was an individual in the Corinthian church guilty of sin of the same nature, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, whom the

church were commanded to put away. On his repentance, they were by the same authority required to restore and comfort him, lest he should be overwhelmed with over much sorrow, which implies that they were to receive him with kindness, and not with rigour. The assembly's treatment of Methvin was calculated to make him despised by himself, and all the world, and must have been a bar to his future usefulness, had he been restored to the ministry. — *Ed.*

speaking, yet he never joined to the congregation. But this time the earl of Cassills was contracted with the lord of Glammiss' sister, by whose persuasion he became a protestant, and caused, in the month of August, to reform his churches in Carrick, and promised to maintain the doctrine of the evangel.

The queen, not yet satisfied with the death of her man David, caused in August to be apprehended a man called Henry, who sometime had been of her chapel royal, but afterward became an exhorter in a reformed church; and for want of stipend, or other necessities, passed in service to my lord Ruthven, and chanced that night to be present when the said David was slain; and so, finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The king being now condemned of all men, because the queen cared not for him, he went sometimes to the Lennox to his father, and sometimes to Stirling, whither the prince was carried a little before. Always he was destitute of such things as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in his train. And being thus desolate, and half desperate, he sought means to go out of the country: and, about the same time, by the advice of foolish cagots, he wrote to the pope, to the king of Spain, and to the king of France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order, all because that mass and popery were not again erected,* giving the whole blame thereof to the queen, as not managing the catholic cause aright. By some knave, this poor prince was betrayed, and the queen got a copy of these letters into her hands, and therefore threatened him sore; and there was never after that, any appearance of love betwixt them.

The churches of Geneva, Berne, and Basil, with other reformed churches of Germany and France, sent to the whole church of Scotland, the sum of the confession of their faith, desiring to know if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine, alleging, that the church of Scotland was dis-

sonant in some articles from them: wherefore, the superintendents, with a great part of the other most qualified ministers, convened in September, in St Andrews; and reading the said letters, made answer, and sent word again, that they agreed in all points with those churches, and differed in nothing from them: albeit in the keeping of some festival days our church assented not; for only the Sabbath day was kept in Scotland.

In the end of this month, the earl Bothwell riding in pursuit of the thieves in Liddisdale, was ill hurt, and worse terrified, by a thief; for he believed surely to have departed forth of this life, and sent word thereof to the queen's majesty, who soon after passed forth of Jedburgh to the Hermitage, to visit him, and give him comfort: and within a few days after, she took sickness in a most extreme manner, for she lay two hours long, cold dead, as it were without breath, or any sign of life: at length she revived, by reason they had bound small cords about her shackle bones [wrists], her knees, and great toes, and speaking very softly, she desired the lords to pray for her to God. She said the creed in English, and desired my lord of Murray, if she should chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as were of her religion; the duke and he should have been regents. The bruit went from Jedburgh in the month of October, 1566, that the queen was departed this life, or at least she could not live any time; wherefore, there were continually prayers publicly made at the church of Edinburgh, and divers other places for her conversion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, that she would come to the preaching, and renounce popery; but all in vain, for God had some other thing to do by her. The king being advertised, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he found the queen somewhat convalescent, but she would scarce speak to him, and hardly gave him presence or a good word; wherefore, he returned immediately to Stirling, where the

* This inconstant young man sometimes declared himself for the protestant—witness his

last bond—and now for the papist. And, as he left God, so he was left by him.

prince was, and after to Glasgow, to his father.

There appeared great trouble over the whole realm, and especially in the countries near the borders, if the queen had departed at that time. As she began to recover, the earl Bothwell was brought in a chariot from the Hermitage to Jedburgh, where he was cured of his wounds; in whose presence the queen took more pleasure than in all the rest of the world; always by his means, most part of all that were outlawed for the slaughter of David Rizzio, got relief, for there was no other means, but all things must needs pass by him; wherefore, every man sought to him, where immediate favour was to be had, as before to David Rizzio.

Soon after, the queen passing along the borders, she came within the bounds of Berwick, where she viewed the town at her pleasure afar off, being within half a mile and less. All the ordnance within Berwick were discharged; the captain came forth, with fourscore horses, bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawful service. Then she came to Craigmillar, where she remained in November, till she was advertised of the coming of the ambassadors to the baptism of the prince; and for that purpose there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of such as were supposed to have money in store, especially of Edinburgh; for there was borrowed a good round sum of money for the same business. All her care and solicitude was for that triumph. At the same time arrived the count de Briance, ambassador of the king of France, who had a great train. Soon after, the earl of Bedford went forth of England, with a very gorgeous company, to the number of fourscore horses, and passing to Stirling, he was humanely received of the queen's majesty, and every day banquetted. The excessive expenses, and superfluous apparel, which was prepared at that time, exceeded far all the preparation that ever had been devised or set forth before that time in this coun-

try. The 17th of December, 1566, in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, was the prince baptized by the bishop of St Andrews, at five o'clock at even, with great pomp, albeit with great pain could they find men to bear the torches, wherefore they took boys. The queen laboured much with the noblemen to bear the salt, grease, and candle, and such other things, but all refused; she found at last the earls of Eglington, Athol, and the lord Seaton, who assisted at the baptism, and brought in the said trash.* The count de Briance—being the French ambassador—assisted likewise. The earl of Bedford brought for a present from the queen of England, a font of gold, valued to be worth three thousand crowns. Soon after the said baptism, as the earl was in communing with the queen, who entertained him most reverently, he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, Madam, I rejoice very greatly at this time, seeing your majesty hath here to serve you so many noblemen, especially twelve earls, whereof two only assist at this baptism to the superstition of popery. At the which saying the queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banquetted in the said great hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the earl of Bedford's remaining at Stirling, the lords, for the most part, waited upon him, and conveyed him every day to the sermon, and after to banquetting.

The king, who remained in Stirling all that time—never being present—kept his chamber: his father hearing how he was used, wrote to him to repair unto him; who soon after went—without good-night—toward Glasgow, to his father. He was hardly a mile out of Stirling, when the poison—which had been given him—wrought so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every part of his body. At length, being arrived at Glasgow, the blisters broke out, of a bluish colour; so the physicians presently knew the disease to come by poison. He was brought so low, that nothing but death was expected; yet

* Spotswood informs us that the duchess of Argyll assisted at this ceremony, for which she

afterwards did penance in the church in Stirling.—*Ed.*

the strength of his youth at last did surmount the poison.

During the time of this triumph, the queen was most liberal in all things that were demanded of her: amongst other things, she subscribed a writing for the maintenance of the ministers in a reasonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the thirds of benefices: which writing being purchased by the bishop of Galloway, was presented at the general assembly of the church at Edinburgh, the five and twentieth day of December, 1566, where were convened the superintendents and other ministers in reasonable number, but very few commissioners. The first matter that was there proposed, was concerning the said writing lately obtained; and the most part of the ministers being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, that it was their duty to preach to the people the word of God truly and sincerely, and to crave of the auditors the things that were necessary for their sustentation, as of duty the pastor might justly crave of their flock; and, further, it became them not to have any care. Nevertheless, the assembly taking in consideration, that the said gifts granted by the queen's majesty, were not to be refused; they ordained, that certain faithful men of every shire should meet, and do their utmost diligence for gathering and receiving the said corn and money, and likewise appointed the superintendent of Lothian, and Mr John Row, to wait upon the bishop of Galloway, and concur and assist him for further expedition in the court, that the said gift might be despatched through the seals.

In the same assembly, there was presented a remonstrance, by writ, by some gentlemen of Kyle, containing in effect, That inasmuch as the tythes ought to be given only to the ministers and schools [teachers] of the word, and for maintenance of the poor, that therefore the assembly would statute and ordain, that all the professors of the evangel should keep the same in their own hands, to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the papists to meddle there-

with. This writing took no effect at that time, for there were none else but the gentlemen of Kyle of that opinion. It was statuted in the said assembly, that such public fornicators, and scandalous livers as would not confess their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, should be declared by the minister to be out of the church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publicly upon the Sunday. After this assembly, the bishop of Galloway—with the superintendent of Lothian, and Mr John Row—passing to Stirling, obtained their demands in an ample manner at the queen's majesty's hand, according to their desire; and likewise, they obtained for every burgh, a gift or donation of the altarages, annuals, and obits, which before were given to the papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the ministers and schools within the burghs, and the rest to the poor, or hospital. Notwithstanding the domestic troubles that the church of God in Scotland suffered in the time of these hurly-burlys within the kingdom, yet they were not unmindful of the affliction of Jacob every where upon the face of the earth; namely, they had before their eyes the state and condition of the church of God in England. Witness this letter from the general assembly to the rulers of the church of God in England:

“The superintendents, with other ministers and commissioners of the church of God in the kingdom of Scotland, to their brethren, the bishops and pastors of God's church in England, who profess with us in Scotland the truth of Jesus Christ.

“By word and letters it is come to our knowledge—reverend brethren, pastors of God's word in the church of England—that divers of our brethren—of whom some be of the most learned in England—are deprived from all ecclesiastical function, namely, are forbidden to preach, and so by you are stopped to promote the kingdom of God, because they have a scruple of conscience to use at the command of authority such garments as idolaters in time of greatest darkness, did use in their superstitious and idolatrous service; which report can-

not but be very grievous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the apostle, 'If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another.' We intend not at this present to enter into the question, which we hear is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either party, than well liketh us, to wit, whether such apparel be accounted amongst things indifferent, or not; wherefore—through the bowels of Jesus Christ—we crave that christian charity may so far prevail with you, who are the pastors and guides of Christ's flock in England, that ye do one to another, as ye desire others to do to you. You cannot be ignorant what tenderness is in a scrupulous conscience, and all that have knowledge are not alike persuaded; the consciences of some of you stir not, with the wearing of such things; on the other side, many thousands—both godly and learned—are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences, 'What hath Christ to do with Belial? What fellowship is there betwixt light and darkness?' If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet, have been the badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what hath the preachers of christian liberty, and the rebukers of superstition with the dregs of that Romish beast? yea, what is he that ought not to fear, 'either to take in his hand, or on his forehead, the prints and mark of that odious beast.' The brethren that refuse such unprofitable apparel, do neither condemn nor molest you who use such trifles. On the other side, if ye that use these things, will do the like to your brethren, we doubt not but therein you shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded to see extremity used against these godly brethren. Human arguments or coloured rhetoric, we use none to persuade you, only in charity we desire you to mind the sentence of Peter, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not being as lords of God's heritages, but being examples to the flock.' We further desire you to meditate upon that sentence of Paul, 'Give no offence, neither

to Jews, nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God.' In what condition you and we both travail, at least are bound to travail for the promoting of Christ's kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore, we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wisely, than to trouble the godly for such vanities, for all things which seem lawful, edify not. If authority urge you farther than your consciences can bear, we pray you remember, that the ministers of the church are called the 'Light of the world, and salt of the earth;' all civil authority hath not always the light of God shining before their eyes, in statutes and commands, for their affections savour too much of the earth and worldly wisdom: therefore, we tell you, that ye ought to oppose yourselves boldly, not only to all power that dare extol itself against God, but also against all such as dare burthen the consciences of the faithful, farther than God chargeth them in his word. But we hope you will excuse our freedom, in that we have entered into reasoning farther than we intended in the beginning. Now, again we return to our former request, which is, that the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, who use and urge them, such favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his members to show to another, which we look to receive of your courtesy, not only because you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also, because you will not refuse the earnest request of us your brethren, and fellow ministers, in whom, although there appear no worldly pomp; yet we are assured, you will esteem us as God's servants, travailing to set forth his glory against the Roman antichrist. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and charity, alas! waxeth cold, wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord shall come, before whom we must all give an account of our administration. In conclusion, yet once more we desire you to be favourable one to another; the Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victory over that conjured enemy of true religion—the pope—whose

wounded head, Satan by all means strives to cure again; but to destruction shall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection we commit you.

“From our general assembly, December 27th, 1566.”

At the same time, the bishop of St Andrews, by means of the earl Bothwell, procured a writing from the queen's majesty, to be obeyed within the diocese of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as before in time of popery were used in the consistory, and, therefore, to discharge the new commissioners; and for the same purpose, came to Edinburgh in January, [1667,] having a company of one hundred horses, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The provost being advertised thereof by the earl of Murray, they sent to the bishop three or four of the council, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition that might rise thereupon; whereby he was persuaded to desist at that time.

Soon after, the queen came to Edinburgh, where she remained a few days. In the month of January, she was informed that the king was recovered of the poison given him at Stirling, and therefore she passed to Glasgow to visit him, and there tarried with him six days, using him wonderfully kindly, with many gracious and good words; and likewise his father, the earl of Lennox; insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering the great contempt and dryness that had been before so long together. The queen, notwithstanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known design to take away his life, yet, by her sweet words, gains so far upon the uxorious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where she had caused to lodge him at the Church of Field, in a lodging, lately bought by Mr James Balfour, clerk register—truly, very unmeet for a king. The queen resorted often to visit him, and lay in the house two nights by him—although her lodging was in the palace of Holyrood-house. Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and

sudden change. The ninth of February, the king was murdered, and the house where he lay burned with powder, about twelve o'clock at night: his body was cast forth into a yard, without the town wall, adjoining close by. There was a servant likewise murdered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this spectacle; and wondering thereat, some judged one thing, some another.

Shortly thereafter, Bothwell came from the abbey with a company of men of war, and caused the body of the king to be carried to the next house; where, after a little, the chirurgeons being convened at the queen's command, to view and consider the manner of his death, most part gave out, to please the queen, that he was blown in the air, albeit he had no mark of fire; and truly he was strangled. Soon after, he was carried to the abbey, and there buried.

This tragical end had Henry Stewart, after he had been king eighteen months. A prince of great lineage, both by mother and father. He was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island. He died under the age of one and twenty years; prompt and ready for all games and sports, much given to hawking and hunting, and running of horses, and likewise to playing on the lute, and also to Venus' chamber. He was liberal enough: he could write and dictate well; but he was somewhat given to wine, and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others. He had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled up in popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this realm, he was highly by the queen alone extolled; and, finally, had this unfortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her marriage with Bothwell, who was the main executioner of the king, notwithstanding all the advices and counsels that the king of France, and queen of England, did earnestly and carefully give her, as other friends did likewise, witness ament their guilt. Those that laid hands

on the king to kill him, by Bothwell's direction, were Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spense, Francis Sebastian, John de Bourdeau, and Joseph, the brother of David Rizzio : these last four were the queen's domestics and strangers. The reason why the king's death was so hastened, was, because the affection or passion of the earl Bothwell could not bear so long a delay, as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romish clergy offered their service willingly to the business, namely, bishop Hamilton, and so he came great again at court; and he, for the advancement of the business, did good offices to increase the hatred betwixt the king and queen; yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the marriage of the king and queen, offered the service for the divorce, seeing how the queen's inclination lay: so unhappy are princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad or destructive to themselves.

The earl of Lennox in the meantime wrote to the queen, to cause to punish Bothwell, with his other accomplices, for murdering the king. The queen, not daring openly to reject the earl of Lennox's solicitation, did appoint a day for the trial of Bothwell, by an assize; the members whereof, were the earl of Caithness, president, the earl of Cassils—who, at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in prison, and under the pain of treason, was present by the queen's command—John Hamilton, commendator of Aberbrothick, lord Ross, lord Semple, lord Boyd, lord Herris, lord Oliphant; the master of Forbes, the lairds of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambuskenneth, Barnbougel, and Boyne. They, to please the queen, and for fear, did pronounce Bothwell not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidences of the cruel fact committed by Bothwell, who, before the trial, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough. The earl of Mar did retire to Stirling, and had committed to his charge

the young prince. All this was done in February.

In April, Bothwell called together sundry of the lords, who had come to Edinburgh, to a meeting that was there; and having gained some before, made them all, what by fear, what by fair promises, first of their private state, and then of advancing the papist's religion, to consent by their subscriptions to the marriage with the queen. Then the queen goes to Stirling, to see her son; Bothwell makes a show as if he were going to the borders to suppress robbers, and so he raiseth some men of war; which, when he had done, he turneth towards the way to Stirling, where he meets the queen, according to appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to Dunbar, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the queen's liking. The prime nobility convened at Stirling, and from thence sent to her, to know whether or not she was taken against her will. She answered, That it was true she was taken against her will, but since her taking, she had no occasion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment she had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. These expressions were used by way of preface to the pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to Bothwell; for, by letters patent, he was pardoned by the queen, for laying violently hands upon her majesty, and for all other crimes. So by this, &c. the murder of the king was pardoned. During the queen's abode in Dunbar, there were letters of divorce demanded and granted unto Bothwell from his lady—who afterward was married to the earl Sutherland—she was sister to the earl of Huntly. The ground of the divorce was, the parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joined: next, because Bothwell was an adulterer, the marriage was void. The bill of divorce was granted by the papistical court of the archbishop of St Andrews. And here mark how they juggle in sacred things; for when it pleaseth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the first book of this history. When the queen fell in distaste of the late king her hus-

band, it was proposed unto her to have divorce upon the same ground from the king, to which, first ear was given, but after second thoughts, a bill of divorce was too tedious—as we have now said—and could not be staid for, therefore the king must be despatched.

The queen, when Bothwell had obtained by the archbishop a letter of divorce from his lawful wife, sent a letter, signed with her own hand, to Mr J. Craig, minister of Edinburgh, commanding him to publish the bans of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell. Mr J. Craig, the next sermon day thereafter, declared in full congregation, that he had received such a command, but in conscience he could not obey it; the marriage was altogether unlawful; and of that he would declare the reasons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwise he would make known his just reasons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, Bothwell sends for Mr Craig to the council, where Mr Craig told, first, That by an act of assembly it was forbidden to allow the marriage of any divorced for adultery: the divorce of Bothwell from his lawful wife, was by collusion, witness the quick despatch thereof; for it was sought and had within ten days, and his contracting with the queen instantly thereafter; then his rape of the queen, and the guilt of the king's death, which was confirmed by this marriage: withal, he desired the lords to stop the queen from that infamous marriage. The Sunday after, he told publicly to the people, what he had said to the council; and he took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous and infamous marriage; and that he discharged his conscience unto the lords, who seemed unto him, as so many slaves, what by flattery, what by silence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this, he was called to the council again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his calling. Whereunto he answered, That the bounds of his commission were the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he said nothing; and by all these offered to prove this marriage to be scandalous and infamous. At this he was

stopped by Bothwell and sent from the council. Notwithstanding all this done and said by Mr Craig, and the opposition of many that wished well to the queen, and were jealous of her honour, the marriage went on, and they were married the 15th or May. This makes good the Latin proverb, *mala nubunt mense Maio*;* and a bishop must bless the marriage: the good prelate was bishop of Orkney: if there be a good work to be done, a bishop must do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy minister Mr Craig, and this base bishop.

The earl of Athol, immediately after the murder of the king, had retired home, waiting for the occasion to revenge the king's death: but seeing this abominable marriage, he went to Stirling, where other honest lords with him had a meeting, and made a bond, to defend the young prince from the murderers of his father, as already they had had one plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The nobles that entered in this bond, were the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn; the lords Lindsay and Boyd. Argyle thereafter, seduced by some fair words, fell off; and Boyd became a great factionary for Bothwell in all things. The queen, soon after the marriage, was advised to send abroad an ambassador to acquaint her foreign friends and kindred; and this must be a bishop: it is pity that any good work should be done without a bishop: was not this a worthy employment for a pastor in God's church.

Bothwell seeing the bond made at Stirling, causeth the queen to write to sundry of the nobility: divers repaired unto her, where they found a bond tendered unto them, by which they were to bind themselves to defend the queen and Bothwell. Some that were corrupt, did willingly subscribe; others for fear did the same: and there was not one that went to court that did refuse, but the earl of Murray; who refusing absolutely to enter into a bond with Bothwell, said, It was not the part of a good subject; yet since he had been made friends

* It is still reckoned unlucky to marry in this month.—*Ed.*

with him some time before, he would keep his promise unto the queen, and to enter into a bond with the queen, it was needless and unfit, since he was to obey her in all lawful and just things. Upon this, he got leave, although with great difficulty, to go into France.

The queen received Hamilton archbishop of St Andrews, into favour since these changes; who was no less a faithful counsellor to her, than he was a good pastor of Christ's flock; that is, he betrayed her and disobeyed God. With this a proclamation comes out in favour of the poor protestants, whereby the queen declares, that she will keep and confirm all that she had promised at her arrival into Scotland: this was done to stop the people's mouths; but all in vain, for the people were universally against the abomination of the court.

Within few days, Bothwell and the queen were raising men under pretext to go to the borders to repress the robbers there; but in effect to go to Stirling, to have the prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their mind. Then a new proclamation came out, that the queen hereafter would rule only by the advice of the nobles of the land, as her best predecessors had done. The lords at Stirling, hearing of this plot, strove to prevent it, and to this purpose they appointed with the lord Hume, to besiege the castle of Borthwick, where the queen and Bothwell was: but because the earl of Athol did not come at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to environ and encompass the castle; so that Bothwell, having notice given him of the business, escaped to Dunbar, and the queen after him in man's clothes. The lords, failing of their design at Borthwick castle, went to Edinburgh, whereof they made themselves masters easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the earl of Huntly and the archbishop of St Andrews' persuasion to the contrary. These two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the castle, where they were received by Sir James Balfour, [who was] left there by Bothwell.

The twelfth of June, which was the next day following, the lords at Edinburgh

caused to publish a proclamation, whereby they declared, that the earl of Bothwell, who had been the principal author, deviser, and actor of the cruel murder of the late king, had since laid hand upon the queen's person, and had her for the present in Dunbar in his power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good counsel, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawful marriage with himself; yea, that now he was gathering forces, and stirring himself to get the young prince in his hands, that he might murder the child, as he had murdered the father. This wicked man the nobles of the land resolved to withstand, and deliver the queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all lieges within the kingdom that could come to them, to be in readiness at three hours warning to assist them, the nobles for the freeing of the queen from captivity, and bringing the said earl Bothwell to a legal trial, and condign punishment for the aforesaid murder and other crimes. All such that would not side with the lords were by this proclamation commanded to depart from Edinburgh within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this proclamation, the people did not join unto these lords as was expected, for sundry of the nobles were adversaries to the business, others stood as neutrals; and withal, those that were convened together were not well provided of arms and munition for exploits of war; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their enterprise till another time, and had absolutely done so; but God had ordained otherwise, as the event did show—if the queen and Bothwell could have had patience to stay at Dunbar for three or four days without any stir—but the queen and Bothwell, having gathered together about four or five thousand men, trusting in their force—the queen being puffed up by flatterers—set forth and marched towards Leith: being come forward as far as Gladsmuir, she caused public proclamation against the aforesaid lords, calling them a number of conspirators, and that she now discerned their inward malice against her and her husband, the duke of Orkney—for so now they called Bothwell—after they

had endeavoured to apprehend her and her husband at Borthwick, and had made a seditious proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the king her late husband, and to free her from captivity; giving out, that the duke her husband had a mind to invade the prince her son; all which was false, for the duke her husband had used all means to clear himself, both by a legal way, and by the offer of a combat to any that did accuse him, as they knew well enough: as touching her captivity, she was in none, but was in company with her husband, unto whom she was publicly married in the view of the world, and many of the nobles had given their consent unto this her marriage: as for the prince her son, it was but a specious pretence to the treason and rebellion against her their natural sovereign, and her posterity, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore she declared herself necessitated to take arms, hoping that all her faithful subjects would adhere unto her, and that those who were already assembled with her, would with good hearts and hands stand to her defence; and for the recompense of their valour they should have the lands and goods of these unnatural rebels. After this proclamation the army went on, and the queen that night came to Seaton, where she lay.

About midnight the lords of Edinburgh were advertised of the queen's approach, presently they took arms, and at the sun rising they were at Musselburgh, where they refreshed themselves with meat and rest. The queen's camp was not yet stirring. About mid-day the scouts that the lords had sent out, brought word that the enemy was marching towards them; presently they put themselves in two battalions, the first was conducted by the earl Morton, and the lord Hume; the second by the earls Athol, Glencairn, the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanquhar, with the lairds Drumlanrig, Tullibardine, Cesfoord, and Grange, with divers others, their number was almost as great as the queen's, their men better, being many of them expert men, that I say nothing of the cause. The queen had gained a hill called Carberry, which the lords—by reason of the steep-

ness of the ascent—could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about to get a more convenient place to go to the hill, where the enemy was, and to have the sun behind them in the time of the fight. At the first the queen, seeing their thus going about, did imagine they were fleeing away to Dalkeith, but when she saw them come directly towards her, she found herself deceived.

The French ambassador, seeing them ready to fight, strived to take up the business, and having spoken with the queen, went to the lords, telling them, that the queen was disposed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this insurrection; wherefore it was very fit to spare blood, to agree in a peaceable way. The earl of Morton—in the name of all the rest—answered, that they had taken up arms, not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; whom if she would deliver to be punished, or at least put from her company, she should find a continuation of dutiful obedience by them, and all other good subjects; otherwise no peace: besides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us. The ambassador, seeing their resolution to stand to the right of their cause, withdrew, and went to Edinburgh.

While the French ambassador was thus labouring for accommodation, Bothwell came out of the camp—which was in the trench that the Englishmen had left at their last being in these places, as we have said in the former books—well mounted, with a defiance to any that would fight with him. James Murray, brother to the laird of Tullibardine, before had accepted of Bothwell's challenge, when he made the rodomontade at Edinburgh, immediately after the king's death; but then James Murray did not make known his name. Bothwell refused to fight with James Murray, alleging he was not his equal. Upon this the elder brother, William Murray, laird of Tullibardine, answered, that he would fight with him, as being his better in estate, and in antiquity of house many degrees above him; yet Bothwell refused him, saying, that he was not a peer of the kingdom, as he was; then sundry lords

would have gone to fight with Bothwell; but the lord Lindsay namely, who said to the rest of the lords and gentlemen, that he would take it as a singular favour of them, and as a recompense of his service done to the state, if they would suffer him to fight with the braggadocio. Bothwell seeing that there was no more subterfuge, nor excuse, under-hand made the queen to forbid him. After this challenge and answers, Bothwell's accomplices and followers were very earnest to fight, but others that had come only for the queen's sake, became a little cold, saying, that Bothwell would do well to fight himself, and spare the blood of divers gentlemen that were there; some counselled to delay the battle till the Hamiltons came, whom they did expect. All this the queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burst out in tears, and said, they were all cowards and traitors that would not fight. Immediately after thus vapouring, the queen, perceiving sundry to leave her, she advised Bothwell to look unto himself, for she said to him, she would render herself unto the noblemen. Upon this she sent for James Kirkaldy of Grange, with whom she kept discourse for a while, till that she was assured that Bothwell was out of danger. Then she went to the lords, whom she did entertain with many fair words, telling them, that it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a mere desire to spare shedding of innocent blood: withal she promised to be ruled and advised by them. With this she was received with all respect: but shortly after, declaring that she would go to the Hamiltons, with promise to return, they restrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to Edinburgh at night: she was very slow in marching, looking to be rescued by the Hamiltons; but in vain: she lay that night in the provost his house. The next day, the lords sent the queen to the castle that is within an isle of Lochleven. Sir James Balfour, seeing the queen committed, and Bothwell consequently defeated, he capitulated with the lords for the delivery of the castle. Bothwell, finding himself thus in disorder, sent a servant to

Sir James Balfour, to save a little silver cabinet, which the queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the messenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the lords. In this cabinet Bothwell kept the letters of privacy he had from the queen: thus he kept her letters, to be an awe-bond upon her, in case her affection should change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the queen and Bothwell were clearly discovered. These letters were after printed: they were in French; with some sonnets of her own making.

Few days after the commitment of the queen, the earl of Glencairn with his domestics, went to the chapel of Holyroodhouse, where he broke down the altars and the images: which fact, as it did content the zealous protestants, so it did highly offend the popishly affected. The nobles, who had so proceeded against Bothwell, and dealt so with the queen, hearing that the Hamiltons had a great number of men, and had drawn the earls of Argyll and Huntly to their side, sent to Hamilton, desiring those that were there to join with them, for the redress of the disorders of church and state: but the Hamiltons, thinking now they had a fair occasion fallen unto them to have all again in their hands, and to dispose of all according to their own mind, did refuse audience to the message sent by the lords.

Upon this the lords moved the general assembly then met in Edinburgh, in the month of June, to write to the lords that either were actually declared for the Hamiltons or were neuters: and so several letters were directed to the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford, and Monteith; to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Grème, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Livingstone, Seaton, Glammis, Ochiltree, Gray, Oliphant, Methvin, Innermeath, and Somerville; as also to divers other men of note. Besides the letters of the assembly, commissioners were sent from the assembly, to the lords above-named; to wit, John Knox, John Douglas, John Row, and John Craig, who had instructions conforming to the tenor of the letters, to desire these lords

and others, to come to Edinburgh, and join with the lords there, for the settling of God's true worship in the church, and policy reformed according to God's word, a maintenance for the ministers, and support for the poor : but neither the commissioners nor the letters did prevail with these men ; they excused, that they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there were so many armed men, and a garrison so strong : but for the church affairs, they would not be any ways wanting to do what lay in them.

The lords at Edinburgh, seeing this, join absolutely with the assembly—which had been prorogated to the 20th of July, upon the occasion of these letters and commissioners aforesaid ; and promise to make good all the articles they thought fit to resolve upon in the assembly : but how they performed their promises, God knows. Always, the articles they agreed upon were these :—

1. That the acts of parliament holden at Edinburgh the 24th of August, 1560, touching religion, and abolishing the pope's authority, should have the force of a public law ; and consequently this parliament defended, as a lawful parliament, and confirmed by the first parliament that should be kept next.
2. That the thirds of the tithes, or any more reasonable proportion of benefices, should be allowed towards the maintenance of the ministry ; and that there should be a charitable course taken concerning the exacting of the tithes of the poor labourers.
3. That none should be received in the universities, colleges, or schools for instruction of the youth, but after due trial both of capacity and probity.
4. That all crimes and offences against God, should be punished according to God's word ; and that there should be a law made thereanent, at the first parliament to be holden.
5. As for the horrible murder of the late king, husband to the queen, which was so heinous before God and man, all true professors, in whatsoever rank or condition, did promise to strive that all persons should be brought to condign punishment, who are found guilty of the same crime.
6. They all promised to protect the young prince against all violence, lest he should be murdered as his father was ; and that the prince should be committed to the care of four wise and godly men, that by a good education, he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day.
7. The nobles, barons, and others, doth promise to beat down and abolish popery, idolatry, and superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it ; as also to set up and further the true worship of God, his government, the church, and all that may concern the purity of religion and life ; and for this to convene and take arms, if need require.
8. That all princes and kings hereafter in this realm, before their coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.

To these articles subscribed the earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, the lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindsay, Græme, Innermeath, and Ochiltree, with many other barons, besides the commissioners of the boroughs.

This being agreed upon, the assembly dissolved. Thereafter the lords Lindsay and Ruthven were sent to Lochleven to the queen, to present unto her two writs ; the one contained a renunciation of the crown and royal dignity in favour of the prince her son ; with a commission to invest him into the kingdom, according to the manner accustomed : which, after some reluctancy with tears she subscribed, by the advice of the earl of Athole, who had sent to her ; and of secretary Lethington, who had sent to her Robert Melville for that purpose : so there was a procuration given to the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, by the queen, to give up and resign the rule of the realm, in presence of the states.

The second writ was, to ordain the earl of Murray, during the prince's minority, if

he would accept the charge: and in case he refused, the duke Chatelherault, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, should govern conjointly.

These writs were published the 29th of July, 1567, at the market cross of Edinburgh; then at Stirling was the prince crowned king, where John Knox made the sermon; the earl Morton and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he should constantly live in the profession of the true religion, and maintain it; and that he should govern the kingdom according to law thereof, and do justice equally to all.

In the beginning of August the earl Murray being sent for, cometh home; in all haste he visits the queen at Lochleven, strives to draw the lords that had taken part with the Hamiltons, or were neuters, to join with those that had bound themselves to stand for the king's authority: he was very earnest with divers, by reason of their old friendship; but to little purpose. The 20th of August, he received the regency, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the desire of the queen, and lords that were for the king, and so was publicly proclaimed regent, and obedience showed unto him by all that stood for the young king.



THE
COPY OF A LETTER,

DELIVERED TO THE

LADY MARY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND,

FROM JOHN KNOX,

MINISTER OF GOD'S WORD, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1556, AND NOW AUGMENTED, AND
EXPLAINED BY THE AUTHOR, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1558.*

TO THE EXCELLENT LADY MARY, DOWAGER,
REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

"THE cause moving me, right honourable, to present this my supplication unto your grace, enlarged and in some places explained,—which being in the realm of Scotland in the month of May, 1556, I caused to be presented to your grace—is the incredible rage of such as bear the title of bishops, who against all justice and equity, have pronounced against me a most cruel sentence, condemning my body to fire, my soul to damnation, and all doctrine taught by me to be false, deceiveable, and heretical. If this injury did tend to me alone, having the testimony of a good conscience, with silence I could pass the matter, being assured, that such as they curse and expel their synagogues for such causes, shall God bless, and Christ Jesus receive, in his eternal society. But considering that this

their blasphemy is vomited forth against the eternal truth of Christ's evangel,—whereof it hath pleased the great mercy of God to make me a minister—I cannot cease to notify, as well to your grace, as unto them, that so little I am afraid of their tyrannical and surmised sentence, that in place of the picture, if God impede not my purpose, they shall have the body to justify that doctrine, which they—members of Satan—blasphemously do condemn. Advertising your grace in the meantime, that from them, their sentence, and tyranny, and from all that list maintain them in the same, I do appeal to a lawful and general council; beseeching your grace to take in good part, that I call you for witness, that I have required the liberty of the tongue, and my cause to be heard before your grace, and the body of that realm, before that any such process was laid against me, as

* This letter was written at the request of earls Glencairn and Marishal. The former delivered it into the queen's own hand; she glanced it with a careless air, and gave it to the archbishop of Glasgow, saying, "*Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil;*" (see the History, p. 86. col. 1.) to which Knox indignantly alludes in the last of the following additions to it, in which he expresses his apprehension that she had never fairly read it. It was this that induced him, two years afterward, when he was on the continent,

to publish it with the additions. On the letter itself Dr M'Crie justly remarks, "Though Knox's pen was not the most smooth or delicate, and he often irritated by the plainness and severity of his language, the letter to the queen regent is far from being uncourtly. It seems to have been written with great care; and, in point of language, it may be compared with any composition of that period for simplicity and forcible expression."—*Ed.*

this my letter directed to your grace doth testify."

THE BEGINNING OF THE LETTER.

"THE eternal providence of the same God who hath appointed his chosen children, to fight in this transitory and wretched life a battle strong and difficult, hath also appointed their final victory, by a marvellous fashion; and the manner of their preservation, in their battle, more marvellous. Their victory standeth not in resisting, but in suffering; as our sovereign Master pronounceth to his disciples, that in their patience should they possess their souls. And the same foresaw the prophet Isaiah, when that he painteth forth all other battle to be with violence, tumult, and blood shedding, but the victory of God's people to be in quietness, silence, and hope; meaning, that all others that obtain victory, do enforce themselves to resist their adversaries, to shed blood, and to murder: but so do not the elect of God, but all things they sustain at the commandment of him, who hath appointed them to suffer, being most assuredly persuaded, that then only they triumph, when all men judge them oppressed. For in the cross of Christ always is included a secret and hid victory, never well known till the sufferer appear altogether to be, as it were, exterminate; for then only did the blood of Abel cry to God, when proud Cain judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguished: and so I say their victory is marvellous. And how that they can be preserved, and not brought to utter confusion, the eye of man perceiveth not. But he, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions, toucheth the hearts of such as, to man's judgment, have power to destroy them, of very pity to and compassion to save his people; as that he did the hearts of the Egyptian midwives, to preserve the men children of the Israelites, when precept was given by Pharaoh for their destruction; the heart of Pharaoh's daughter likewise to pity Moses in his young infancy, exposed to the danger of the waters; the

heart of Nebuchadnezzar to preserve the captives alive, and liberally to nourish the children that were found apt to letters; and finally the heart of Cyrus, to set at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thralldom. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God, manifest itself towards his elect from time to time, for two causes especially; first, to comfort his weak warriors in their manifold temptations, letting them understand that he is able to compel such, as sometimes were enemies to his people, to fight in their cause, and to promote their deliverance; and secondly, to give a testimony of his favour to them, that by all appearance did live before, as St Paul speaketh, without God in the world, as strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, and without the league of his merciful promise and free grace made to his church. For who could have affirmed, that any of these persons before named, had been of that nature and clemency, before occasions were offered unto them. But the works of mercy showed to the afflicted, have left to us assurance, that God used them as vessels of his honour. For pity and mercy showed to Christ's afflicted flock, as they never lacked reward temporal, so if they be continued, and be not changed into cruelty, are assured signs and seals of everlasting mercy to be received from God, who by his Holy Spirit moveth their hearts, to show mercy to the people of God oppressed and afflicted."

ADDITION.

THIS preface I used to give your grace occasion more deeply to consider what hath been the condition of Christ's members from the beginning, that in so doing, ye might see that it is no new thing that the saints of God be oppressed in the world; that ye, moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might also study rather to save them from murder—although by the wicked counsels of many ye were provoked to the contrary—than to be a slave to Satan, obeying his servants your clergy,

whose fury is bent against God and his verity. But this will after follow in our letter, which thus proceedeth.

LETTER.

“YOUR grace perchance doth wonder to what purpose these things be recited, and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occasion is offered to me, a worm most wretched, to recite the same at this present. For I have looked rather for the sentence of death, than to have written to your grace, in these last and most wicked days, in which Satan so blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are damned, their cause never tried.”

ADDITION.

HEREOF ye cannot be ignorant. For besides those whom ye hear from time to time most cruelly to be murdered in France, Italy, Spain, Flanders, and now of late years beside you in England; for no cause, but that they profess Christ Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world, the only mediator betwixt God and man, the only sacrifice acceptable for the sins of all faithful; and finally, the only head to his church. Besides these, I say,—of whom ye hear the bruit—ye have been witness, that some, within the realm of Scotland, for the same cause, most cruelly have been murdered, whose cause was never heard with indifference, but murderers, occupying the seat of justice, have shed the blood of Christ's true witnesses; which albeit [it] did then appear to be consumed away with fire, yet is it recent in the presence of him, for whose cause they did suffer, and ceaseth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abel, to fall not only upon such as were authors of that murder, but also upon all those that maintain those tyrants in their tyranny, or that do consent to their beastly cruelty. Take not this as the affirmation of any man; but hear and consider the voice of the son of God. Fulfil, saith he, the measure of your fathers, that all the blood which hath been shed, since the blood of Abel the just, till the blood of Zechariah, &c. may come upon

this generation. Hereby it is evident, that the murderers of our time, as well as in the time of Christ, are guilty of all [the] blood that hath been shed from the beginning. Fearful, I grant, is the sentence, yet is it most equal and just. For whosoever sheddeth the blood of any one of Christ Jesus his members, for professing of his truth, consenteth to all the murder which hath been made since the beginning of the world, for that cause. So that as there is one communion of all God's elect, of whom every member is participant of the whole justice [righteousness] of Christ; so there is a communion among the reprobate, by which every one of the serpent's seed are criminal and guilty of all iniquity which the whole body committeth: for because they are altogether conjured against Christ Jesus, and against his eternal verity, every one serving Satan, the prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree, and estate; the murderers of their brethren, which this day live, [they] are guilty with Cain of the blood of Abel. The kings and princes, who by power oppress the people of God, and will not suffer that the people truly worship God, as he hath commanded, but will retain them in Egypt, are brethren and companions to Pharaoh. The prelates and priests, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life, have infected all realms where they reign, have with their fathers, the old Pharisees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, so that neither they themselves will enter, neither yet will they suffer others to enter in the same. And the multitude blinded, some by ignorance, some by fear, and by insatiable appetite, of their part of the spoil,—for Christ being crucified, the soldiers parted amongst them his garments—are conjured to defend those murderers, proud pestilent prelates, against Christ Jesus, and against his poor flock; and therefore because of one crime they are all guilty, which is of treason and rebellion against Christ,—of one torment they shall all taste, which is, of the fire that never shall be quenched. And herein ought you, madam, be circumspect and

careful, if that ye have any hope of the life to come; for if the consent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindness, bringeth destruction and death—as Christ our master doth witness, saying, If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall in the ditch—what shall become of the proud and malicious contempters of God's verity offered? But our doctrine, perchance, shall be denied to be the verity: whereunto I answer, that so was the doctrine of Noah, of Moses, of the prophets, of Christ Jesus, and of his apostles, and yet the original world perished by water; Sodom and Gomorrah by fire descending from heaven; Pharoah and his adherents in the Red sea; the city of Jerusalem, the whole nation of the Jews, by punishments and plagues, notwithstanding that the whole multitude cried, This is new doctrine, this is heresy, and tendeth to sedition. Our petition is, that our doctrine may be tried by the plain word of God, that liberty be granted to us to utter and declare our minds at large, in every article and point which now are in controversy, which if ye deny, giving ear to Christ's enemies, who contemn his doctrine for heresy, ye shall drink the cup of God's vengeance with them. But now to the former letter.

LETTER.

"I DOUBT not but the rumours which have come to your grace's ears of me have been such that, if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live in the earth; and wonder it is that the voices of the multitude should not so have inflamed your grace's heart with just hatred of such a one as I am accused to be, that all access to pity should have been shut up. I am traduced as a heretic, accused as a false teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which, affirmed by men of worldly honour and estimation, may easily kindle the wrath of magistrates where innocence is not known. But blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fire of displeasure as yet in your grace's heart, which of late days I have understood, that Satan is frus-

trated of his enterprise and purpose. Which is to my heart no small comfort. Not so much, God is witness, for any benefit that I can receive in this miserable life by protection of any earthly creature—for the cup which it behoveth me to drink is appointed by the wisdom of Him whose counsels are not changeable—as that I am for that benefit, which I am assured your grace shall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others, that most unjustly are and shall be accused, as that your grace hath began towards me and my most desperate cause, that is, if that by godly wisdom ye shall study to bridle the fury and rage of them, who for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard nothing the cruel murdering of simple innocence. Then shall he who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the merciful, and promiseth that a cup of cold water given for his name's sake shall not lack reward, first cause your happy government to be praised in this present age, and in posterities to come, and last recompense your godly pains and study with that joy and glory, which the eye hath not seen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortal creature."

ADDITION.

IF Christ's words were esteemed true, that of every idle word an account shall be given, and that nothing is so secretly done, which shall not come to knowledge and light, I suppose that the tongues of men should be better bridled, than impudently to speak their pleasure in matters unknown. For albeit that the true fear of God should not move them to speak truth, yet would I think, if any spark of humanity remained, that worldly shame should impede them to lie. When reasonings were before your grace what man it was that preached in Ayr, and divers men were in divers opinions, some affirming that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrary, a prelate not of the least pride, said, nay, no Englishmen, but it is Knox that knave. It was my lord's pleasure so to baptize a poor man: the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What farther liberty he

used in defining things like uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit; lamenting more that such pestilent tongues have liberty to speak in the presence of princes, than that I am sorry for any hurt that their venom can do to me in body or fame. For what my life and conversation have been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please. The report of your grace's moderation, as well at that time as after, when suite was made for my apprehension, moved me to write this my other letter; in which albeit I have not played the orator, dilating and decking the matter for the pleasure of itching and delicate ears; yet doth my conscience bear me record, that with simplicity I have advertised you of a mortal danger; as this portion subsequent shall prove.

LETTER.

“SUPERFLUOUS and foolish it shall appear to many, that I, a man of base estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonish a princess so honourable, endued with wisdom and graces singular. But when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be given to magistrates, which no doubt, if it be true honour, containeth in itself, in lawful things obedience, and in all things love and reverence; when further I consider the troublesome estate of Christ's true religion, this day oppressed by blindness of men; and last, the great multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldly and plainly dare speak the naked verity in presence of their princes, and principally in the cause of Christ Jesus. These things I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my enterprise, I am compelled to say, that, unless in your regimen, and in using of power, your grace be found different from the multitude of princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein you are placed, shall be your dejection to torment and pain everlasting. This proposition is sore, but alas it is so true, that if I should conceal and hide it from your grace, I committed no

less treason against your grace, than if I did see you by imprudence take a cup, which I knew to be poisoned or envenomed, and yet would not admonish you to abstain from drinking of the same.

“The religion, which this day men defend by fire and sword, is a cup envenomed, of which whosoever drinketh—except that by true repentance he after drinketh of the water of life—drinketh therewith damnation and death. How and by whom it hath been envenomed, if it were no more tedious to your grace to read or hear, than it is painful to me to write or rehearse, I would not spare the labour; but for the present, I have thought it some discharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admonish your grace of the danger, which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferring your grace's salutation, and the salutation of the people now committed to your charge, to any corporal benefit that can redound to myself.

ADDITION.

As Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holy ordinances of God's precepts, (I mean of the first table) in the place of the spiritual honouring of God, introducing men's dreams, inventions, and fantasies; so hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted this precept of the second table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers. For now the devil hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at least, will not learn what appertaineth to God and what to Cæsar. But because the spirit of God hath said, Honour the king, therefore whatsoever they command, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But heavy shall the judgment be which shall apprehend such blasphemers of God's majesty, who dare be so bold as to affirm that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed against himself. Against God it is, that for the commandment of any prince, be he ever so potent, men shall commit idolatry, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his word, or confirm, by their silence, wicked and blasphemous laws, made against the honour of his majesty. Men, I

say, that so do, give no true obedience; but as they are apostates from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling against God. Only they which to the death resist such wicked laws and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithful to their princes; as were the three children in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, and Daniel in the days of Darius, the Persian emperor, whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notify as well to those tyrants, as to all ages following, the great blasphemy, which in their rage and fury they committed against God, from the which, by all appearance, neither of both so suddenly should have been called, if the three children had bowed among the rest, and Daniel had not declared the confession of his faith, which was, with windows open, to pray towards Jerusalem; manifestly thereby declaring, that he did not consent to the blasphemous law and decree which was established by the king and his council. Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus, of his eternal verity, do invent and devise against such as begin to detect their impiety. They are accused to be authors of sedition, raisers of tumults, violators of common orders, &c. I answer with the prophet Isaiah, that all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration, which the foolish multitude so esteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of public order contrary to God's commandment. For Christ Jesus himself, coming to rive the spoil from the strong armed, who before did keep his house in quietness, is not come to send peace but a sword, and to make a man dissent from his father, &c. His prophets before him, and apostles after him, feared not to break public orders, established against God, and in so doing, to move, as it were the one half of peoples, nations, and cities against the other. And yet I trust that none, except the hired servant of Satan, will accuse Christ of sedition, nor his apostles of the troubling of commonwealths. True it is, that the most wholesome medicine, most troubleth for a time the body replenished

with wicked and corrupted humours, but the cause hereof is known to be, not in the medicine, but in the body subject to malady: even so the true word of God, when it entereth to fight where Satan hath borne dominion,—as he still doth in the whole papistry—cannot but appear to be occasion of great trouble. But, madam, more profitable it is, that the pestilent humours be expelled with pain, than that they be nourished to the destruction of the body. The papistical religion is a mortal pestilence, which shall assuredly bring to death eternal, the bodies and souls, from the which it is not purged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes. God calleth upon you: beware that ye shut not up your ears. Judge not the matter after the vility [meanness] of my body, whom God hath appointed ambassador and messenger unto you; but with reverence and fear consider him, whose message I bear. I come to you in the name of the eternal God, and of Christ Jesus his son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath established sovereign judge over all flesh, before whose throne ye must make accounts, with what reverence ye hear such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or think, that ye doubt whether I be sent of God or no. I cry unto you that the religion which the princes and blinded papists maintain with fire and sword is not the religion of Christ; that your proud prelates are none of Christ's bishops. I admonish you that Christ's flock is oppressed by them; and therefore I require, and that yet again, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that with indifference [impartiality] I may be heard to preach, to reason, and dispute in that cause, which if ye deny, ye declare yourself to bear no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true religion.

LETTER.

“But ye think peradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to magistrates, but to the bishops and estate ecclesiastical, as they term it. But deceive not yourself; for the negligence of bishops shall no less be required of the hands of magistrates, than shall the oppression of false judges:

for they unjustly promote, foster, and maintain the one and the other. The false and corrupt judge doth spoil the goods and oppress the bodies of the simple, but the proud prelates do kings maintain to murder the souls, for the which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed: and that they do, either by withholding from them the true word of life, or else by causing teach unto them a pestilent doctrine, such as now is taught in the papistical churches. I know that ye wonder, how that the religion which is universally received, can be so damnable and corrupted. But if your grace shall consider that ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God—yea, even in the people to whom he spake by his law and prophets—if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holy Ghost, complaining that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth have raged, made conspiracies, and holden counsels against the Lord, and against his anointed Christ Jesus: further, if ye shall consider the question which Jesus himself doth move in these words, when the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith in the earth? And last, if your grace shall consider the manifest contempt of God and of all his holy precepts, which this day reigns without punishment upon the face of the whole earth: for as Hosea complaineth, there is no verity, there is no mercy, there is no truth this day among men, but lies, perjury, and oppression overflow all, and blood toucheth blood, that is, every iniquity is joined to another. if deeply, I say, your grace shall contemplate the universal corruption that this day reigneth in all estates, then shall your grace cease to wonder, that many are called and few chosen; and ye shall begin to tremble and fear, to follow the multitude to perdition. The universal defection, whereof St Paul did prophesy, is easy to be espied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident; and religion is not judged nor measured by the plain word of God, but by custom, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's heart to be vain at all times, accept

the counsels and consents of men for a religion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your grace be deceived. God cannot lie, God cannot deny himself. He hath witnessed from the beginning, that no religion pleaseth him, except that which he by his own word hath commanded and established. The verity itself pronounceth this sentence, "in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines the precepts of men." And also 'all plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.' Before the coming of his well beloved Son in flesh, severely he punished all such as durst enterprise to alter or change his ceremonies and statutes, as in Saul, Vasias, [perhaps Uzzah] Nadab Abihu, is to be read. And will he now, after that he hath opened his counsel to the world by his only Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his Holy Spirit speaking in his apostles, he hath established the religion in which he will [have] his true worshippers abide to the end; will he now, I say, admit men's inventions in the matter of religion which he reputed for damnable idolatry? If men and angels would affirm that he will, or may do it, his own verity shall convict them of a lie, for this sentence he pronounceth: not that which seemeth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou: add nothing unto it, diminish nothing from it. Which, sealing up his New Testament, he repeateth in these words: that which ye have, hold till I come, &c. And therefore yet again, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, which is chief and principal, your grace must disassent from the multitude of rulers, or else ye can possess no portion with Christ Jesus in his kingdom and glory.

ADDITION.

Know by what craft Satan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindness, I added these two former points, to wit, that ye should not think yourself free from the reformation of religion, because ye have bishops within your realm, neither yet that ye should judge that religion most

perfect, which the multitude by wrong custom hath embraced. In these two points doth Satan busily travail. First, that no civil magistrate presume to take cognition in the cause of religion: for that must be deferred to the determinations of the church. Secondly, that impossible it is, that that religion should be false, which so long time, so many councils, and so great a multitude of men, so divers nations and realms have allowed, authorized, and confirmed. What is the duty of magistrates, and what power the people hath in such cases granted by God, my purpose is to write in a several letter to the nobility and estates of the realm; and therefore to avoid tediousness and repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching the second, if ye rightly consider the testimonies of scriptures, which I have before adduced, I trust ye shall find that objection sufficiently answered. For if the opinion of the multitude ought always to be preferred, then did God injury to the original world. For they were all of one mind, to wit, conjured against God, except Noah and his family. And if antiquity of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not only the idolatry of gentiles, but also the false religion of Mahomet be preferred to the papistry. For both the one and the other, is more ancient than is the papistical religion; yea, Mahomet had established his Alcoran, before any pope in Rome was crowned with a triple crown. But as touching antiquity, I am content with Tertullian to say, "let that be the most pure and perfect religion, which shall be proved most ancient." For this is a chief point, wherein I will join [issue] with all the papists in the earth: that their religion—such as it is this day—is not of such antiquity, as is that, which we contend to be the true and only religion acceptable before God, neither yet that their church is the catholic church, but that it is of late days in respect of Christ's institution, crept in and devised by man, and therefore am bold to affirm it odious and abominable. For this is our chief proposition, that in the religion of God, only ought his own word to be con-

sidered. That no authority of man nor angel ought in that case to be respected. And as for their councils, when the matter shall come to trial, it shall be easily seen, for whom the most godly and most ancient councils shall most plainly speak. I will prove by a council that of more authority is the sentence of one man, founded upon the simple truth of God, than is the determination of the whole council without the assurance of God's word. But that all their determinations which we impugn, are not only maintained without any assurance of scriptures, but also are established against the truth of the same: yea, and for the most part against the decrees of the former councils, I offer myself evidently to prove. But now shortly to the rest of the former letter.

LETTER.

"AN orator, and God's messenger also, justly might require of you now, by God's hand promoted to high dignity, a motherly pity upon your subjects: a justice inflexible to be used against murderers and common oppressors: a heart void of avarice and partiality: a mind studious and careful for maintenance of that realm and commonwealth, above which God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honourable, with the rest of virtues, which not only God's scriptures, but also writers illuminated only with the light of nature, require in godly rulers. But vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where religion is corrupted. For like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till first he has a being and life: so to work works pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man do, without the spirit of the Lord Jesus, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolators. And therefore the most godly princes, Josias, Hezekiah, and Jehoshaphat, seeking God's favour to rest upon them and upon their people, before all things began to reform the religion; for it is as the stomach within the body, which, if it be corrupted, of necessity it infecteth the whole mass: and therefore often I repeat that, which to be done is most necessary. If your grace pretend to reign with Christ Jesus, then it

behoveth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realm is so deformed, that no part of Christ's ordinances remain in their first strength and original purity; which, I praise God, to me is less difficult to prove, than dangerous to speak. And yet neither the one nor the other I fear; partly because the love of life eternal quencheth the terror of temporal death, and partly because I would with St Paul wish myself accursed from Christ, as touching earthly pleasure, for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your grace, which thing, work and very deed, and not bare word or writing, shall witness and declare, if I may purchase the liberty of tongue but forty days only.

ADDITION.

THE wise and facund Democritus had sometimes a familiar sentence; that, 'Honest it was to commend such works as were worthy of praise, but to praise things that were wicked, could not proceed but from a deceivable mind.' And Themistius, a philosopher of great fame, seeing the hall of Govinian the Roman emperor replenished with flatterers, said, 'Of their manners it may be espied, that more they worship the sceptre and the purple than God;' signifying that they little regarded whether the emperor was godly or ungodly, so that they might retain themselves in favour with him. Albeit that those were heathens, and neither had knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given so plain a confession to declare themselves enemies to all iniquity—as we have done by baptism, and by our whole profession of christianity—yet do their words damn no small number of us, and chiefly of such as be conversant with princes. For who in these miserable days judgeth himself to have offended, albeit he praise, allow, and maintain whatsoever the princes and upper powers devise? Yea, although it be to oppress and to spoil the poor, to pull from them their skins, and, as the prophet sayeth, to break their bones, and to cut them in pieces, as flesh for the cauldron or pot, yet I say that the princes shall not lack judges to cry, it is right, it is for the commonwealth, for defence of the

realm, and ease of the subjects: so that the estate of times is even now, such as when the prophet complained, saying, the princes ask, and the judge is ready to give, not his own but the life and blood of the poor. How soon a great man hath spoken the corruption of his mind, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatsoever he speaketh; and let the princes be of what religion they please, that is all one to the most part of men, so that with abnegation of God, of his honour, and religion, they may retain the friendship of the court. But, alas! how miserable be princes that are so abused, and how contagious a pestilence be such flatterers to commonwealths, empires, and realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to point out the mischief which from them proceedeth to such as give ear unto them. The ancient writers compare them to harlots, to ravens, and to more ravenous beasts, and not without cause. For as harlots can never abide that their lovers should return to repentance and soberness of mind, so cannot flatterers sustain, that such as they deceive shall come to right judgment. And as ravens pick out the eyes of dead carrions, and as ravenous beasts devour the same, so do flatterers, being more cruel, pick at the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their understanding and judgment, do expose them to be devoured in body and soul to Satan. This we have not by profane writers only, but the Holy Spirit taught us this infallible truth. That where iniquity reigneth in a commonwealth, and none is found boldy and openly to reprehend the same, that there shall sudden vengeance and destruction follow; for thus is it written, and pronounced by the prophet Ezekiel, Shalt thou not judge the city of blood, which hath made idols? whose rulers shed blood to the uttermost of their power? they have despised my holy things, they have devised iniquity, and have performed the same. The conjuration of prophets hath gathered up the riches, and whatsoever is precious within the same. The priests violently have torn and rent my law. The people of the land have wrought deceitfully. They have oppressed the poor, and have done

violence to the stranger without judgment, and I have sought a man of them to repair the hedge, and to stand in the gap before me, but I have found none. Therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon them, and in the fire of my hot displeasure I have consumed them. Advert, madam, for these are not the words of mortal man, but of the eternal God, and were not spoken against Jerusalem only, but against every realm and nation that so offendeth. The sins that here be named, are idolatry in all, avarice and cruelty in the princes and rulers, conjuration of the prophets to defend the wicked, deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people; and finally a universal silence of all men, none being found to reprehend these enormities. Would to God, that I might with safety of conscience excuse you, your council, and the idolaters of that realm, from any of these crimes aforesaid. The idolatry which is committed is more evident than that it can be denied; the avarice and cruelty, as well of yourself, as of such as be in authority, may be known by the facts. For fame carrieth the voices of the poor, oppressed by intolerable taxes, not only to us here, in a strange country, but I am assured, to the ears of the God of hosts. The conspiracy and conjuration of your false prophets is known to the world, and yet is none found so faithful to God, or merciful to your grace, that freely will and dare admonish you, to repent before that God rise himself in judgment. When I name repentance, I mean no outward show of holiness, which commonly is found in hypocrites, but I mean a true conversion to the Lord God from your whole heart, with a damning all superstition and idolatry, in which ye have been nourished, which with your presence ye have decorated, and to your power maintained and defended. Unless, I say, that this poison be purged from your heart—be your outward life never so glittering before the world—yet in the presence of God, it is but abominable. Yea, further, I say, that where this venom of the serpent—idolatry I mean—lurketh in the heart, it is impossible but that at one time or other, it shall produce pestilent fruits, albeit peradventure not openly before men,

yet before God no less odious, than the facts of murderers, publicans, and harlots; and therefore in my former letter I said, that superfluous it was to require reformation of manners, where the religion is corrupted; which yet again I repeat, to the end that your grace more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the rest of the same my former letter.

LETTER.

“ I AM not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion; and partly I consider, that your grace’s power is not so free as a public reformation perchance would require. But if your grace shall consider the danger and damnation perpetual, which inevitably hangeth upon all maintainers of a false religion, then shall the greater danger easily devour and swallow up the smaller. If your grace shall consider, that either you must serve God to life everlasting, or else serve the world to death and damnation; then albeit that man and angel should dissuade you, you will chose life and refuse death. And if further ye shall consider, that the very life consisteth in the knowledge of the only true God, and of his son Christ Jesus; and that true knowledge hath annexed with it God’s true worship and honour, which requireth a testimony of his own will expressed by his word, that such honour doth please him: if these things aforesaid your grace do earnestly meditate, then albeit ye may not do suddenly what you would, yet shall you not cease to do what you may. Your grace cannot hastily abolish superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastors, of whom speaketh Ezekiel the prophet, which to a public reformation is requisite and necessary. But if the zeal of God’s glory be fervent in your grace’s heart, you will not by wicked laws maintain idolatry, neither will you suffer the fury of bishops to murder and devour the poor members of Christ’s body, as in times bypast they have been accustomed; which thing if either by blind ignorance ye do, or yet for pleasure of others within this realm permit to be done, then, except you speedily repent, you

and your posterity shall suddenly feel the depressing hand of him, who hath exalted you. Ye shall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternal, against whom ye address the battle; and that it is he, that moderateth the times and disposeth kingdoms, electing from authority such as be inobedient, and placing others according to his good pleasure; that it is he that glorifieth them that do glorify him, and poureth forth contempt upon princes, that rebel against his graces offered.

ADDITION.

IN writing of this parcel, as I remembered the impediments which might call you back from God and from his true obedience, so did I consider what occasion ye had to tremble and to fear before his majesty, and to enterprise the loss of all worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do consider that your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and unstable, for ye have it but by permission of others, and seldom it is that women do long reign with felicity and joy. For as nature hath denied to them a constant spirit of good government; so hath God pronounced, that they are never given to reign over men, but in his wrath and indignation. Your most especial friends moreover, blinded by the vanity of this world; yea, being drunken with the cup of that Roman harlot, are mortal enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his true religion. These things may easily abash the mind of a woman not confirmed by grace: but yet if ye shall a little consider with me the causes, why that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrors shall suddenly vanish. I do not esteem that thing greatest which peradventure some others do, to wit, that if ye shall enterprise to innovate any thing in matters of religion, that then ye shall lose your authority, and also the favour of your carnal friends: I look further, to wit, to the judgments of God, who hath begun already to declare himself angry with you, with your seed and posterity, yea, with the whole realm, above which it should have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two sons

were suddenly taken from you, within the space of six hours, and after your husband last, as it were, by violence, from life and honour, the memorial of his name, succession, and royal dignity perishing with himself. For albeit the usurped abuse, or rather tyranny of some realms, have permitted women to succeed to the honour of their fathers, yet must their glory be transferred to the house of a stranger. And so I say, That with himself was buried his name,* succession, and royal dignity; and in this, if ye espy not the anger and hot displeasure of God—threatening you and the rest of your posterity with the same plague—ye are more obstinate than I would wish you to be. I would ye should ponder and consider deeply with yourself, that God useth not to punish realms and nations with such rare plagues without great cause; neither useth he to restore to honours and glory the house which he begetteth once to deject, till repentance of the former crimes be found. Ye may perchance doubt what crimes should have been in your husband, you, or the realm, for the which God should so grievously have punished you. I answer, The maintenance and defence of most horrible idolatry, with the shedding of the blood of the saints of God, who laboured to notify and rebuke the same. This I say,—other iniquities omitted—is such a crime before the eyes of his Majesty, that for the same he hath poured forth his extreme vengeance upon kings, and upon their posterity, depriving them from honours and dignity for ever: as by the histories of the books of the kings is most evident. To Jeroboam it is said, “Because I have exalted thee from the midst of the people, and have made thee prince over my people Israel, I have rent the kingdom from the house of David for idolatry also, and have given it unto thee; but thou hast not been as David my servant, &c. But thou hast done wickedly above all that have gone before thee. For

* This was written some years before the name was restored by the marriage of Henry Stuart, lord Darnly, with the young queen.—Ed.

thou hast made to thee other gods and molten images to provoke me, and hast cast me behind thy back. Therefore shall I bring affliction upon the house of Jeroboam, and I shall destroy to Jeroboam all that pisseth against the wall—signifying thereby the male children—and shall cast forth the posterity of Jeroboam, as dung is cast forth till it be consumed.” This sentence was not only executed against this idolater, but also against the rest of idolaters in that realm, as they succeeded one after another: for to Baasha, whom God used as [his] instrument to root out the seed of Jeroboam, it is said, “because thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast caused my people Israel to sin, that thou shouldst provoke me in their sins: therefore shall I cut down the posterity of Baasha, and the posterity of his house, and shall make thy house as the house of Jeroboam. He that shall die to Baasha in the city, him shall dogs eat, and he that shall die in the field, him shall the fowls devour.” Of the same cup, and for the same cause, drank Elah and Ahab, yea and the posterity of Jehu, following the footsteps of their forefathers. By these examples you may evidently espy, that idolatry is the cause why God destroyeth the posterity of princes. Not only of those that first invent abominations, but also of such as follow and defend the same. Consider, madam, that God hath begun very sharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband; he hath begun, I say, to declare himself angry, beware that ye provoke not the eyes of his Majesty. It will not be the haughty looks of the proud, the strength of your friends, nor multitude of men, that can justify your cause in his presence if ye presume to rebel against him. And against him ye rebel, if ye deny my most humble request, which I make in his name, and it is this: with the hazard of mine own life, I offer to prove that religion which now ye maintain to be false, deceivable, and abomination before God: and that I shall do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holy, and infallible word. If this, I say, ye deny,—rebellng against God—the favour

of your friends shall little avail you, when he shall declare himself enemy to you, and to your posterity; which, assure yourself, he shall shortly do, if ye begin to display the banner of your malice against him. Let not the prosperity of others, be they princes, queens, kings, or emperors, bolden you to contemn God and his loving admonition. They shall drink the cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realm in these quarters, except it that next lieth to you, hath he so manifestly stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you and your realm, and therefore it becometh you first to stop, except that ye will have the threatenings, pronounced by Isaiah the prophet, ratified upon you; to wit, that your sudden destruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking of a potsherd, which is broken without pity; so that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water. Whereby the prophet doth signify, that the proud contemners of God, and of his admonitions, shall so perish from all honours, that they shall have nothing worthy of memorial behind them in the earth. Yea, if they do leave any thing, as it shall be unprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God. And therefore thus proceedeth my former letter.

LETTER.

“How dangerous that ever it shall appear to the flesh, to obey God, and to make war against the devil, the prince of darkness, pride, and superstition; yet if your grace look to have yourself and seed to continue in honour worldly and everlasting, subject yourself betimes under the hand of him that is omnipotent. Embrace his will, despise not his testament, refuse not his graces offered. When he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear. Be not led away with the vain opinion that your church cannot err. Be ye most assuredly persuaded, that so far as in life ye see them degenerate from Christ’s true apostles, so in religion are they further corrupted. Lay the book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that which I say. Which if ye

with fear and reverence obey, as did Josias the admonitions of the prophetess, then shall he, by whom kings do reign, crown your battle with double benediction, and reward you with wisdom, riches, glory, honour, and long life in this your regimen temporal, and with life everlasting, when the king of all kings the Lord Jesus, whose members now do cry for your help, shall appear to judgment, accompanied with his angels, before whom you shall make account of your present regimen, when the proud and disobedient shall cry, Mountains, fall upon us and hide us from the face of the Lord. But then it shall be too late, because they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.

“God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, move your heart so to consider and accept the things that be said, that they be not a testimony of your just condemnation, in that great day of the Lord Jesus, to whose omnipotent spirit I unfeignedly commit your grace.”

ADDITION.

WHEN Jeremiah the prophet, at the commandment of God, had written the sermons, threatenings, and plagues, which he had spoken against Israel and Judah, and had commanded them to be read by Baruch his scribe, because himself was excommunicated and forbidden to enter into the temple, by the providence of God, it came to pass, that Michaiah the son of Gemariah, hearing the said sermons, passed to the king's house, and did communicate the matter with the rest of the princes, who also, after they had read the same volume of Jeremiah's preachings, did not conceal the truth from king Jehoiakim, who then did reign in Jerusalem. But the proud and desperate prince, commanding the book to be read in his presence, before he heard three or four leaves of the same, did cut it and cast it into the fire, notwithstanding that some of the princes—I think not all—made request in the contrary. But the prophet was charged by God to write again, and to say to Jehoiakim the king, Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast burnt this book,

saying, Why hast thou written in it according to this sentence, assuredly the king of Babylon shall come, and shall destroy this land, and shall make it void of men and beasts. Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim the king, there shall not be one left alive to sit in the seat of David. Their carcasses shall be cast to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night—whereby the prophet did signify the most vile contempt, and the most cruel torment—and I shall visit the iniquity of himself, of his seed and servants, and I shall bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have spoken against them. Albeit they would not hear. This is not written, madam, for that time only, but to assure us, that the like punishment abideth the like contemners, of what estate, condition, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having testimony of a good conscience, that I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion of his Holy Spirit—for the request of faithful brethren, in things lawful and pertaining to God's glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the Holy Ghost—but how you did accept the same my former writing, I do not otherwise than by conjectures understand. Whether you did read it to the end or not, I am uncertain: one thing I know, that you did deliver it to one of your prelates, saying, My lord, will you read a pasquil? As charity persuadeth me to interpret things, doubtfully spoken, in the best sense, so my duty to God, who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth, compelleth me to say, that if no more you esteem the admonition of God, nor the cardinals do the scoffing of pasquils, that then he shall shortly send you messengers, with whom you shall not be able on that manner to jest. If my person be considered, I grant my threatenings are no more to be feared, than be the merry sports, which fearful men do father upon Pasquillus in Rome. But, madam, if you shall deeply consider, that God useth men—yea and most commonly those that be of lowest degree, and most abject before the world—to be his messengers and ambassadors, not only to notify his will to the

simple people, but also to rebuke the most proud tyrants and potent princes; then will you not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the vessel. For you are not ignorant, that the most noble wine is inclosed within the tun made of frail wood, and that the precious ointment is often kept within the pot made of clay. If further you shall consider, that God will do nothing touching the punishment of realms and nations, which he will not reveal to his servants the prophets, whose tongues he will compel to speak, sometimes contrary to the appetites and desires of their own hearts: and whose words he will perform, be they never so unapparent to the judgment of men: if these you do deeply weigh, then will you fear the thing which presently is not seen. Elias was but a man, as St James doth witness, like to his brethren; and yet at his prayer was Ahab the idolater, and all Israel with him, punished three years and six months, God shutting up the heavens, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth the space aforewritten. And in the end, God so wrought by him, that Baal's priests were first confounded, and after justly punished. And albeit that Jezebel sought his blood, and by oath had determined his death; yet, as she was frustrated of her intent, so could she not keep her own bones from the dogs; which punishment the prophet—God so ruling his tongue—had before appointed to that wicked woman. Albeit, madam, that the messengers of God are not sent this day with visible miracles; because they teach none other doctrine, than that which

is confirmed with miracles,* from the beginning of the world; yet will not he, who hath promised to take charge over his poor and little flock to the end, suffer the contempt of their embassy to escape punishment and vengeance. For the truth itself hath said, He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that contemneth you, contemneth me. I did not speak unto you, madam, by my former letter, neither yet do I now, as Pasquillus doth to the pope, and his carnal cardinals, in the behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come in the name of Christ Jesus, affirming, that the religion which you maintain is damnable idolatry; the which I offer myself to prove, by the most evident testimonies of God's scriptures. And in this quarrel I present myself against all the papists within the realm, desiring none other armour but God's holy word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to understand my petition, to know the truth, and unfeignedly to follow the same. Amen.

Revel. John chap. xxi. I am the beginning and the end. I will give to him that is athirst, of the well of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

* It is much to be wished that those who ascribe miraculous powers to some of our reformers would attend to this sentiment of Knox's. God's messengers, he says, are not now sent to work miracles, because they teach nothing but what has been confirmed by miracles already, referring to those recorded in Scripture. This is what I have been maintaining in all my writings on this subject, as may be seen in some of my preceding notes, and more fully in those in the Scots Worthies, which gave no small offence to some admirers of Knox and others of the reformers. I maintain that every Bible doctrine is confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his apostles and prophets. He therefore who comes with new miracles, virtually admits that he brings a new religion; that he teaches doctrine

not contained in the Bible; for all that it contains is already divinely attested. This sentiment has the consent of Knox, as expressed in the text, though it may appear not perfectly consistent with what he says elsewhere, particularly about Wishart being able to foretell future events, which, I suppose, is allowed by all to be a miraculous gift. But it confirms what I ventured to explain as Knox and Wishart's meaning, in my note, page 42; to wit, that they did not profess to deliver original predictions, but merely to apply those contained in Scripture to particular cases. They may have been mistaken even in this; but the thing is different from professing to have the miraculous gift of prophecy.—*Ed.*

THE APPELLATION¹

OF

JOHN KNOX,

FROM

THE CRUEL AND MOST UNJUST SENTENCE PRONOUNCED AGAINST HIM BY THE FALSE BISHOPS AND CLERGY OF SCOTLAND, WITH HIS SUPPLICATION AND EXHORTATION TO THE NOBILITY, ESTATES, AND COMMONALTY OF THE SAME REALM.

To the nobility and estates of Scotland, John Knox wisheth grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous judgment.*

It is not only the love of life temporal, right honourable, neither yet the fear of corporal death, that moveth me at this present to expone unto you the injuries done against me; and to crave of you, as of lawful powers by God appointed, redress of the same, but partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to God's eternal truth, and partly from a love which I bear to your salvation, and to the salvation of my brethren, abused in that realm, by such as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God, of his infinite mercy, not only so to illuminate the eyes of my mind, and so to touch my dull heart, that clearly I see, and by his grace unfeignedly believe, that there is no other name

given to men under the heaven, in which salvation consisteth, save the name of Jesus alone. Who by that sacrifice which he did once offer upon the cross, hath sanctified for ever those that shall inherit the kingdom promised. But also it hath pleased him of his superabundant grace, to make and appoint me, most wretched of many thousands, a witness, minister, and preacher of the same doctrine: the sum whereof I did not spare to communicate with my brethren, being with them in the realm of Scotland, in the year 1556, because I know myself to be a steward, and that account of the talent committed to my charge, shall be required by him who will admit no vain excuse which fearful men pretend. I did therefore, as God did minister, during the time I was conversant with them, God is record and witness, truly and sincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the word of salvation, teaching all men to

1 Appeal.

* This appeal is one of the most elaborate productions of Knox's pen. The style is better than that of many authors a hundred years later; and he argues with such force as must have been irresistible with persons who admitted the principle on which he proceeds, namely, the binding obligation of the judicial part of the law of Moses upon christian magistrates. The nobility and gentry had no dispute with him on this point, it being taken for granted by all parties. This being the case, one is apt to wonder that so powerful a remonstrance produced so little effect;—that the protestant nobles did not enter

more zealously into Knox's plan of extirpating idolatry and promoting the reformation. His arguments must have convinced their understanding that such was their duty; but the fact is, the doctrines which they professed to believe had little influence on the hearts of most of them; and Knox's ideas of reformation went much farther than they were willing to go. They would gladly have been quit of popery; but at the same time would rather tolerate a little of it than submit to the rigid purity of presbyterian discipline, and as Knox proposed to exercise it.

—Ed.

hate sin, which before God was and is so odious, that none other sacrifice could satisfy his justice, except the death of his only Son, and to magnify the great mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his own glory, but did give him to the world to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross, by that means to reconcile his chosen children to himself: teaching further what is the duty of such as do believe themselves purged by such a price from their former filthiness. To wit, that they are bound to walk in the newness of life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying at all times to glorify God by such good works as he hath prepared his children to walk in.

In doctrine I did further affirm, so taught by my master Christ Jesus, that whosoever denieth him, yea, or is ashamed of him, before this wicked generation; him shall Christ Jesus deny, and of him shall he be ashamed, when he shall appear in his majesty. And therefore I feared not to affirm, that of necessity it is, that such as hope for life everlasting, avoid all superstition, vain religion, and idolatry; vain religion and idolatry I call whatsoever is done in God's service or honour, without the express commandment of his own word.

This doctrine did I believe to be so conformable to God's holy scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been so impudent as to have denied any point or article of the same. Yet nevertheless, me, as a heretic, and this doctrine as heretical, have your false bishops and ungodly clergy damned, pronouncing against me a sentence of death, in testification whereof, they have burned a picture.* From which false and cruel sentence, and from all judgment of that wicked generation I make it known to your honours, that I appeal to a lawful and general council, to such, I mean, as the most ancient laws and canons do approve to be holden; by such, as whose manifest impiety is not to be reformed in the same, most humbly requiring of your honours,

that, as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and by reason thereof, requireth of your hands, the defence of innocence troubled in your dominion, in the meantime, and till the controversies, that this day in religion be lawfully decided, you receive me and such others, as most unjustly by those cruel beasts are persecuted, into your defence and protection.

Your honours are not ignorant, that it is not I alone who doth sustain this cause against the pestilent generation of papists, but that the most part of Germany, the country of Helvetia, the king of Denmark, the nobility of Palonia, together with many other cities and churches reformed, appeal from the tyranny of that antichrist, and most earnestly do call for a lawful and general council, wherein may all controversies in religion be decided by the authority of God's most sacred word. And unto this same, as said is, do I appeal yet once again, requiring of your honours, to hold my simple and plain appellation of no less value or effect, than if it had been made with greater circumstance, solemnities, and ceremony, and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the powers of God ordained, into your protection and defence against the rage of tyrants, not to maintain me in any iniquity, error, or false opinion, but to let me have such equity, as God by his word, ancient laws, and determinations of most godly councils, grant to men accused or infamed.

The word of God will that no man shall die, except he be found criminal and worthy of death for offences committed, of the which, he must be manifestly convicted by two or three witnesses. Ancient laws do permit just sentences to such as be accused, be their crimes never so horrible, and godly councils will that neither bishop nor person ecclesiastical, whatsoever, accused of any crime, shall sit in judgment, consultation, or council, where the cause of such men, as do accuse them is to be tried.

These things require I of your honours to be granted unto me: to wit, That the doctrine which our adversaries condemn for heresy may be tried by the simple and plain word of God, that just defences be admitted to us that sustain the battle against this

* They had burnt him in effigy, showing what they would have done to himself if he had not made his escape.—*Ed.*

pestilent generation of antichrist, and that they be removed from judgment in our cause, seeing that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but against that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his commandment, and against the ordinance of Christ Jesus established in his church by his chief apostles: yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the pope to be the kingdom and power of antichrist. And therefore, my lords, I cannot cease in the name of Christ Jesus to require of you, that the matter may come in examination; and that ye, the estates of the realm, by your authority, compel such as will be called bishops, not only to desist from their cruel murdering of such as do study to promote God's glory in detecting and disclosing the damnable impiety of that man of sin the Roman antichrist, but also that ye compel them to answer to such crimes as shall be laid to their charge for not righteously instructing the flock committed to their cares.

But here I know two things shall be doubted. The former: whether that my appellation is lawful and to be admitted, seeing that I am damned as an heretic: and secondly, whether your honours be bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seeing that your bishops, who in matters of religion, claim all authority to appertain to them, have by their sentence already condemned me: the one and the other I nothing doubt most clearly to prove. First, that my appellation is most lawful and just: and secondly, that your honours cannot refuse to defend me thus calling for your aid, but that in so doing, ye declare yourselves rebellious to God, maintainers of murderers, and shedders of innocent blood.

How just cause I have by the civil law—as for their canon it is accursed of God—to appeal from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse. Only I will touch the points which all men confess to be just causes of appellation. First, lawfully could I not be summoned by them, being for that time absent from their jurisdiction, charged with the preach-

ing of Christ's evangel, in a free city not subject to their tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their summons, but so secret was their surmised malice, that the copy of the summons being required was denied.

Thirdly, To the realm of Scotland could I have had no free nor sure access, being before exiled from the same by their unjust tyranny. And lastly, to me they neither could, nor can be competent and indifferent judges; for that, before any summons were raised against me, I had accused them by my letters published to the queen dowager, and had intended against them all crimes, offering myself with hazard of life, to prove the same; for the which they are not only unworthy of ecclesiastical authority, but also of any sufferance within a commonwealth professing Christ. This my accusation preceding their summons, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be granted unto me openly to prove my accusation intended against them, and they compelled to make answer as criminals. For I will plainly prove, that not only bishops, but also popes, have been removed from all authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themselves of accusations laid against them. Yea further I will prove, that bishops and popes most justly have been deprived, from all honours and administration, for smaller crimes than I have to charge [against] the whole rabble of your bishops.

But because this is not my chief ground, I will stand content for this present to show, that lawful it is to God's prophets, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeal from the sentence and judgment of the visible church, to the knowledge of the temporal magistrate, who by God's law is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from tyranny.

The prophet Jeremiah was commanded by God, to stand in the court of the house of the Lord, and to preach this sermon in effect, That Jerusalem should be destroyed, and be expounded in opprobry to all nations of the earth; and that also that famous temple of God should be made desolate like

unto Sio, because the priests, the prophets, and the people did not walk in the law, which God had proposed unto them, neither would they obey the voices of the prophets, whom God sent to call them to repentance.

For this sermon was Jeremiah apprehended, and a sentence of death was pronounced against him, and that by the priests, by the prophets, and by the people, which things being bruited in the ears of the princes of Judah, they passed up from the king's house to the temple of the Lord, and sat down in judgment, for further knowledge of the cause. But the priests and prophets continued in their cruel sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, "this man is worthy of the death; for he hath prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard." But Jeremiah so moved by the Holy Ghost, began his defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words. "The Lord—saith he—hath sent me to prophesy against this house, and against this city, all the words which you have heard. Now therefore make good your ways, and hear the voice of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the evil which he hath spoken against you. As for me, behold I am in your hands—so doth he speak to the princes—do to me as ye think good and righteous. Nevertheless know you this most assuredly, that if ye murder or slay me, ye shall make yourselves, this city, and the inhabitants of the same criminal, and guilty of innocent blood. For of a truth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your ears all those words."

"Then the princes and the people," saith the text, said, "this man is not worthy of death, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God;" and so after some contention was the prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and history manifestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed, to wit, that it is lawful for the servants of God to call for the help of the civil magistrate against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whomsoever it be pronounced, and also the civil sword hath power to repress the fury of the priests,

and to absolve whom they have condemned. For the prophet of God was damned by those who then only in earth were known to be the visible church, to wit, priests and prophets who then were in Jerusalem, the successors of Aaron, to whom was given a charge to speak to the people in the name of God, and a precept given to the people to hear the law from their mouths, to the which, if any should be rebellious or disobedient, he should die the death without mercy. These men, I say, thus authorised by God, first did excommunicate Jeremiah, for that he did preach otherwise than did the common sort of prophets in Jerusalem, and last apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing against him this sentence afore written, from the which nevertheless the prophet appealed, that is, sought help and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he crave of the princes. For albeit he saith, "I am in your hands, do with me as ye think righteous," he doth not contemn nor neglect his life, as though he regarded not what should become of him, but in those his words most vehemently did he admonish the princes and rulers of the people, giving them to understand what God should require of them. As he should say, you princes of Judah, and rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to justify the just man, and to condemn the malefactor, you have heard a sentence of death pronounced against me by those, whose lips ought to speak no deceit, because they are sanctified and appointed by God himself to speak his law and to pronounce judgment with equity, but as they have left the living God, and have taught the people to follow vanity, so are they become mortal enemies to all God's true servants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apostasy, and defection from God, which is the only cause they seek my life. But a thing most contrary to all equity, law, and justice it is, that I, a man sent of God to call them, this people, and you again, to the true service of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my enemies do so pronounce

sentence. I stand in your presence, whom God hath made princes, your power is above their tyranny, before you do I expound my cause, I am in your hands, and cannot resist to suffer what ye think just. But lest that my lenity and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me in my just cause, appealing to your judgment, either yet encourage my enemies in seeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, that if ye murder me,—which thing ye do if ye defend me not—ye make not only my enemies guilty of my blood, but also yourselves, and this whole city. By these words I say, it is evident, that the prophet of God being damned to death, by the priests and by the prophets of the visible church, did seek aid, support, and defence at the princes and temporal magistrates, threatening his blood to be required of their hands, if they by their authority did not defend him from the fury of his enemies: alleging also just causes of his appellation, and why he ought to have been defended: to wit, that he was sent of God to rebuke their vices and defection from God: that he taught no doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his law. That he desired their conversion to God, continually calling upon them to walk in the ways which God had approved, and therefore doth he boldly crave of the princes, as of God's lieutenants, to be defended from the blind rage and tyranny of the priests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves authority to judge in all matters of religion. And the same did he what time he was cast in prison, and thereafter was brought to the presence of king Zedekiah; after I say that he had defended his innocence, affirming that he neither had offended against the king, against his servants, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the king for his life, saying,

“But now my lord the king take heed, I beseech thee let my prayer fall into thy presence, command me not to be carried again into the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I die not there.”

And the text witnesseth that the king commanded the place of his imprisonment

to be changed. Whereof it is evident, that the prophet did oftener than once seek help at the civil power; and that first the princes, and thereafter the king, did acknowledge, that it appertained to their office to deliver him from the unjust sentence, which was pronounced against him. If any think, that Jeremiah did not appeal, because he only declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence, according to his innocence; let the same man understand, that none otherwise do I appeal from that false and cruel sentence which your bishops have pronounced against me. Neither yet can there be any other just cause of appellation but innocency hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption of those, who under the title of justice, do exercise tyranny. If I were a thief, murderer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender, whom God's word commandeth to suffer for a crime committed, my appellation were vain, and to be rejected; but I being innocent, yea the doctrine which your bishops have condemned in me, being God's eternal verity, have no less liberty to crave your defence against that cruelty, than had the prophet Jeremiah to seek the aid of the princes and king of Judah. But this shall more plainly appear in the fact of St Paul, who, after that he was apprehended in Jerusalem, did first claim the liberty of Roman citizens, for avoiding torment, what time that the captain would have examined him by questions: thereafter in the council, where no righteous judgment was to be hoped for, he affirmed that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of [preaching] the resurrection of the dead; and last, in the presence of Festus, he appealed, from all knowledge and judgment of the priests at Jerusalem, to the emperor: of which last point, because it doth chiefly appertain to this my cause, I will somewhat speak.

After that Paul had diverse times been accused, as in the Acts of the Apostles is manifest; at the last, the chief priests and their faction came to Cesarea, with Festus the president, who presented to them Paul in judgment, whom they accused of hor-

rible crimes ; which nevertheless they could not prove, the apostle defending, That they had not offended, neither against the law, neither against the temple, neither yet against the emperor.

But Festus, willing to gratify the Jews, said to Paul, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things in my presence ? But Paul said, I stand at the justice seat of the emperor, where it becometh me to be judged. I have done no injury to the Jews, as thou better knowest. If I have done any thing unjustly, or yet committed crime worthy of death, I refuse not to die. But if there be nothing of these things true, whereof they accuse me, no man may give me to them : I appeal to Cæsar.

It may appear at the first sight, that Paul did great injury to Festus the judge, and to the whole order of the priesthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruel tyrant, than in all that session and learned company. Which thing no doubt Festus did understand, pronouncing these words, Hast thou appealed to Cæsar ? Thou shalt go to Cæsar. As he would say, I, as a man willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to go to Jerusalem, where the learned of thine own nation may hear thy cause, and discern in the same. The controversy standeth in matters of religion : thou art accused as an apostate from the law, as a violater of the temple, and transgressor of the traditions of their fathers, in which matters I am ignorant ; and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same religion, whereof the question is. And yet dost thou refuse so many godly fathers to hear thy cause, and dost appeal to the emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpose belike, but to delay time. Thus, I say, it might have appeared that Paul did not only injury to the judge and to the priests, but also that his cause was greatly to be suspected ; partly for that he did refuse the judgment of those that had most knowledge, as all men supposed, of God's will and religion ; and partly because he appealed to the emperor, who then was

at Rome, far absent from Jerusalem, a man also ignorant of God, and enemy to all virtue. But the apostle, considering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended against him, even from the first day that he began freely to speak in the name of Christ, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed evangel, and had sought the death of Paul, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracy : and therefore by no means would he admit them either judges in his cause, either auditors of the same, as Festus required : but grounding himself upon strong reasons, to wit, that he had not offended the Jews, neither yet the law, but that he was innocent ; and therefore that no judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies : grounding, I say, his appellation upon these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of Festus, neither yet the bruit of the ignorant multitude ; but boldly did appeal, from all cognition of them, to the judgment of the emperor, as said is. By these two examples, I doubt not but your honours do understand, that lawful it is to the servants of God, oppressed by tyranny, to seek remedy against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the help of civil magistrates. For what God hath approved in Jeremiah and Paul, he can condemn in none that likewise be entreated. I might allege some histories of the primitive church, serving to the same purpose : as of Ambrose and Athanasius, of whom the one would not be judged at Milan, where that his doctrine was heard of all his church, and received and approved by many : and the other would in no wise give place to those councils, where he knew that men conspired against the truth of God, should sit in judgment and consultation. But because the Scriptures of God are my only foundation and assurance, in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimonies sufficient, as well to prove my appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your honours, that with

safe conscience you cannot refuse to admit the same.* If any think it arrogance, or foolishness in me, to compare myself to Jeremiah and Paul, let the same man understand, that as God is immutable, so is the glory of his holy evangel of equal dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weak. What I think touching mine own person, God shall reveal when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; and such as with whom I have been conversant, can partly witness, what arrogance or pride they espy in me. But touching the doctrine and cause, which that adulterous and pestilent generation of antichrist's servants, who will be called bishops amongst you, have condemned in me, I neither fear nor shame to confess and avow, before man and angel, to be the eternal truth of the eternal God. And in that case, I doubt not to compare myself with any member, in whom the truth hath been impugned since the beginning. For as it was the truth, which Jeremiah did preach in these words:

“The priests have not known me, saith the Lord, but the pastors have traitorously declined and fallen back from me. The prophets have prophesied in Baal, and have gone after those things which cannot help. My people have left the fountain of living waters, and have digged to themselves pits which can contain no water.”

As it was a truth that the pastors and watchmen, in the days of Isaiah, were become dumb dogs, blind, ignorant, proud, and avaricious. And, finally, as it was a truth, that the princes and priests were murderers of Christ Jesus, and cruel persecutors of his apostles: so likewise it is a truth, and that most infallible, that those that have condemned me, the whole rabble of the papistical clergy, have declined from the true faith, have given ear to deceivable spirits, and to doctrine of devils, are the

stars fallen from heaven, to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally are enemies to Christ Jesus, deniers of his verity, and horrible blasphemers of his death and passion. And further, as that visible church had no crime, whereof justly they could accuse either the prophets, either the apostles, except their doctrine only: so have not such as seek my blood, other crime to lay to my charge, except that I affirm, as always I offer to prove, that the religion, which now is maintained by fire and sword, is no less contrary to the true religion taught and established by the apostles, than is darkness to light, or the Devil to God: and also that such as now do claim the title and name of the church are no more the elect spouse of Christ Jesus, than was the synagogue of the Jews the true church of God, what time it crucified Christ Jesus, damned his doctrine, and persecuted his apostles. And therefore seeing that my battle is against the proud and cruel hypocrites of this age, as that battle of those most excellent instruments was against the false prophets, and malignant church of their ages. Neither ought any man think it strange, that I compare myself with them, with whom I sustain a common cause; neither ought you, my lords, judge yourselves less indebted and bound to me, calling for your support, than did the princes of Judah think themselves bound to Jeremiah, whom for that time they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visible church. And thus much for the right of my appellation, which in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require your honours not to esteem, as a thing superfluous and vain; but that you admit it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that by you assured I may have access to my native country, which I never offended; to the end, that freely and openly in the presence

* It seems strange to us, that Knox thought so much arguing necessary to prove what no one now denies, namely, his right to appeal to the civil power against an unjust sentence of the church which affected his liberty and even his life, with which the church had nothing to do, these being matters of civil right, with which the civil power only could lawfully intermeddle.

Had the question been about some article of christian doctrine, his appeal from the church to the civil power would have been unwarrantable; but in matters of civil right, such as affect person or property, christians as well as others, are entitled to claim the protection of the law of the land.—*Ed.*

of the whole realm, I may give my confession of all such points, as this day be in controversy; and also that you, by your authority which ye have of God, compel such, as of long time have blinded and deceived both yourselves and the people, to answer to such things as shall be laid to their charge. But lest that some doubt remain, that I require more of you, than you of conscience are bound to grant, in few words, I hope to prove my petition to be such, as without God's heavy displeasure you cannot deny. My petition is, that you, whom God hath appointed heads in your commonwealth, with single eye do study to promote the glory of God, to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in the true religion; that they be defended from all oppression and tyranny; that true teachers may be maintained, and such as blind and deceive the people, together also with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppress the flock, may be removed and punished as God's law prescribeth. And to the performance of every one of these, do your offices and names, the honours and benefits which you receive, the law of God universally given to all men, and the examples of most godly princes bind and oblige you.

My purpose is not greatly to labour to prove, that your whole study ought to be to promote the glory of God; neither yet will I study to allege all reasons, that justly may be brought to prove, that you are not exalted to reign above your brethren, as men without care and solicitude. For these be principles so grafted in nature, that very ethnics [heathens] have confessed the same. For seeing that God only hath placed you in his chair, hath appointed you to be his lieutenants, and by his own seal hath marked you to be magistrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom nature nevertheless hath made you like in all points—for in conception, birth, life, and death you differ nothing from the common sort of men, but God only, as said is, hath promoted you, and of his especial favour hath given unto you this prerogative to be called gods,—how horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be found unfaithful to him that thus hath honoured you? And

further, what a monster were it, that you should be proved unmerciful to them, above whom you are appointed to reign, as fathers above their children? Because, I say, that very ethnics have granted, that the chief and first care of princes, and of such as be appointed to rule above others, ought to be to promote the glory and honour of their gods, and to maintain that religion which they supposed to have been true. And that their second care was to maintain and defend the subjects committed to their charge in all equity and justice. I will not labour to show unto you, what ought to be your study in maintaining God's true honour; lest that in so doing I should seem to make you less careful over God's true religion, then were the ethnics over their idolatry. But because other petitions may appear more hard and difficult to be granted, I purpose briefly, but yet freely, to speak what God by his word doth assure me to be true. To wit, first, That in conscience you are bound to punish malefactors, and to defend innocents, imploring your help. Secondly, That God requireth of you to provide, that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; and that the same by you be reformed, whensoever abuses do creep in, by malice of Satan, and negligence of men. And lastly, That you are bound to remove from honour, and to punish with death, if the crime so require, such as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their souls, I mean God's living word.

The first and second are most plain by the words of St Paul, thus speaking of lawful powers. Let every soul, saith he, submit himself unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. The powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not to be feared of those that do well, but of those that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But if thou do that which is evil, fear. For he beareth not

the sword for nought: for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on them that do evil.

As the apostle in these words most straitly commandeth obedience to be given to lawful powers, pronouncing God's wrath and vengeance against such, as shall resist the ordinance of God; so doth he assign to the powers their offices, which be to take vengeance upon evil doers, to maintain the well doers, and so to minister and rule in their office, that the subjects by them may have a benefit, and be praised in well doing. Now, if you be powers ordained by God, and that I hope all men will grant, then, by the plain words of the apostle, is the sword given unto you by God, for the maintenance of innocence, and for the punishment of malefactors. But I and my brethren with me accused, do offer not only to prove ourselves innocent in all things laid to our charge, but also we offer most evidently to prove your bishops to be the very pestilence who have infected all christianity. And therefore, by the plain doctrine of the apostle, you are bound to maintain us, and to punish the other, being evidently convicted and proved criminal. Moreover, the former words of the apostle do teach, how far high powers be bound to their subjects: to wit, that because they are God's ministers by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, most diligently ought they to intend upon the same. For that cause assigneth the Holy Ghost commanding subjects to obey, and to pay tribute: saying, For this do you pay tribute and toll.

That is, because they are God's ministers, bearing the sword for your utility. Whereof it is plain, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I wish your wisdoms deeply to consider, that God hath not placed you above your brethren to reign as tyrants without respect of their profit and commodity. You hear the Holy Ghost witness the contrary, affirming, that all lawful powers be God's ministers ordained for the wealth, profit, and salvation of the subjects, and not for their destruction. Could it be said, I beseech you, that magistrates, inclosing their subjects in a city without all victuals, or

giving unto them no other victuals, but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profit of their subjects? I trust that none would be so foolish as to affirm [this]; but that rather every discreet person would boldly affirm, that such as so did, were tyrants unworthy of all regimen. If we will not deny that which Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a truth infallible; to wit, that the soul is greater and more precious than is the body: then shall we easily espy, how unworthy of authority be those, that this day debar their subjects from the hearing of God's word, and by fire and sword compel them to feed upon the very poison of their souls, the damnable doctrine of antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I cannot cease to admonish your honours, diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater than the most part of men suppose. It is not enough that you abstain from violent wrong and oppression, which ungodly men exercise against their subjects; but you are farther bound, to wit, that you rule above them for their wealth; which you cannot do, if that you either by negligence, not providing true pastors, or yet by your maintenance of such as be ravening wolves, suffer their souls to starve and perish, for lack of the true food, which is Christ's evangel sincerely preached. It will not excuse you in his presence, who will require account of every talent committed to your charge, to say, that you supposed that the charge of the souls had been committed to your bishops. No, no, my lords, so you cannot escape God's judgment. For if your bishops be proved to be no bishops, but deceivable thieves and ravening wolves—which I offer myself to prove by God's word, by law and councils, yea by the judgment of all the godly learned from the primitive church to this day—then shall your permission and defence of them, be reputed before God, a participation with their theft and murder. For thus accused the prophet Isaiah the princes of Jerusalem. Thy princes, saith he, are apostates; that is obstinate refusers of God, and they are companions of thieves.

The grievous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that city

which sometime was called holy, where then were the temple, rites, and ordinances of God: because that not only they were wicked themselves, but chiefly because they maintained wicked men their priests and false prophets in honours and authority. If they did not escape this accusation of the Holy Ghost in that age, look ye neither to escape the accusation nor the judgment which is pronounced against the maintainers of wicked men: to wit, that the one and the other shall drink the cup of God's wrath and vengeance together. And lest ye should deceive yourselves, esteeming your bishops to be virtuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer myself to prove the same, that more wicked men, than be the whole rabble of your clergy, were never from the beginning universally known in any age, yea Sodom and Gomorrah may be justified in their respect. For they permitted just Lot to dwell amongst them without any violence done to his body, which that pestilent generation of your shaven sort doth not, but most cruelly persecute by fire and sword the true members of Christ's body for no other cause, but for the true service and honouring of God. And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God shall one day justify, that by your offices ye be bound, not only to repress their tyranny, but also to punish them, as thieves and murderers, as idolaters and blasphemers of God, and in their rooms ye are bound to place true preachers of Christ's evangel, for the instruction, comfort, and salvation of your subjects, above whom else shall never the Holy Ghost acknowledge, that you rule in justice for their profit. If ye pretend to possess the kingdom with Christ Jesus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of princes, neither by the ungodly and cruel rulers of the earth, of whom some pass their time in sloth, insolence, and riot, without respect had to God's honour, or to the salvation of their brethren: and other most cruelly oppress with proud Nimrod, such as be subject to them. But your pattern and example must be the practice of those, whom God hath

approved by the testimony of his word, as after shall be declared.

Of the premises it is evident, that lawful powers is given the sword for punishment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their subjects. Now let us consider, whether the reformation of religion, fallen in decay, and punishment of false teachers, do appertain to the civil magistrate and nobility of any realm. I am not ignorant that Satan of old time for maintenance of his darkness, hath obtained of the blind world two chief points. Former, he hath persuaded princes, rulers, and magistrates, that the feeding of Christ's flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected [devolved] upon the bishops, and estate ecclesiastical: and secondly, that the reformation of religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishment of such as be sworn soldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all civil power, and are reserved to themselves and to their own cognition. But that no offender can justly be exempted from punishment, and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertain to the civil magistrate, shall God's perfect ordinance, his plain word, and the facts and examples of those that of God are high praised, most evidently declare.

When God did establish his law, statutes, and ceremonies in the midst of Israel, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moses, but as he gave him charge over the civil polity, so he put in his mouth and in his hand: that is, he first revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice, whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to Aaron, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of Moses: yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himself or to his children either, in his or their inauguration and sanctification to the priesthood, but all was committed to the care of Moses, and therefore were these words so frequently repeated to Moses,

“Thou shalt separate Aaron and his sons from the midst of the people of Israel, that they may execute the office of the priesthood, thou shalt make unto them garments, thou shalt anoint them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill their hands with the sacrifice.”

And so forth, of every rite and ceremony, that was to be done unto them, especial commandment was given unto Moses, that he should do it. Now if Aaron and his sons were so subject to Moses, that they did nothing but at his commandment, who dare be so bold as to affirm, that the civil magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion. For seeing that then God did so straightly require, that even those, who did bear the figure of Christ, should receive from the civil power as it were their sanctification and entrance to their office, and seeing also that Moses was so far preferred to Aaron, that the one commanded and the other did obey, who dare esteem that the civil power is now become so profane in God's eyes, that it is sequestered from all intermission with the matters of religion. The Holy Ghost in divers places declareth the contrary. For one of the chief precepts commanded to the king, when that he should be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the book of the Lord's law that it should be with him, that he might read in it all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law, and his statutes to do them. This precept requireth not only, that the king should himself fear God, keep his law and statutes, but that also he, as the chief ruler, should provide that God's true religion should be kept inviolated of the people and flock, which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not only David and Solomon perfectly understand, but also some godly kings in Judah, after the apostasy and idolatry that infected Israel by the means of Jeroboam, did practise their understanding, and execute their power in some notable reformations. For Asah and Jehoshaphat, kings of Judah, finding the religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts, saith the Holy Ghost to serve the Lord, and to walk

in his ways; and thereafter doth witness, that Asah removed from honours his mother, some say grandmother, because she had committed and laboured to maintain horrible idolatry. And Jehoshaphat did not only refuse strange gods himself, but also destroying the chief monuments of idolatry, did send forth the Levites to instruct the people, whereof it is plain that the one and the other did understand such reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of Hezekiah, and of Josiah, do more clearly prove the power and duty of the civil magistrate in the reformation of religion. Before the reign of Hezekiah, so corrupt was the religion that the doors of the house of the Lord were shut up, the lamps were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderly made, but in the first year of his reign, the first month of the same did the king open the doors of the temple, bring in the priests and Levites, and assembling them together, did speak unto them as followeth. Hear me, O ye Levites, and be sanctified now, and sanctify also the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth from the sanctuary all filthiness—he meaneth all monuments and vessels of idolatry—for our fathers have transgressed and have committed wickedness in the eyes of the eternal our God, they have left him and have turned their faces from the tabernacle of the Lord, and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon Judah and Jerusalem. Behold, our fathers have fallen by the sword, our sons, daughters, and wives are led in captivity, but now have I purposed in my heart to make a covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turn the wrath of his fury from us. And therefore my sons—he sweetly exhorteth—be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve him. Such as be not more than blind clearly may perceive that the king doth acknowledge, that it appertained to his charge to reform the religion, to appoint the Levites to their charges, and to admonish them of their duty and office, which thing he more evidently declareth, writing his letters to all Israel, to Ephraim and Manasseh, and sent the same by the hands of messengers having this tenor.

“ You sons of Israel, return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he shall return to the residue that resteth from the hands of Ashur. Be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate as you see. Hold not your heart, therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return into his sanctuary, serve him, and he shall show mercy unto you, to your sons, and daughters that be in bondage, for he is pitiful and easy to be entreated.”

Thus far did Hezekiah by letters and messengers provoke the people [who had] declined from God, to repentance not only in Judah, where he reigned lawful king, but also in Israel, subject then to another king. And albeit that by some wicked men his messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their just punishment, for within six years after Samaria was destroyed and Israel led captive by Salmanazar, so did not the zealous king Hezekiah desist to prosecute his duty in restoring the religion to God's perfect ordinance removing all abominations.

The same is to be read of Josiah, who did not only restore the religion, but did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, which of long time remained. For it is written of him, that after that the book of the law was found, and that he had asked counsel at the prophetess Huldah, he sent and gathered all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant, that all the people from the great to the small should walk after the Lord, should observe his law, statutes, and testimonies with all their heart, and all their soul, and that they should ratify and confirm whatsoever was written in the book of God. He further commanded Helkias the high priest, and the priests of the inferior order, that they should carry forth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to Bethel. He did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, yea, even those that had remained from the days of Solomon. He did burn them, stamp them to powder, whereof one part

he scattered in the brook Kedron, and the other upon the sepulchres and graves of the idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they made sacrifice not only in Judah, but also in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatry; yea he further proceeded, and did kill the priests of the high places, who were idolaters, and had deceived the people: he did kill them, I say, and did burn their bones upon their own altars, and so returned to Jerusalem. This reformation made Josiah, and for the same obtained this testimony of the Holy Ghost, that neither before him, neither after him was there any such king, who returned to God with his whole soul, and with all his strength, according to all the law of Moses.

Of which histories it is evident that the reformation of religion in all points, together with the punishment of false teachers, doth appertain to the power of the civil magistrate. For what God required of them, his justice must require of others having the like charge and authority: what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who with like zeal and sincerity, do enterprise to purge the Lord's temple and sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared, to wit, that most diligently they should observe his law, statutes, and ceremonies. And how acceptable were their facts to God, doth he himself witness. For to some he gave most notable victories without the hand of man, and in their most desperate dangers did declare his especial favours towards them by signs supernatural: to others he so established the kingdom, that their enemies were compelled to stoop under their feet. And the names of all he hath registered not only in the book of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities since their days, which also shall continue till the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall reward with the crown of immortality, not only them, but also such as unfeignedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly Father, in the midst of this corrupted generation. In consideration whereof ought you, my lords, all delay set apart, to provide for the reformation of religion

in your dominions and bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christ's institution remaineth in the original purity, and therefore of necessity it is, that speedily you provide for reformation, or else you declare yourselves, not only void of love towards your subjects, but also to live without care of your own salvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God. Two things perchance may move you to esteem these histories before briefly touched to appertain nothing to you. First, because ye are no Jews but gentiles: and secondly, because you are no kings, but nobles in your realm. But be not deceived, for neither of both can excuse you in God's presence from doing your duty, for it is a thing more than certain, that whatsoever God required of the civil magistrate in Israel and Judah concerning the observation of true religion during the time of the law, the same doth he require of lawful magistrates, professing Christ Jesus in the time of the gospel, as the Holy Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David, saying,

Psal. ii. "Be learned you that judge the earth, kiss the Son, lest that the Lord wax angry, and that you perish from the way."

This admonition did not extend to the judges under the law only, but doth also include all such as be promoted to honours in the time of the Gospel, when Christ Jesus doth reign and fight in his spiritual kingdom, whose enemies in that psalm be first most sharply taxed, their fury expressed, and vanity mocked: and then are kings and judges, who think themselves free from all law and obedience, commanded to repent their former blind rage, and judges are charged to be learned; and last are all commanded to serve the eternal in fear, to rejoice before him in trembling, to kiss the Son, that is, to give unto him most humble obedience, whereof it is evident that the rulers, magistrates, and judges, now in Christ's kingdom, are no less bound to obedience unto God, than were those under the law. And how is it possible that any shall be obedient, who despise his religion, in which standeth the chief glory, that man can give to God, and is a service, which God especially requireth of kings and rul-

ers? Which thing St Augustine plainly did note, writing to one Bonifacius a man of war, according to the same argument and purpose, which I labour to persuade your honours. For after that he hath in that his epistle declared the difference betwixt the heresy of the Donatists and Arians, and hath somewhat spoken of their cruelty, he showeth the way how their fury should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawful for the unjustly afflicted to [seek] support and defence at godly magistrates. For thus he writeth, Either must the verity be kept close, or else must their cruelty be sustained.

But if the verity should be concealed, not only should none be saved nor delivered by such silence, but also should many be lost through their deceit. But if by preaching of the verity their fury should be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet some were delivered, and made strong, yet should fear hinder many weaklings to follow the verity, if their rage be not staid. In these first words Augustine showeth three reasons, why the afflicted church in those days called for the help of the emperor and of the godly magistrates, against the fury of the persecutors. The first, the verity must be spoken or else mankind shall perish in error. The second, the verity being plainly spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage. And because that some did allege that rather we ought to suffer all injury, than to seek support by man, he addeth the third reason, to wit, that many weak ones be not able to suffer persecution and death for the truth's sake, to whom not the less respect ought to be had, that they may be won from error, and so be brought to greater strength.

O that the rulers of this age should ponder and weigh the reasons of this godly writer, and provide the remedy, which he requireth in these words following. Now when the church was thus afflicted, if any think, that rather they should have sustained all calamity, than that the help of God should have been asked by Christian emperors, he doth not well advert, that of such negligence no good accounts or reason could be given. For where such, as would that no just laws should be made

against their impiety, allege that the apostles sought no such things of the kings of the earth, they do not consider that then the time was other than it is now, and that all things are done in their own time. What emperor then believed in Christ, that should serve him in making laws for godliness against impiety? while yet that saying of the prophet was complete, why hath nations raged, and people have imagined vanity? the kings of the earth have stood up, and princes have convened together against the Lord, and against his anointed, that which is after said in the same psalm, was not yet come to pass. And now understand, O you kings, be learned you that judge the earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice to him with trembling. How do kings serve the Lord in fear? but in punishing, and by a godly severity, forbidding those things which are done against the commandment of the Lord. For otherwise doth he serve in so far as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. In so far as he is man, he serveth him by living faithfully, but because he is also king, he serveth [by] establishing laws, that command the things that be just, and that with a convenient rigour forbid things contrary. As Hezekiah served, destroying the groves, the temples of idols, and the places which were built against God's commandment. So served also Josiah doing the same: so served the king of [the] Ninevites, compelling the holy city to mitigate the Lord: so served Darius giving in the power of Daniel the idol to be broken, and his enemies to be cast to the lions: so served Nebuchadnezzar, by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his realm to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do kings serve the Lord, in so far as they are kings, when they do those things to serve him, which none except kings be able to do. He further proceedeth and concludeth, that as, when wicked kings do reign, impiety cannot be bridled by laws, but rather is tyranny exercised under the title of the same, so is it a thing without all reason, that kings professing the knowledge and honour of God, should not regard nor care, who did defend, nor

who did oppugn the church of God in their dominions.

By these words of this ancient and godly writer, your honours may perceive, what I require of you, to wit, to repress the tyranny of your bishops, and to defend the innocents professing the truth. He did require of the emperor and kings of his days professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, that they cannot serve Christ, except that so they do. Let not your bishops think that Augustine speaketh for them, because he nameth the church. Let them read and understand, that Augustine, writeth for that church, which possesseth the truth, and doth not suffer persecution for the defence of the same, which your bishops do not, but rather with the Donatists and Arrians, do cruelly persecute all such, as boldly speak Christ's eternal verity to manifest their impiety and abomination. But thus much we have of Augustine, that it appertaineth to the obedience and service, which kings owe to God, as well now in the time of the gospel, as before under the law, to defend the afflicted for matters of religion, and to repress the fury of the persecutors, by the rigour and severity of godly laws. For which cause, no doubt, doth Isaiah the prophet say, "that kings should be nourishers to the church of God, that they should abase their heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God." And thus I say your honours may evidently see, that the same obedience doth God require of rulers and princes in the time of the gospel, that he required in the time of the law.

If you do think, that the reformation of religion, and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertain to you, because you are no kings, but nobles and estates of a realm; in two things you are deceived. Former in that you do not advert, that David requireth as well, that the princes and judges of the earth be learned, and that they serve and fear God, as that he requireth, that the kings repent. If you therefore be judges and princes, as no man can deny you to be, then by the plain words of David, you are charged to be learned, to serve and

fear God, which ye cannot do, if you despise the reformation of his religion. And this is your first error. The second is, that ye neither know your duty, which ye owe to God, neither yet your authority, which of him ye have received; if ye for pleasure or fear of any earthly man, despise God's true religion, and contemn your brethren, that in his name call for your support. Your duty is to hear the voice of the eternal your God, and unfeignedly to study to follow his precepts; who, as is before said, of especial mercy hath promoted you to honours and dignity. His chief and principal precept is, that with reverence ye receive and embrace his only beloved son Jesus; that ye promote, to the uttermost of your powers, his true religion; and that ye defend your brethren and subjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now if your king be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecutor of Christ's members; shall ye be excused, if with silence ye pass over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my lords, ye are placed in authority for another purpose, than to flatter your king in his folly and blind rage; to wit, that as with your bodies, strength, riches, and wisdom, ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things, which by your advice he shall take in hand, for God's glory, and for the preservation of his commonwealth and subjects; so by your gravities, counsel, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repress whatsoever ye know him to attempt, expressly repugning to God's word, honour, and glory, or what ye shall espy him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjects great or small. Of which last part of your obedience, if ye defraud your king, ye commit against him no less treason, than if ye did extract from him your due and promised support, what time by his enemies unjustly he was pursued. But this part of their duty, I fear, do a small number of the nobility of this age rightly consider; neither yet will they understand, that for that purpose hath God promoted them. For now the common song of all men is, we must obey our kings, be they good, or be they bad; for God hath

so commanded. But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shall be poured forth upon such blasphemers of God his holy name and ordinance. For it is no less blasphemy to say, that God hath commanded kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, than to say, that God by his precept is author and maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded kings to be obeyed, but like true it is, that in things, which they commit against his glory, or when cruelly without cause they rage against their brethren, the members of Christ's body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea and greatly rewarded such, as have opposed themselves to their ungodly commandments and blind rage, as in the examples of the three children, of Daniel and Ebedmelech, it is evident. The three children would neither bow nor stoop before the golden image at the commandment of the great king Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel did openly pray, his windows being open, against the established law of Darius and of his council: and Ebedmelech feared not to enter in before the presence of Zedekiah, and boldly to defend the cause and innocency of Jeremiah the prophet, whom the king and his council had condemned to death. Every one of these facts should this day be judged foolish by such, as will not understand what confession God doth require of his children, when his verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt. Such men, I say, as prefer man to God, and things present to the heavenly inheritance, should have judged every one of these facts, stubborn inobedience, foolish presumption, and singularity, or else bold controllings of the king and his wise council. But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their king, the end did witness. For the three children were delivered from the furnace of fire, and Daniel from the den of lions, to the confusion of their enemies, to the better instruction of the ignorant kings, and to the perpetual comfort of God's afflicted children. And Ebedmelech, in the day of the Lord's visitation, when the king and his council did

drink the bitter cup of God's vengeance, did find his life for a prey, and did not fall in the edge of the sword, when many thousands did perish. And this was signified unto him by the prophet himself, at the commandment of God, before that Jerusalem was destroyed. The promise and cause were recited unto him in these words, "I will bring my words upon this city unto evil, and not unto good: but most assuredly I shall deliver thee, because thou hast trusted in me, saith the Lord." The trust and hope, which Ebedmelech had in God, made him bold to oppone himself, being but one, to the king and his whole council, who had condemned to death the prophet, whom his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent. For this did he speak in the presence of the king, sitting in the port of Benjamin. My lord, the king, saith Ebedmelech, these men do wickedly in all things, that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet. Advert and take heed, my lords, that the men, who had condemned the prophet, were the king, his princes, and council, and yet did one man accuse them all of iniquity, and did boldly speak in the defence of him, of whose innocence he was persuaded. And the same, I say, is the duty of every man in his vocation, but chiefly of the nobility, which is joined with their kings, to bridle and repress their folly and blind rage. Which thing if the nobility do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitors to their kings; so do they provoke the wrath of God against themselves and against the realm, in which they abuse the authority, which they have received of God, to maintain virtue and to repress vice. For hereof I would your honours were most certainly persuaded, that God will neither excuse nobility nor people, but the nobility least of all, that obey and follow their kings in manifest iniquity; but with the same vengeance will God punish the prince, people, and nobility, conspiring together against him and his holy ordinances; as in the punishment taken upon Pharaoh, Israel, Judah, and Babylon is evidently to be seen. For Pharaoh was not drowned alone, but his captains, chariots, and great army,

drank the same cup with him. The kings of Israel and Judah were not punished without company; but with them were murdered the councillors, their princes imprisoned, and their people led captive. And why? because none was found so faithful to God, that he durst enterprise to resist nor gainstand the manifest impiety of their princes. And therefore was God's wrath poured forth upon the one and the other. But the more ample discourse of this argument, I defer to better opportunity: only at this time, I thought expedient to admonish you, that before God it shall not excuse you to allege, we are no kings, and therefore neither can we reform religion, nor yet defend such as be persecuted. Consider, my lords, that ye are powers ordained by God, as before is declared, and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defence of such, as unjustly are oppressed, appertain to your charge and care, which thing shall the law of God, universally given to be kept of all men, most evidently declare; which is my last and most assured reason, why, I say, ye ought to remove from honours, and to punish with death such as God hath condemned by his own mouth. After that Moses had declared what was true religion, to wit, to honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his word, neither yet diminishing any thing from it; and after also that vehemently he had exhorted the same law to be observed, he denounceth the punishment against the transgressors, in these words, "if thy brother, son, daughter, wife, or neighbour, whom thou lovest as thine own life, solicitate thee secretly, saying, let us go serve other gods, whom neither thou, nor thy fathers have known, consent not to him, hear him not, let not thine eye spare him, show him no indulgence or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill him, let thy hand be first upon him, that he may be slain, and after the hand of thy whole people." Of these words of Moses are two things, appertaining to our purpose, to be noted. Former, that such, as solicitate only to idolatry, ought to be punished to death, without favour or respect of persons. For he that will not suffer man

to spare his son, his daughter, nor his wife, but straitly commandeth punishment to be taken upon the idolaters, have they never so nigh conjunction with us, will not wink at the idolatry of others, of what estate or condition soever they be.

It is not unknown, that the prophets had revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as Samuel had the revelation, that Eli and his posterity should be destroyed; that Saul should first be king, and thereafter that he should be rejected, that David should reign for him. Michaiah understood by vision, that Ahab should be killed in battle against the Syrians. Elijah saw that dogs should eat Jezebel in the fortress of Jezreel. Elisha did see hunger come upon Israel by the space of seven* years. Jeremiah did foresee the destruction of Jerusalem, and the time of their captivity; and so divers other prophets had divers revelations of God, which the people did not otherwise understand, but by their affirmation; and therefore in those days the prophets named seers, because that God did open unto them that, which was hid from the multitude. Now if any man might have claimed any privilege from the rigour of the law, or might have justified his fact, it should have been the prophet. For he might have alleged for himself his singular prerogative, that he had above other men, to have God's will revealed unto him by vision or by dream, or that God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleasure was to be honoured in that manner, in such a place, and by such means. But all such excuses doth God remove, commanding that the prophet that shall solicit the people to serve strange gods, shall die the death, notwithstanding that he allege for himself dream, vision, or revelation. Yea, although he promise miracles, and also that such things as he promiseth come to pass; yet I say, commandeth God, that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death; because he teacheth apostasy, and defection from God. Hereof your honours may easily espy, that none provoking the people to idolatry ought to be exempted from the

punishment of death. For if neither that inseparable conjunction, which God himself hath sanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that unspeakable love grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the son, neither yet that reverence, which God's people ought to bear to the prophets, can excuse any man to spare the offender, or to conceal his offence; what excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, that no estate, condition, nor honour can exempt the idolater from the hands of God, when he shall call him to account, or shall inflict punishment upon him for his offence: how shall it then excuse the people, that they according to God's commandment punish not to death such as shall solicitate, or violently draw the people to idolatry? And this is the first, which I would your honours should note, of the former words; to wit, that no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly convicted to have provoked, or led the people to idolatry. And this is most evidently declared in that solemn oath and covenant, which Asa made with the people to serve God, and to maintain his religion, adding this penalty to the transgressors of it, to wit, that whosoever should not seek the Lord God of Israel, should be killed; were he great, or were he small, were it man, or were it woman. And of this oath was the Lord compleased, he was found of them, and gave them rest on every part, because they sought him with their whole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders according to the precept of his law, without respect of persons. And this is it, which, I say, I would your honours should note for the first, that no idolater can be exempted from punishment by God's law. The second is, that the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatry, blasphemy, and others, that touch the majesty of God, doth not appertain to kings and chief rulers only, but also to the whole body of that people, and to every member of the same, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done against his glory, what time that impiety is manifestly known.

* Should be three years and a half.—*Ed.*

And that doth Moses more plainly speak in these words, If in any of thy cities, saith he, which the Lord thy God giveth unto thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear this bruit, there are some men the sons of Belial passed forth from thee, and have solicited the citizens of their cities by these words, Let us go and serve strange gods, which ye have not known; search and inquire diligently, and if it be true, that such abomination is done in the midst of thee, thou shalt utterly strike the inhabitants of that city with the sword, thou shalt destroy it and whatsoever is within it, thou shalt gather the spoil of it in the midst of the market place, thou shalt burn that city with fire, and the spoil of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ever, neither shall it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from the fury of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affection.

Plain it is that Moses speaketh, nor giveth not charge to kings, rulers, and judges only, but he commandeth the whole body of the people, yea, and every member of the same, according to their possibility: and who dare be so impudent, as to deny this to be most reasonable and just? For seeing that God had delivered the whole body from bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his law, and to the twelve tribes had he also distributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no family could complain that it was neglected. Was not the whole and every member indebted to confess and acknowledge the benefits of God? Yea, had it not been the part of every man to have studied to keep the possession, which he had received? which thing God did plainly pronounce they should not do, except that in their hearts they did sanctify the Lord God, that they embraced, and inviolably kept his religion established. And finally, except that they did cut out iniquity from amongst them, declaring themselves earnest enemies of those abominations which God declared himself so vehemently to hate, that first he commanded the whole inhabitants of that country to be destroyed, and all monuments of their idolatry to be

broken down; and thereafter he also straitly commandeth, that a city declining to idolatry should fall in the edge of the sword, and that the whole spoil of the same should be burned, no portion of it reserved. To the carnal man this may appear a rigorous and severe judgment, yea, it may rather seem to be pronounced in a rage than in wisdom. For what city was ever yet, in which, to man's judgment, were not to be found many innocent persons, as infants, children, and some simple and ignorant souls, who neither did nor could consent to such impiety? And yet we find no exception, but all are appointed to the cruel death. And as concerning the city, and the spoil of the same, man's reason cannot think, but that it might have been better bestowed, than to be consumed with fire, and so profit no man. But in such cases, will God that all creatures stoop, cover their faces, and desist from reasoning, when commandment is given to execute his judgment. Albeit I could adduce divers causes of such severity, yet will I search none other than the Holy Ghost hath assigned. First, that all Israel hearing the judgment, should fear to commit the like abomination. And secondly, that the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be merciful unto them, and multiply them, according to his oath made unto their fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in God's children, to correct the murmuring of the grudging flesh; so ought they to provoke every man, as before I have said, to declare himself enemy to that, which so highly provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people. For where Moses saith, Let the city be burned, and let no part of the spoil cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may return from the fury of his wrath, &c. He plainly doth signify, that by the defection and idolatry of a few, God's wrath is kindled against the whole, which is never quenched till such punishment be taken upon the offenders; that whosoever served them in their idolatry, be brought to destruction; because that it is execrable and accursed before God: and therefore he will not, that it be reserved for any use of his

people. I am not ignorant, that this law was not put in execution, as God commanded. But what did thereof ensue and follow, histories declare; to wit, plague after plague, till Israel and Judah were led into captivity, as the books of Kings do witness. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, that it is the duty of every man, that list to escape the plague and punishment of God, to declare himself enemy to idolatry, not only in heart, hating the same, but also in external gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was showed to the prophet Ezekiel, what time he gave him to understand, why he would destroy Judah with Israel; and that he would remove his glory from the temple and place that he had chosen, and so pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the city, that was full of blood and apostasy, which became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, The Lord hath left the earth and seeth not. At this time, I say, the Lord revealed in vision to his prophet, who they were, that should find favour in that miserable destruction; to wit, those that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the city, in whose foreheads God did command to print and seal Tau,* to the end that the destroyer, who was commanded to strike the rest without mercy, should not hurt them, in whom the sign was found. Of these premises, I suppose it be evident, that the punishment of idolatry doth not appertain to kings only, but also to the whole people, yea, to every member of the same, according to his possibility. For that is a thing most assured, that no man can mourn, lament, and bewail for those things, which he will not remove to the uttermost of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his vocation, what shall be required of you, my lords, whom God hath raised up to be princes and rulers above your brethren, whose hands he hath armed with the sword of his justice? yea, whom he

hath appointed to be as bridles, to repress the rage and insolence of your kings, whensoever they pretend manifestly to transgress God's blessed ordinance? If any think that this my affirmation, touching the punishment of idolaters, be contrary to the practice of the apostles, who finding the Gentiles in idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment; let the same man understand, that the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the apostle speaketh, without God in the world, drowned in idolatry, according to the blindness and ignorance in which then they were holden, as a profane nation whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his household, neither given unto them laws to be kept in religion nor polity: and therefore did not his Holy Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporal punishment, according to the rigour of the law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that were strangers from the commonwealth of Israel. But if any think, that after that the Gentiles were called from their vain conversation, and by embracing Christ Jesus were received in the number of Abraham's children, and so made one people with the Jews believing: if any think, I say, that then they were not bound to the same obedience, which God required of his people Israel, what time he confirmed his league and covenant with them; the same man appeareth to make Christ inferior to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his heavenly Father. For if the contempt or transgression of Moses' law was worthy of death, what should we judge the contempt of Christ's ordinance to be?—I mean after they be once received.—And if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to fulfil the law of his heavenly Father; shall the liberty of his gospel be an occasion that the especial glory of his father be trodden under foot, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especial glory of God is, that such as profess them to be his people, should hearken

* So it is in my copy. Tau is the Hebrew letter which corresponds with our T; but I cannot see that it has any meaning here. In

the common version, Ezek. ix. 4, it is, "set a mark," literally, mark a mark.—Ed.

to his voice; and amongst all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching punishment of vices, is none more evident, neither more severe, than is that which is pronounced against idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the same. And therefore I fear not to affirm, that the gentiles, I mean every city, realm, province, or nation, amongst the gentiles, embracing Christ Jesus and his true religion, be bound to the same league and covenant, that God made with his people Israel, what time he promised to root out the nations before them, in these words, "Beware that thou make any covenant with the inhabitants of the land to the which thou comest, lest perchance that this come in ruin, that is, be destruction to thee: but thou shalt destroy their altars, break their idols, and cut down their groves. Fear no strange gods, worship them not, neither yet make you sacrifices to them. But the Lord, who in his great power and outstretched arm hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, shall you fear, him shall you honour, him shall you worship, to him shall you make sacrifice, his statutes, judgments, laws, and commandments you shall keep and observe. This is the covenant which I have made with you, saith the Eternal; forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods: but fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliver you from the hands of all your enemies.

To this same law, I say, and covenant are the gentiles no less bound, than sometime were the Jews, whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, province, people, or city, and putteth the sword in their own hand to remove such enormities from amongst them, as before God they know to be abominable. Then, I say, are they no less bound to purge their dominions, cities, and countries from idolatry, than were the Israelites, what time they received the possession of the land of Canaan. And moreover I say, if any go about to erect and set up idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then not only the magistrates, to whom the sword is committed, but also the people are bound by that oath, which they have

made to God, to revenge to the uttermost of their power the injury done against his Majesty. In universal defections, and in a general revolt, such as was in Israel after Jeroboam, there is a diverse consideration. For then because the whole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found, that would execute the punishment, which God had commanded, till God raised up Jehu, whom he had appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other general defections, such as this day are in the papistry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, so that no ordinary justice can be executed, but the punishment must be reserved to God and unto such means, as he shall appoint. But I do speak of such a number, as after they have received God's perfect religion, do boldly profess the same, notwithstanding that some or the most part fall back—as of late days was in England:—unto such a number, I say, it is lawful to punish the idolaters with death, if by any means God give them the power. For so did Joshua and Israel determine to have done against the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh for their suspected apostasy and defection from God. And the whole tribes did in every deed execute that sharp judgment against the tribe of Benjamin, for a less offence than for idolatry. And the same ought to be done wheresoever Christ Jesus and his evangel is so received in any realm, province, or city, that the magistrates and people have solemnly avowed and promised to defend the same, as under king Edward of late days was done in England. In such places, I say, it is not only lawful to punish to the death such as labour to subvert the true religion, but the magistrates and people are bound so to do, unless they will provoke the wrath of God against themselves. And therefore I fear not to affirm, that it had been the duty of the nobility, judges, rulers, and people of England not only to have resisted and againstanded [withstood] Mary, that Jezebel, whom they call their queen, but also to have punished her to the death with all the sort of her idolatrous priests, together with

all such, as should have assisted her, what time that she and they openly began to suppress Christ's evangel, to shed the blood of the saints of God, and to erect that most devilish idolatry, the papistical abominations, and his usurped tyranny, which once most justly by common oath was banished from that realm. But because I cannot at this present discuss this argument, as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity, and so returning to your honours, I say, that if ye confess yourselves baptized in the Lord Jesus, of necessity ye must confess, that the care of his religion doth appertain to your charge. And if ye know that in your hands God hath put the sword for the causes above expressed, then can ye not deny, but that the punishment of obstinate and malapert idolaters, such as all your bishops are, doth appertain to your office, if after admonition they continue obstinate. I am not ignorant, what are the vain defences of your proud prelates. They claim first a prerogative and privilege, that they are exempted, and that by consent of councils and emperors from all jurisdiction of the temporality. And secondly, when they are convicted of manifest impieties, abuses, and enormities, as well in their manners as in religion, neither fear nor shame they to affirm, that things so long established cannot suddenly be reformed, although they are corrupted, but with process of time they promise to take order. But in few words I answer, that no privilege granted against the ordinance and statutes of God is to be observed, although all councils and men in the earth have appointed the same. But against God's ordinance it is, that idolaters, murderers, false teachers, and blasphemers shall be exempted from punishment, as before is declared, and therefore in vain it is, that they claim for privilege, when that God sayeth, The murderer shalt thou rive from my altar, that he may die the death. And as to the order and reformation, which they promise, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whose children and slaves they are, can change his nature. This answer I doubt not shall suffice the sober and godly reader, but yet to the end, that they

may further see their own confusion, and that your honours may better understand, what ye ought to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I ask of themselves, what assurance they have for this their immunity, exemption, or privilege? who is the author of it? and what fruit it hath produced? and first, I say that of God they have no assurance, neither yet can he be proved to be author of any such privilege. But the contrary is easy to be seen. For God in establishing his orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron—in his priesthood being the figure of Christ—to Moses, that he feared not to call him in judgment, and to constrain him to give accounts of his wicked deed in consenting to idolatry, as the history doth plainly witness. For thus it is written, "Then Moses took the calf which they had made, and burned it with fire, and did grind it to powder, and scattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Israel," declaring hereby the vanity of their idol, and the abomination of the same: and thereafter Moses said to Aaron, "What hath this people done to thee, that thou shouldst bring upon it so great a sin?"

Thus, I say, doth Moses call and accuse Aaron of the destruction of the whole people, and yet he perfectly understood, that God had appointed him to be the high priest, that he should bear upon his shoulders and upon his breast the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, for whom he was appointed to make sacrifice, prayers, and supplications. He knew his dignity was so great, that only he might enter within the most holy place: but neither could his office nor dignity exempt him from judgment, when he had offended. If any object, Aaron at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to Moses; I have answered, that Moses being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly understand to what dignity Aaron was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgment, and to compel him to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holy Ghost witness further in the matter. Solomon removed from honour Abiathar

being the high priest, and commanded him to cease from all function, and to live as a private man. Now if the unction did exempt the priest from jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, Solomon did offend and injure Abiathar; for he was anointed, and had carried the ark before David; but God doth not reprove the fact of Solomon, neither yet doth Abiathar claim any prerogative by the reason of his office, but rather doth the Holy Ghost approve the fact of Solomon, saying, "Solomon ejected forth Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed, which he spake upon the house of Eli.

And Abiathar did think that he obtained great favour, in that he did escape the present death, which by his conspiracy he had deserved. If any yet reason, that Abiathar was no otherwise subject to the judgment of the king, but as he was appointed to be the executor of that sentence, which God before had pronounced; as I will not greatly deny that reason, so require I, that every man consider, that the same God, who pronounced sentence against Eli and his house, hath pronounced also, that idolaters, whoremongers, murderers, and blasphemers, shall neither have portion in the kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any rule in his church and congregation. Now if the unction and office saved not Abiathar, because that God's sentence must needs be performed, can any privilege granted by a man be a buckler to malefactors, that they shall not be subject to the punishments pronounced by God? I think no man will be so foolish as so to affirm; for a thing more than evident it is, that the whole priesthood in the time of the law was bound to give obedience to the civil powers; and if any member of the same was found criminal, the same was subject to the punishment of the sword, which God had put in the hand of the magistrate. And this ordinance of his Father did not Christ disannul, but rather did confirm the same, commanding tribute to be payed for himself and for Peter; who perfectly knowing the mind of his Master, thus writeth in his epistle, "submit your-

selves to all manner of ordinance of man,"—he excepteth such as are expressly repugnant to God's commandment—"for the Lord's sake, whether it be to king, as to the chief head, or unto rulers, as unto them that are sent by him for punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

The same doth the apostle St Paul most plainly command in these words, "Let every soul be subject to the superior powers."

Which places make evident, that neither Christ, neither his apostles, hath given any assurance of this immunity and privilege which men of church, as they will be termed, do this day claim. Yea, it was a thing unknown to the primitive church many years after the days of the apostles: for Chrysostome, who served in the church at Constantinople, four hundred years after Christ's ascension, and after that corruption was greatly increased, doth yet thus write upon the foresaid words of the apostle. This precept, saith he, doth not appertain to such as are called seculars only, but even to those that are priests and religious men: and after he addeth, "Whether thou be apostle, evangelist, prophet, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this subjection."

Hereof it is plain that Chrysostome did not understand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subjection of the civil power, neither yet that he was author of such exemption and privilege, as papists do this day claim. And the same was the judgment and uniform doctrine of the primitive church many years after Christ. Your honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what fountain then did this their immunity, as they term it, and singular privilege, spring. I shall shortly touch that, which is evident in their own law and histories. When the bishops of Rome, the very antichrists, had partly by fraud and partly by violence usurped the superiority of some places in Italy, and most unjustly had spoiled the emperors of their rents and possessions, and had also murdered some of their officers, as histories do witness, then began pope after pope to practise and de-

wise, how they should be exempted from judgment of princes, and from the equity of laws, and in this point they were most vigilant, till at length iniquity did so prevail in their hands, according as Daniel had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronounced, neither by the emperor, neither by the clergy, neither yet by the people shall the judge be judged. "God will," saith Symmachus, "that the causes of others be determined by men; but without all question he hath reserved the bishop of this seat," understanding Rome, "to his own judgment."

And hereof divers popes and expositors of their laws would seem to give reasons. For, saith Agatho, all the precepts of the apostolic seat are assured, as by the voice of God himself.

The author of the gloss upon their canon affirmeth, that if all the world should pronounce sentence against the pope, yet should his sentence prevail. For, saith he, the pope hath a heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somewhat; and that sentence, which was nothing, that is, by his mind false and unjust, he may make somewhat that is true and just. For, saith he, in all things that please him his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may ask of him, Why dost thou so? For he may dispense above the law, and of injustice he may make justice; for he hath the fulness of all power.

And many other most blasphemous sentences did they pronounce every one after other, which for shortness' sake I omit, till at the end they obtained this most horrible decree; that, albeit in life and conversation they were so wicked and detestable, that not only they condemned themselves, but that also they drew to hell and perdition many thousands with them, yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them. This being established for the head—albeit not without some contradiction, for some emperors did require due obedience of them, as God's word commanded, and ancient bishops had given before to emperors, and to their laws, but Satan so prevailed in

his suit before the blind world, that the former sentences were confirmed, which power being granted to the head—then began provision to be made for the rest of the members in all realms and countries, where they made residence. The fruit whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation—I mean the vermin of the papistical order—will be subject to any civil magistrate, how enormous that ever his crime be, but will be reserved to their own ordinary, as they term it. And what fruits have hereof ensued, be the world never so blind, it cannot but witness. For how their head, that Roman antichrist, hath been occupied ever since the granting of such privileges, histories do witness, and of late the most part of Europe subject to the plague of God, to fire and sword, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth feel: the pride, ambition, envy, excess, fraud, spoil, oppression, murder, filthy life, and incest, that is used and maintained amongst that rabble of priests, friars, monks, canons, bishops, and cardinals, cannot be expressed. I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the papistical church is further degenerate from the purity of Christ's doctrine, from the footsteps of the apostles, and from the manners of the primitive church, than was the church of the Jews from God's holy statutes, what time it did crucify Christ Jesus the only Messiah, and most cruelly persecute his apostles: and yet will our papists claim their privileges and ancient liberties, which if you grant unto them, my lords, ye shall assuredly drink the cup of God's vengeance with them, and shall be reputed before his presence, companions of thieves and maintainers of murderers, as is before declared; for their immunity and privilege, whereof so greatly they boast, is nothing else, but as if thieves, murderers, or brigands should conspire amongst themselves, that they would never answer in judgment before any lawful magistrate, to the end that their theft and murder should not be punished; even such, I say, is their wicked privilege, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hath revealed his Father's will to the world, neither yet

of the apostles nor primitive church, as before is declared: but it is a thing conspired amongst themselves, to the end that their iniquity, detestable life, and tyranny shall neither be repressed nor reformed. And if they object, that godly emperors did grant and confirm the same, I answer, that the godliness of no man is or can be of sufficient authority to justify a foolish and ungodly fact, such I mean, as God hath not allowed by his word; for Abraham was a godly man, but the denial of his wife was such a fact as no godly man ought to imitate: the same might I show of David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, unto whom I think no man of judgment will prefer any emperor since Christ, in holiness and wisdom; and yet are not all their facts, no even such as they appeared to have done for good causes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I say, as error and ignorance remain always with the most perfect man in this life, so must their works be examined by another rule than by their own holiness, if they shall be approved. But if this answer doth not suffice, then will I answer more shortly, that no godly emperor since Christ's ascension hath granted any such privilege to any such church or person, as they, the whole generation of papists, be at this day. I am not ignorant, that some emperors of a certain zeal, and for some considerations, granted liberties to the true church, afflicted for their maintenance against tyrants; but what serveth this for the defence of their tyranny? If the law must be understood according to the mind of the lawgiver, then must they first prove themselves Christ's true and afflicted church, before they can claim any privilege to appertain to them, for only to that church were the privileges granted; it will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the long possession of the name, that can prevail in this so weighty a cause; for all those had the church of Jerusalem, which did crucify Christ, and did condemn his doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and tyranny, by the prophets, and plain scriptures of God, what trees and generation they are, to wit, unfruitful and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and cast in hell fire; yea, that they are the very

kingdom of antichrist, of whom we are commanded to beware. And therefore, my lords, to return to you, seeing that God hath armed your hands with the sword of justice, seeing that his law most straitly commandeth idolaters and false prophets to be punished with death; and that you be placed above your subjects to reign as fathers over their children; and further, seeing that not only I, but with me many thousand famous, godly, and learned persons, accuse your bishops and the whole rabble of the papistical clergy, of idolatry, of murder, and of blasphemy against God committed: it appertaineth to your honours to be vigilant and careful in so weighty a matter? The question is not of earthly substance, but of the glory of God, and of the salvation of yourselves, and of your brethren subject to your charge, in which if you, after this plain admonition, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance; for in the name of God I require of you, that the cause of religion may be tried in your presence by the plain and simple word of God; that your bishops be compelled to desist from their tyranny, that they be compelled to make answer for the neglecting of their office, for the substance of the poor, which unjustly they usurp, and prodigally they do spend; but principally for the false and deceivable doctrine which is taught and defended by their false prophets, flattering friars, and other such venomous locusts: which thing if with single eyes ye do, preferring God's glory and the salvation of your brethren to all worldly commodity, then shall the same God, who solemnly doth pronounce to honour those that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you, he shall be your buckler, protection, and captain, and shall repress by his strength and wisdom, whatsoever Satan by his supports shall imagine against you. I am not ignorant that great troubles shall ensue your enterprise; for Satan will not be expelled from the possession of his usurped kingdom without resistance: but if you, as is said, preferring God's glory to your own lives, unfeignedly seek and study to obey his blessed will, then shall your deliverance be

such, as evidently it shall be known, that the angels of the Eternal do watch, make war, and fight for those that unfeignedly fear the Lord. But if you refuse this my most reasonable and just petition, what defence that every you appear to have before men, then shall God, whom in me ye contemn, refuse you; he shall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your posterity after you; the spirit of boldness and wisdom shall be taken from you, your enemies shall reign, and you shall die in bondage; yea, God shall cut down the unfruitful trees, when they do appear most beautifully to flourish, and shall so burn the root, that after of you shall neither twig nor branch again spring to glory. Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient histories: for your brethren the nobility of England are a mirror and glass, in the which you may behold God's just punishment; for as they have refused him and his evangel, which once in mouth they did profess, so hath he refused them, and hath taken from them the spirit of wisdom, boldness, and of counsel; they see and feel their own misery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it. They hate the bondage of strangers, the pride of priests, and the monstrous empire of a wicked woman, and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of the devil, to obey whatsoever the proud Spaniards and wicked Jezebel list to command, and finally, to stand like slaves, with cap in hand, till the servants of Satan, the shaven sort, call them to council. This fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulness towards God; they are left confused in their own councils; he, whom in his members for the pleasure of a wicked woman they have exiled, persecuted, and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to scorn, suffereth them to be pined in bondage of most wicked men, and finally, shall adjudge them to the fire everlasting, except that speedily and openly they repent their horrible treason, which against God, against his Son Christ Jesus, and against the liberty of their own native realm they have committed. The same plagues shall fall upon you, be you assured, if ye refuse the defence of his servants that

call for your support. My words are sharp, but consider, my lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatenings of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will perform the voice of his prophets, how that ever carnal men despise his admonitions. The sword of God's wrath is already drawn, which of necessity must needs strike, when grace offered is obstinately refused. You have been long in bondage of the devil, blindness, error, and idolatry, prevailing against the simple truth of God in that your realm, in which God hath made you princes and rulers: but now doth God of his great mercy call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermost of his vengeance: he crieth to your ears, that your religion is nothing but idolatry; he accuseth you of the blood of his saints which hath been shed by your permission, assistance, and powers: for the tyranny of those raging beasts should have no force, if by your strength they were not maintained. Of those horrible crimes doth God now accuse you, not of purpose to condemn you, but mercifully to absolve and pardon you, as sometime he did those, whom Peter accused to have killed the Son of God; so that ye be not of mind, nor purpose to justify your former iniquity.

Iniquity I call not only the crimes and offences, which have been and yet remain in your manners and lives, but that also which appeareth before men most holy, with hazard of my life I offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole religion to be so corrupt and vain, that no true servant of God can communicate with it, because that in so doing he should manifestly deny Christ Jesus and his eternal verity. I know that your bishops, accompanied with the swarm of the papistical vermin, shall cry, "A damned heretic ought not to be heard." But remember, my lords, what in the beginning I have protested, upon which ground I continually stand, to wit, that I am no heretic nor deceivable teacher, but the servant of Christ Jesus, a preacher of his infallible verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine, and that therefore by them, being enemies to Christ, I am unjustly damned: from which cruel sentence

I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the meantime most humbly requiring your honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my just defences, granting unto me the same liberty which Ahab, a wicked king, and Israel, at that time a blinded people, granted to Elijah in the like case; that is, that your bishops, and the whole rabble of your clergy may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived, that I be not condemned by multitude, by custom, by authority or law devised by man, but that God himself may be judge, betwixt me and my adversaries. Let God, I say, speak by his law, by his prophets, by Christ Jesus, or by his apostles, and so let him pronounce what religion he approveth; and then be my enemies never so many, and appear they never so strong and so learned, no more do I fear victory, than did Elijah, being but one man against the multitude of Baal's priests. And if they think to have advantage by their councils and doctors, this I further offer, to admit the one and the other, as witnesses in all matters debateable; three things, which justly cannot be denied, being granted unto me: first, that the most ancient councils nighest to the primitive church, in which the learned and godly fathers did examine all matters by God's word, may be holden of most authority. Secondly, that no determination of councils nor man, be admitted against the plain verity of God's word, nor against the determination of those four chief councils, whose authority hath been and is holden by them equal with the authority of the four evangelists. And last, that to no doctor be given greater authority, than Augustine requireth to be given to his writings: to wit, if he plainly prove not his affirmation by God's infallible word, that then his sentence be rejected and imputed to the error of a man. These things granted and admitted, I shall no more refuse the testimonies of councils and doctors than shall my adversaries. But and if they will justify those

councils which maintain their pride and usurped authority, and will reject those which plainly have condemned all such tyranny, negligence, and wicked life, as bishops now do use: and if, further, they will snatch a doubtful sentence of a doctor, and refuse his mind, when he speaketh plainly, then will I say, that all [every] man is a liar, that credit ought not to be given to an unconstant witness, and that no councils ought to prevail, or be admitted against the sentence, which God hath pronounced. And thus, my lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a trial of mine innocency: I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people, as rulers and princes: I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realm, the verity of Christ Jesus, and with the hazard of my life, I presently offer to prove the religion, which amongst you is maintained by fire and sword, to be false, damnable, and diabolical. Which things if ye refuse, defending tyrants in their tyranny, then dare not I flatter; but as it was commanded to Ezekiel boldly to proclaim, so must I cry to you, that you shall perish in your iniquity, that the Lord Jesus shall refuse so many of you, as maliciously withstand his eternal verity, and in the day of his apparition, when all flesh shall appear before him, that he shall repel you from his company, and shall command you to the fire which never shall be quenched; and then neither shall the multitude be able to resist, neither yet the councils of man be able to prevail, against that sentence which he shall pronounce.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, so rule and dispose your hearts, that with simplicity ye may consider the things that are offered, and that ye may take such order in the same, as God in you may be glorified, and Christ's flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose omnipotent spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end. Amen.

TO HIS
BELOVED BRETHREN,
THE COMMONALTY OF SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX WISHETH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE, WITH THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUS
JUDGMENT.

WHAT I have required of the queen regent, estates, and nobility, as of the chief heads, for this present, of the realm, I cannot cease to require of you, dearly beloved brethren, which be the commonalty and body of the same; to wit, that it—notwithstanding that false and cruel sentence, which your disguised bishops have pronounced against me—would please you to be so favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my just purgation. Which to do, if God earnestly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt, but that your enterprise shall redound to the praise of his holy name, so am I assured, that ye and your posterity shall by that means receive most singular comfort, edification, and profit. For when ye shall hear the matter debated, ye shall easily perceive and understand, upon what ground and foundation is builded that religion, which amongst you is this day defended by fire and sword. As for my own conscience, I am most assuredly persuaded, that whatsoever is used in the papistical church is altogether repugning to Christ's blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom, of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly persuaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except by true conversion unto God, he be purged from the same. But because that long silence of God's word hath begotten ignorance almost in all sorts of men, and ignorance, joined with long custom, hath confirmed superstition in the hearts of many; I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus, desire audience, as well of you the commonalty, my brethren, as of

the estates and nobility of the realm, that in public preaching I may have place amongst you at large to utter my mind in all matters of controversy this day in religion. And, further, I desire that ye, concurring with your nobility would compel your bishops and clergy to cease their tyranny, and also that, for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compel your said bishops and false teachers to answer by the Scriptures of God to such objections and crimes as shall be laid against their vain religion, false doctrine, wicked life, and slanderous conversation. Here I know, that it shall be objected, that I require of you a thing most unreasonable; to wit, that ye should call your religion in doubt, which hath been approved and established by so long continuance, and by the consent of so many men before you. But I shortly answer, that neither is the long process of time, neither yet the multitude of men, a sufficient approbation which God will allow for our religion. For as some of the most ancient writers do witness, neither can long process of time justify an error, neither can the multitude of such as follow it change the nature of the same. But if it was an error in the beginning, so is it in the end, and the longer that it is followed, and the more that do receive it, it is the more pestilent, and more to be avoided. For if antiquity or multitude of men could justify any religion, then was the idolatry of the gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good religion. For antiquity approved the one, and a mul-

titude hath received and doth defend the other. But otherwise to answer, godly men may wonder from what fountain such a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to try his faith and religion by God's word, but that he safely may believe and follow every thing which antiquity and a multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwise teach us. For the wisdom of God, Christ Jesus himself, remitted his adversaries to Moses and the scriptures, to try by them whether his doctrine was of God or not. The apostles Paul and Peter commanded men to try the religion which they profess, by God's plain scriptures, and do praise men for so doing. St John straitly commandeth, that we believe not every spirit, but willetth us to try the spirits, whether they be of God or not. Now seeing that these evident testimonies of the Holy Ghost will [require] us to try our faith and religion by the plain word of God, wonder it is, that the papists will not be content, that their religion and doctrine come under the trial of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true—as it is most true, seeing it springeth from the verity itself—whoso evil doth, hateth the light, neither will he come to the light, lest that his evil works be manifested and rebuked; then do our papists by their own sentence condemn themselves and their religion. For in so far as they refuse examination and trial, they declare, that they know some fault, which the light will utter: which is a cause of their fear, and why they [lay] claim to that privilege, that no man dispute of their religion. The verity and truth, being of the nature of fine purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the furnace, but the stubble and chaff of man's inventions—such as their religion—may not abide the flame of the fire. True it is, that Mahomet pronounced this sentence, that no man should in pain of death, dispute or reason on the ground of his religion. Which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is yet observed amongst the Turks, to their mortal blindness and horrible blaspheming of Christ Jesus and of his true religion. And from Mahomet—or rather from Satan, father of all lies—hath the pope and his rabble learned

this former lesson, to wit, that their religion should not be disputed upon, but what the fathers have believed, that ought and must the children approve. And in so devising, Satan lacked not his foresight. For no one thing hath more established the kingdom of that Roman antichrist, than this most wicked decree, to wit, that no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his laws in doubt. This thing is most assured, that whensoever the papistical religion shall come to examination, it shall be found to have no other ground, than hath the religion of Mahomet, to wit, man's invention, device, and dream, overshadowed with some colour of God's word. And therefore, brethren, seeing that the religion is as the stomach to the body, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole members, it is necessary that the same be examined; and if it be found replenished with pestilent humours—I mean with the fantasies of men—then of necessity it is, that those be purged, else shall your bodies and souls perish for ever. For of this I would ye were most certainly persuaded, that a corrupt religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never so holy. Neither would I that ye should esteem the reformation and care of religion less to appertain to you, because ye are no kings, rulers, judges, nobles, nor in authority. Beloved brethren, ye are God's creatures, created and formed to his own image and similitude, for whose redemption was shed the most precious blood of the only beloved son of God, to whom he hath commanded his gospel and glad tidings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly inheritance, so that ye will not obstinately refuse and disdainfully contemn the means, which he hath appointed to obtain the same; to wit, his blessed evangel, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be saved. For the gospel and glad tidings of the kingdom truly preached, is the power of God to the salvation of every believer, which to credit and receive, you the commonalty are no less indebted, than are your rulers and princes. For albeit God hath put and ordained distinction and difference betwixt the king and

the subjects, betwixt the rulers and the common people in the regimen and administration of civil policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equal. For as in Christ Jesus the Jew hath no greater prerogative than hath the Gentile, the man than hath the woman, the learned than the unlearned, the lord than the servant, but all are one in him, so is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and spiritual graces, which is a lively faith working by charity. And therefore I say, that it doth no less appertain to you, beloved brethren, to be assured that your faith and religion be grounded and established upon the true and undoubted word of God, than to your princes or rulers. For as your bodies cannot escape corporal death, if with your princes ye eat or drink deadly poison, although it be by ignorance or negligence, so shall ye not escape the death everlasting, if with them ye profess a corrupt religion. Yea, except in heart ye believe, and with mouth ye confess, the Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world, which ye cannot do, except ye embrace his evangel offered, ye cannot escape death and damnation. For as the just liveth by his own faith, so doth the unfaithful perish by his infidelity. And as true faith is engendered, nourished, and maintained in the hearts of God's elect by Christ's evangel truly preached, so is infidelity and unbelief fostered by concealing and repressing the same. And thus if ye look for the life everlasting, ye must try if ye stand in faith, and if ye would be assured of a true and lively faith, ye must needs have Christ Jesus truly preached unto you. And this is the cause, dear brethren, that so oft I repeat, and so constantly I affirm, that to you it doth no less appertain, than to your king or princes, to provide that Christ Jesus be truly preached amongst you, seeing that without his true knowledge can neither of you both attain to salvation. And this is the point wherein I say all men are equal:—

“That as all be descended from Adam, by whose sin and inobedience did death enter into the world, so it behoved all that shall

obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who, being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justify many; to wit, all that unfeignedly believe in him.”

Of this equality, and that God requireth no less of the subject, be he never so poor, than of the prince and rich men, in matters of religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the law of Moses. For when the tabernacle was builded, erected, and set in order, God did provide how it and the things appertaining to the same, should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay. And this provision—albeit heaven and earth obey his empire—would he not take from the secret and hid treasures, which lie dispersed in the veins of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of his people; but he did command, that every man of the sons of Israel, were he rich or were he poor, that came in count from twenty years and upwards, should yearly pay half a shekel for an oblation to the Lord in the remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or cleansing of their souls,—which money God commanded should be bestowed upon the ornaments and necessities of the tabernacle of testimony. He furthermore added a precept, that the rich should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, than should the poor, neither yet that the poor should give any less than should the rich in that consideration. This law, to man's reason and judgment, may appear very unreasonable. For some rich man might have given a thousand shekels with less hurt of his substance, than some poor man might have paid the half shekel. And yet God maketh all equal, and will that the one shall pay no more than the other, neither yet the poor any less than the rich. This law, I say, may appear very unequal. But if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall find in the same the great mercy and inestimable wisdom of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these words:

“This money received from the children of Israel, thou shalt give in the service of the tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel for a remembrance before

the Lord, that he may be merciful to your souls."

This cause, I say, doth evidently declare, that as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt by the mighty power of God alone, so was every member of the same, without respect of persons, sanctified by his grace, the rich in that behalf nothing preferred to the poorest. For by no merit nor worthiness of man was he moved to choose and to establish his habitation and dwelling amongst them. But their felicity, prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other nations, proceeded only from the fountain of his eternal goodness, who loved them freely, as that he freely had chosen them to be his priestly kingdom and holy people from all nations of the earth. Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the midst of them, he neither was moved, I say, by the wisdom of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the virtue and holiness of any estate amongst them; but of mere goodness did he love them, and with his presence did he honour that whole people; and therefore to point out the same, his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occasions of contention and doubts of conscience, he would receive no more from the rich than from the poor, for the maintenance of that his tabernacle, by the which was represented his presence and habitation amongst them. If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then as the one should have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God, by reason of his greater gift, so should the conscience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment, that he could not stand in so perfect favour with God as did the other, because he was not able to give so much as did the rich, to the maintenance of his tabernacle. But he who of mercy, as said is, did choose his habitation amongst them, and also that best knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedy for the one and for the other, making them equal in that behalf, who in other things were most unequal. If the poor should have found himself grieved

by reason of that tax, and that as much was imposed upon him as upon the rich, yet had he no small cause of joy that God himself would please to compare him, and to make him equal in the maintenance of his tabernacle, to the most rich and potent in Israel. If this equality was commanded by God for maintenance of that transitory tabernacle, which was but a shadow of a better to come, is not the same required of us who now have the verity, which is Christ Jesus? who being clad with our nature is made Immanuel, that is, God with us. "Whose natural body, albeit it be received in the heavens, where he must abide till all be complete, that is forespoken by the prophets; yet hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world."

And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promise, he hath erected amongst us here in earth the signs of his own presence with us, his spiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his word, and right administration of his sacraments. To the maintenance whereof is no less bound the subject than the prince, the poor than the rich. For as the price which was given for man's redemption is one; so requireth God, of all that shall be partakers of the benefits of the same, a like duty, which is a plain confession that by Christ Jesus alone we have received whatsoever was lost in Adam. Of the prince doth God require, that he refuse [deny] himself, and that he follow Christ Jesus; of the subject he requireth the same. Of the kings and judges it is required, that they kiss the son, that is, give honour, subjection, and obedience to him. And from such reverence doth not God exempt the subject that shall be saved. And this is that equality which is betwixt the kings and the subjects, the most rich or noble, and betwixt the poorest and men of lowest estate; to wit, that as the one is obliged to believe in heart, and with mouth to confess, the Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world, so also is the other. Neither is there any of God's children, who hath attained to the years of discretion, so poor, but that he hath thus much to bestow upon the ornaments and maintenance of their

spiritual tabernacle, when necessity requireth, neither yet is there any so rich, of whose hand God requireth any more.* For albeit that David gathered great substance for the building of the temple; that Solomon with earnest diligence and incredible expenses erected and finished the same; that Hezekiah and Josiah purged the religion which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further debtor in that respect, than he was to the most simple of the faithful posterity of faithful Abraham. For their diligence, zeal, and works, gave rather testimony and confession before men, what honour they did bear to God, what love to his word and reverence to his religion, than that any work proceeding from them did either establish or yet increase God's favour towards them, who freely did love them, in Christ his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid. So that these forenamed by their notable works gave testimony of their unfeigned faith, and the same doth the poorest, that unfeignedly and openly professeth Christ Jesus, that doth embrace his glad tidings offered, that doth abhor superstition and fly from idolatry. The poorest, I say, and most simple, that this day in earth in the days of this cruel persecution, firmly believeth in Christ, and boldly doth confess him before this wicked generation, is no less acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done any less in promoting Christ his cause, than is the king, that by the sword and power which he hath received of God, rooteth out idolatry, and so advanceth Christ's glory. But to return to our former purpose, it is no less required, I say, of the subject to believe in Christ,

and to profess his true religion, than of the prince and king. And therefore I affirm, that in God's presence it shall not excuse you to allege, that ye were no chief rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of religion did not appertain unto you.

Ye, dear brethren—as before is said—are the creatures of God, created to his own image and similitude, to whom it is commanded to hear the voice of your heavenly father, to embrace his Son Christ Jesus, to fly from all doctrine and religion which he hath not approved by his own will revealed to us in his most blessed word. To which precepts and charges, if ye be found inobedient, ye shall perish in your iniquity, as rebels and stubborn servants, that have no pleasure to obey the good will of their sovereign lord, who most lovingly doth call for your obedience. And therefore, brethren, in this behalf it is your part to be careful and diligent. For the question is not of things temporal, which although they be endangered, yet by diligence and process of time may after be redressed, but it is of the damnation of your bodies and souls, and of the loss of the life everlasting, which once lost can never be recovered. And therefore, I say, that it behoveth you to be careful and diligent in this so weighty a matter, lest that ye, contemning this occasion, which God now offereth, find not the like, although that after with groaning and sobs, ye languish for the same. And that ye be not ignorant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall express it.

Not only I, but with me also divers other godly and learned men do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in

* Here is an explicit admission of the principle, that christian institutions ought to be supported by the voluntary contributions of the christian people, the poor as well as the rich; but Knox was mistaken if he meant that both should contribute to the same intrinsic amount. The law of the half shekel, from every man alike, was a peculiarity of the Mosaic dispensation. The rule in the New Testament church is, that every man give according as God hath prospered him. In this address to the people of Scotland, which he sent from Geneva along with his appeal to the nobility, Knox, I think,

appears to still more advantage than he does in the appeal. Along with an affectionate earnestness, which shows the heart-felt interest he took in the spiritual welfare of the people, he inculcates sentiments of civil liberty and christian privilege, that had rarely, if at all, been published in the kingdom before. There is reason to think that his address to the people had more effect upon them, than the appellation had upon the nobles. It prepared the way for his powerful preaching that soon followed, and which effected the reformation.—Ed.

the ways of the Eternal our God, and in the sincerity of Christ's evangel, which this day by the pestilent generation of anti-christ—I mean, by the pope, and by his most ungodly clergy—are almost hid from the eyes of men. We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your souls, and by manifest scriptures to prove that religion, which amongst you is maintained by fire and sword, to be vain, false, and diabolical. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our doctrine, which is not ours, but is the doctrine of salvation revealed to the world by the only Son of God; and that ye will examine our reasons, by the which we offer to prove the papistical religion to be abominable before God. And last we require, that by your power the tyranny of these cruel beasts, I mean, of priests and friars, may be bridled, till we have uttered our minds in all matters this day debateable in religion. If these things, in the fear of God, ye grant to me and unto others that unfeignedly for your salvation and for God's glory require the same, I am assured, that of God ye shall be blessed, whatsoever Satan shall devise against you. But and if ye contemn or refuse God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you salvation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues temporal, which shortly shall apprehend you, neither yet the torment prepared for the devil, and for his angels, except by speedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom now ye refuse, if that ye refuse the messengers of his word.

But yet I think ye doubt, what ye ought and may do in this so weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conscience in the one and in the other. Ye ought to prefer the glory of God, the promoting of Christ his evangel, and the salvation of your souls, to all things that be in earth: and ye, although ye be but subjects, may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers, and that they expel such as, under the names of pastors, devour and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Jesus hath commanded. And if in this point your superior be negligent, or

yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, be it in your cities, towns, or villages: them ye may maintain and defend against all that shall persecute them, and by that means shall labour to defraud you of that most comfortable food of your souls, Christ's evangel truly preached. Ye may, moreover, withhold the fruits and profits which your false bishops and clergy most unjustly receive of you, until such time as they be compelled faithfully to do their charge and duties, which is to preach unto you Christ Jesus truly, rightly to minister his sacraments according to his own institution, and so to watch for the salvation of your souls, as is commanded by Christ Jesus himself, and by his apostles Paul and Peter. If God shall move your hearts in his true fear to begin to practise these things, and to demand and crave the same of your superiors, which most lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but, of his great mercy and free grace, he shall illuminate the eyes of your minds, that his undoubted verity shall be a lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the ways which his godly wisdom doth approve. He shall make your enemies tremble before your faces, he shall establish his blessed evangel amongst you to the salvation and perpetual comfort of yourselves, and of your posterity after you. But and if—as God forbid—the love of friends, the fear of your princes, and the wisdom of the world, draw you back from God and his Son Christ Jesus, be ye certainly persuaded, that ye shall drink the cup of his vengeance, so many, I mean, as shall contemn and despise this loving calling of your heavenly father. It will not excuse you, dear brethren, in the presence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his visitation, to say, we were but simple subjects, we could not redress the faults and crimes of our rulers, bishops, and clergy: we called for reformation, and wished for the same, but lords' [brothers of lords] brethren were bishops, their sons were abbots, and the friends of great men had the possession of the church, and so were we compelled to give obedience to all that

they demanded. These vain excuses, I say, will nothing avail you in the presence of God, who requireth no less of the subjects than of the rulers, that they decline from evil, and that they do good, that they abstain from idolatry, superstition, blasphemy, murder, and other such horrible crimes which his law forbiddeth, and yet not the less are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable realm. And if ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the chief authors of such iniquity, ye are utterly deceived. For God doth not only punish the chief offenders, but with them doth he damn the consenters to iniquity: and all are judged to consent, that, knowing impiety committed, give no testimony that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more plain, as your princes and rulers are criminal with your bishops of all idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimony of Christ's truth, and that because they maintain them in their tyranny, so are you—I mean, so many of you as give no plain confession to the contrary—criminal and guilty, with your princes and rulers, of the same crimes, because ye assist and maintain your princes in their blind rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny displeaseth you. This doctrine, I know, is strange to the blind world, but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable punishments from the beginning. When the original world perished by water, when Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by fire, and, finally, when Jerusalem was horribly destroyed, doth any man think, that all were alike wicked before the world? evident it is that they were not, if they shall be judged according to their external facts. For some were young, and could not be oppressors, neither yet could defile themselves with unnatural and beastly lusts; some were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thirst for the blood of Christ nor of his apostles. But did any escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude. Let the scriptures witness, and the histories be considered, which plainly do testify, that by the waters all flesh in earth at that

time did perish, Noah and his family reserved, that none escaped in Sodom and in the other cities adjacent, except Lot and his two daughters. And evident it is, that in that famous city Jerusalem, in that last and horrible destruction of the same, none escaped God's vengeance, except so many as before were dispersed. And what is the cause of this severity, seeing that all were not alike offenders? let flesh cease to dispute with God, and let all men, by these examples, learn betimes to fly and avoid the society and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The cause is evident: if we can be subject, without grudging, to God's judgments, which in themselves are most holy and just. For in the original world none was found that either did resist tyranny and oppression, that universally was used, either yet that earnestly reprehended the same. In Sodom was none found that did gainstand that furious and beastly multitude, that did compass about and besiege the house of Lot. None would believe Lot, that the city should be destroyed. And, finally, in Jerusalem was none found that studied to repress the tyranny of the priests, who were conjured against Christ and his evangel, but all fainted—I except ever such as gave witness with their blood or their flying, that such impiety displeaseth them—all kept silence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joined hands with the tyrants, and so were all arrayed and set, as it had been, in one battle, against the Omnipotent, and against his Son Christ Jesus. For whosoever gathereth not with Christ in the day of his harvest, is judged to scatter. And therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers. Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep consideration of your duties in these last and most perilous times. The iniquity of your bishops is more than manifest; their filthy lives infect the air; the innocent blood which they shed crieth vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination which openly they commit, and without punishment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole land; and

none amongst you doth unfeignedly study for any redress of such enormities. Will God, in this behalf, hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren. God hath punished not only the proud tyrants, filthy persons, and cruel murderers, but also such as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjust commandments, or in winking at their manifest iniquity. All such, I say, hath God once punished with the chief offenders. Be ye assured, brethren, that as he is immutable of nature, so will he not pardon in you, that which so severely he hath punished in others; and now the less, because he hath plainly admonished you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercy, before he pour forth his wrath and displeasure upon the inobedient. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Father of glory, and God of all consolation, give you the spirit of wisdom, and open unto you the knowledge of himself by the means of his dear son, by the which ye may attain to the esperance and hope, that

after the troubles of this transitorious life, ye may be partakers of the riches of that glorious inheritance, which is prepared for such as refuse themselves, and fight under the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battle; that in deep consideration of the same, ye may learn to prefer the invisible and eternal joys to the vain pleasures that are present. God farther grant you his Holy Spirit, righteously to consider what I, in his name, have required of your nobility, and of you the subjects; and move you all together so to answer, that my petition be not a testimony of your just condemnation, when the Lord Jesus shall appear to revenge the blood of his saints, and the contempt of his most holy word. Amen.

Sleep not in sin, for vengeance is prepared against all inobedient. Flee from Babylon, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

Be witness to my appellation. Grace be with you. From Geneva, the 14th of July, 1558. Your brother to command in godliness.

JOHN KNOX.

Note.—This is followed in my copy by ten folio pages, intitled, “An Admonition to England and Scotland, to call them to repentance, written by Antoni Gilby.” The editor—Crawford—seems to have taken this for a writing by Knox under an assumed name, which, Dr M'Crie says, is a mistake. Gilby was, at the same time with Knox, a member of the English church in Geneva, and was the author of several publications. See *Life of Knox*, 1st ed. p. 253. I see no reason for inserting this, more than the writing of any other man, among

Knox's acknowledged productions; and therefore I leave it out, as David Buchanan did; or, perhaps, he never saw it: but in its room he gives what Crawford's edition wants; namely, “A faithful Admonition made by John Knox to the true professors of the gospel of Christ within England, 1554.” It is very long; but I think this volume would be reckoned incomplete without it. It is in the Paisley edition, and, I believe, also in the Edinburgh ones which copied Buchanan's. It is as follows.—*Ed.*

FAITHFUL ADMONITION,

MADE BY

JOHN KNOX,

TO THE TRUE PROFESSORS OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST

WITHIN THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, 1554.

JOHN KNOX WISHETH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE, FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUAL COMFORT OF THE HOLY GHOST, TO BE WITH YOU FOR EVER AND EVER, DEAR BRETHREN, THE AFFLICTED MEMBERS OF CHRIST'S CHURCH IN ENGLAND.*

HAVING no less desire to comfort such as now be in trouble within the realm of England,—and especially you, for many causes, most dear to me,—than hath the natural father to ease the grief and pain of his dearest child; I have considered with myself, what argument or parcel of God's scriptures was most convenient and meet to be handled for your consolation, in these most dark and dolorous days: and so,—as for the same purpose I was turning my book,—I chanced to see a note in the margin written thus in Latin, *Videat Anglia*, Let England beware; which note when I had considered, I found, that the matter written in my book in Latin was this, "Seldom it is that God worketh any notable work to the comfort of his church, but that trouble,

fear, and labour come upon such as God hath used for his servants and workmen; and also tribulation most commonly followeth that church where Christ Jesus is most truly preached." This note was made upon a place of scripture written in the fourteenth chapter of St Matthew's gospel; which place declareth, that after Christ Jesus had used the apostles as ministers and servants to feed,—as it had been by their hands,—five thousand men, beside women and children, with five barley loaves and two fishes; he sent them to the sea, commanding them to pass over before him to the other side. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the same purpose did travail and row forth in the sea, the night approached, the wind was

* This is upon the whole a very interesting production. It contains an edifying example of humility and self-condemnation on the part of the author, on account of the defects of his ministry, when he enjoyed the liberty of preaching in England. He seems to think he had done nothing, while his brethren, no doubt, thought he had laboured more abundantly than they all. I suppose, if the most faithful preacher of the present day, were to have his mouth finally shut, he would remember a thousand things which he ought to have said while he had freedom of speech. This seems to have been precisely Knox's feeling; and from the manner in which he expresses himself, no one can doubt

that he is recording the genuine sentiments of his deeply afflicted heart. We have here also a faithful statement of the miserable condition of England, with respect to religion, during the reign of the bloody Queen Mary. But what will be found most fraught with instruction, is a very lively specimen of Knox's manner of expounding and applying passages of scripture. It is in fact an expository lecture, though it is not so announced. Perhaps he finds some things in his text, that the Holy Spirit does not directly teach in it; but they seem all to arise so naturally, that I cannot call any of them forced or far-fetched.—*Ed.*

contrary, the vehement and raging storm arose, and was like to overthrow their poor boat and them. When I considered,—as dolour and my simplicity would suffer,—the circumstances of the text, I began to reckon and ask account of myself, and as God knoweth, not without sorrow and sobs, whether at any time I had been so plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy will and wisdom in that matter unto me, as mine own pen and note bear witness to my conscience: and shortly it came to my mind, that the same place of the scripture I had handled in your presence, when God gave opportunity and time for you to hear God's messenger speak the words of eternal life. Wherefore, I thought nothing more expedient, than shortly to call to mind against such things as then I trust were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me so plainly uttered, neither of you so plainly perceived, as these most dolorous days declare the same to us.

It shall not be necessary to handle the text word by word, but of the whole sum to gather certain notes and observations,—which shall not far disagree from the state of these days,—it shall be sufficient. And first, it is to be observed, that after this great miracle that Christ had wrought, he neither would retain with himself the multitude of people whom he had fed, neither yet his disciples; but the one he sent away every man to return to his place of accustomed residence, and the others he sent to the danger of the seas; not as he that was ignorant what should chance unto them, out knowing and foreseeing the tempest, yea and appointing the same so to trouble them.

It is not to be judged, that the only and true Pastor would remove and send away from him the wandering and weak sheep; neither yet that the only provident governor and guide would set out his rude warriors to so great a jeopardy, without sufficient and most just cause.

Why Christ removed and sent away from him the people, the evangelist St John declareth, saying, "When Jesus knew

that they were come to take him, that they might make him king, he passed secretly --or alone—to the mountain." Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Christ to send away the people from him, because that by him they sought a carnal and worldly liberty, regarding nothing his heavenly doctrine of the kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly; showing them, that such as would follow him must suffer for his name's sake persecution, must be hated of all men, must deny themselves, must be sent forth as sheep among wolves: but no part of this doctrine pleased them, or could enter into their hearts, but their whole mind was upon their bellies, for sufficing whereof they devised and imagined, that they would appoint Christ Jesus to be their worldly king; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleasure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Christ Jesus, he withdrew himself from their company, to avoid all suspicion, and to let them understand, that no such honours did agree with his vocation, who came to serve, and not to be served: and when this same people sought him again, he sharply rebuked them, because they sought him more to have their bellies fed with corruptible meat, than to have their souls nourished with lively bread that came down from heaven. And thus in the people there was just cause why Christ should withdraw himself from them for a time.

Why the disciples should suffer that great danger, fear and anguish, St Mark in his gospel plainly showeth, saying, "That their hearts were blinded, and therefore did neither remember nor consider the miracle of the loaves:" that is, albeit with their hands they had touched that bread by which so great a multitude was fed; and albeit also they had gathered up twelve baskets full of that which remained of a few loaves, which before the miracle a boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly consider the infinite power of Christ Jesus by this wonderful miracle: and therefore of necessity it was, that in

their own bodies they should suffer trouble for their better instruction.

When I deeply consider, dearly beloved, in our Saviour Christ, how abundantly and how miraculously the poor and small flock of Christ Jesus was fed within the realm of England, under that elect and chosen vessel of God to glory and honour, Edward the Sixth; and now again behold not only the dispersion and scattering abroad, but also the appearing destruction of the same, under these cursed, cruel, and abominable idolaters, methink I see the same causes to have moved God, not only to withdraw his presence from the multitude, but also to have sent his well-beloved servants to the travails of the seas, wherein they were sore tossed and turmoiled, and apparently most like to perish.

What were the affections of the greatest multitude that followed the gospel in this former rest and abundance, is easy to be judged, if the life and conversation of every man should have been thoroughly examined: for who lived in that rest, as that he had refused himself? who lived in that rest, as that he had been crucified with Christ? who lived in that rest, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and seeking the world and pleasures thereof, caring for the flesh and carnal appetites, as though death and sin had clean been devoured? and what was this else, than to make of Christ an earthly king? The word that we professed daily cried in our ears, that our kingdom, our joy, our rest, and felicity, neither were, are, nor shall be upon the earth, neither in any transitory thing thereof, but in heaven, into which we must enter by many tribulations. But, alas! we slept in such security, that the sound of the trumpet could of many never be perfectly understood, but always we persuaded ourselves of a certain tranquillity, as though the troubles whereof mention is made within the scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age, but unto such as of long time are passed before us: and

therefore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the presence of his verity,—whose voice in those days we could not believe,—to the end that more earnestly we may thirst for the same, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it shall please his infinite goodness, in such abundance, to restore the same again.

I mean nothing of those that followed Christ only for their bellies, for such perceiving that they could not obtain their heart's desire of Christ, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing their blasphemous voices, spoken against his eternal verity, doth witness and declare. For such, brethren, be ye not moved; for in the time of their profession they were not of us, but were very dissemblers and hypocrites; and therefore God justly permitteth that they blaspheme the truth, which they never loved. I mean not that ever such dissembling hypocrites shall embrace the verity,* but I mean such as by infirmity of the flesh, and by natural blindness,—which in this life is never altogether expelled,—then could not give the very obedience which God's word required, neither now by weakness of faith dare openly and boldly confess that which their hearts know to be most true, and yet lament and mourn, both for the imperfection bypast and present; from such shall not the amiable presence of Christ for ever be withdrawn; but yet again shall the eyes of their sore-troubled hearts behold and see that light of Christ's gospel, wherein they most delight. We, the ministers, who were the distributors of this bread, the true word of God, wherewith the multitude within England was fed, lacked not our offences, which also moved God to send us to the sea. And because the offences of no man are so manifest unto me, as mine own, I will only censure myself.

It is not unknown unto many, that I, the most wretched, was one of that number

* Perhaps it should be, I mean not such dissemblers and hypocrites as never shall, &c.
—Ed.

whom God appointed to receive that bread, as it was broken by Christ Jesus, to distribute and give the same to such as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table where he appointed me to serve. It is not in my knowledge or judgment to define or determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their stomachs; but of this I am assured, that the benediction of Christ Jesus so multiplied the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet,—this I write to the praise of His name, and to the accusation of mine own unthankfulness,—the bread never failed when the hungry soul craved or cried for food; and at the end of the banquet, mine own conscience beareth witness, that mine hands gathered up the crumbs that were left, in such abundance, that the banquet was full among the rest. To be plain, mine own conscience beareth record to myself, how small was my learning, and how weak I was of judgment, when Christ Jesus called me to be his steward, and how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multiplied his graces with me, if I should conceal, I were most wicked and unthankful.

But, alas! how blinded was my heart, and how little I did consider the dignity of that office, and the power of God that then multiplied and blessed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conscience beareth witness to myself. God I take to record in my conscience, that I delivered the same bread that I received of Christ's hands; and that I mixed no poison with the same; that is, I taught Christ's gospel without any mixture of men's dreams, devices, or fantasies. But, alas! I did it not with such fervency, with such indifferency [impartiality], and with such diligence as this day I know my duty was to have done.

Some complained in those days, that the preachers were indiscreet persons, yea, some called them railers, and worse, because they spake against the manifest iniquity of men, and especially of those that then were placed in authority, as well in

court, as in other offices universally throughout the realm, both in cities, towns, and villages. And among others, peradventure, my rude plainness displeased some, who did complain, that rashly I did speak of men's faults, so that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But, alas! this day my conscience accuseth me, that I spake not so plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressly by his name, "Thou shalt die the death." For I find Jeremiah the prophet to have done so to Pashur the high priest, and to Zedekiah the king. And not only he, but also Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, Christ Jesus himself, and, after him, his apostles, expressly to have named the blood-thirsty tyrants, abominable idolaters, and dissembling hypocrites of their days. If that we the preachers within the realm of England, were appointed by God to be the salt of the earth, as his other messengers were before us, alas! why withheld we the salt, where manifest compunction did appear? I accuse none but myself. The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcase was the chief cause that I was not fervent and faithful enough in that behalf; for I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men against me: and therefore so touched I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest, that they might see themselves to be offenders,—I dare not say that I was the greatest flatterer. But yet, nevertheless, I would not be seen to proclaim manifest war against the manifest wicked: whereof unfeignedly I ask my God mercy.

As I was not so fervent in rebuking manifest iniquity as it became me to have been; so was I not so indifferent a feeder as is required of Christ's steward: for in preaching Christ's gospel, albeit mine eye, as knoweth God, was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of some men with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more residence in one place than in another, having more respect to the pleasure of a few, than to the necessity of many. That day I thought I had not sinned, if I

had not been idle; but this day I know it was my duty to have had consideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, to whom, alas! none took pain to break and distribute the bread of life.

Moreover, remaining in one place I was not so diligent as mine office required; but sometime, by counsel of carnal friends, I spared the body; sometime I spent in worldly business of particular friends; and sometime in taking recreation and pastime by exercise of the body.

And albeit men may judge these to be light and small offences, yet I acknowledge and confess, that unless pardon should be granted to me in Christ's blood, that every one of these three offences aforementioned, that is to say, lack of fervency in reproving sin, the lack of indifferency [impartiality] in feeding those that were hungry, and the lack of diligence in the execution of mine office, deserved damnation.

And beside these, I was assaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more gross sins; that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation, and praise of men; against which, albeit that sometime the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me,—God knoweth, I lie not,—to sob and lament for those imperfections; yet never ceased they to trouble me when any occasion was offered: and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded, till vainglory had almost gotten the upper hand.

“O Lord be merciful to my great offence, and deal not with me according to my great iniquity; but according to the multitude of thy mercies, remove from me the burden of my sin: for of purpose and mind to have avoided the vain displeasure of man, I spared little to offend thy majesty.”

Think not, beloved in the Lord, that thus I accuse myself without just cause, as though, in so doing, I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpose and intent, by occasion thereof to accuse others of my brethren, the true preachers of Christ, of like or greater offences: no, God is judge to my conscience, that I do it even

from an unfeigned and sore-troubled heart, as I that know myself grievously to have offended the majesty of my God, during the time that Christ's gospel had free passage in England. And this I do let you understand, that the taking away of the heavenly bread, and this great tempest that now bloweth against the poor disciples of Christ within the realm of England,—as touching our part,—cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfeigned repentance, for that neither preacher nor professor did rightly consider the time of our merciful visitation: but altogether so we spent the time, as though God's word had been preached rather to satisfy our fantasies, than to reform our evil manners. Which thing if we earnestly repent, then shall Jesus Christ appear to our comfort, be the storm never so great. “Haste, O Lord, for thy name's sake.”

The second thing that I find to be noted, is, the vehemency of the fear which the disciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance than ever they had at any time before.

In St Matthew's gospel it appeareth, that at another time there arose a great stormy tempest, and sore tossed the boat wherein Christ's disciples were labouring: but that was nigh the daylight, and then they had Christ with them in the ship, whom they awaked, and cried for help unto him,—for at that time he slept in the boat,—and so were shortly delivered from their sudden fear. But now were they in the midst of the raging sea, and it was night, and Christ their Comforter absent from them, and cometh not to them either in the first, second, or third watch, what fear, think ye, were they in? and what thoughts arose out of their so troubled hearts, during that storm? Such as this day are in like danger within the realm of England, do by this storm better understand than my pen can express. But of one thing I am well assured, that Christ's presence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable than ever it was before; and that patiently they would have suffered their

incredulity [unbelief] to have been rebuked, so that they might have escaped the present death.

But profitable it shall be, and somewhat to our comfort, to consider every parcel of their danger: and first, ye shall understand, that when the disciples passed to the sea to obey Christ's commandment, it was fair weather, and no such tempest seen. But suddenly the storm arose with a contrarious flaw [blast] of wind, when they were in the midst of their journey. For if the tempest had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the sea, as it was after, when they were about the midst of their journey, neither would they have adventured such a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midst of the sea. And so it may be evidently gathered, that the sea was calm when they entered into their journey.

Then it is to be remarked, by what means and instruments was this storm moved. Was the plunging of their oars, and force of their small boat, such as might stir the waves of the great sea? no, doubtless: but the Holy Ghost declareth, that the seas were moved by a vehement and contrary wind, which blew against their ship in the time of darkness. But seeing the wind is neither the commander nor mover of itself, some other cause is to be inquired, which hereafter we shall touch.

And last, it is to be noted and considered, what the disciples did in all this vehement tempest. Truly they turned not to be driven back for land or shore, by the vehemency of the contrary wind; for so it might be thought that they could not have escaped shipwreck and death: but they continually laboured in rowing against the wind, abiding the ceasing of that horrible tempest.

Consider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we read here to have chanced to Christ's disciples, and to their poor boat; and you shall well perceive, that the same thing hath chanced, doth and shall chance, to the true church and congregation of Christ,—which is nothing else in this miserable life but a poor ship,—travailing in the

seas of this unstable and troublesome world, toward the heavenly port, and haven of eternal felicity, which Christ Jesus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the posterity of Jacob in Egypt; by the Israelites in their captivity; and by the church during the time that Christ himself did preach,—and sometime after his resurrection and ascension,—against whom the vehement storm did not rage immediately after they entered into the ship of their travail and tribulation: for the bloody sentence of Pharaoh was not pronounced against the seed of Jacob when he first did enter into Egypt: neither was the cruel counsel and devilish device of proud Haman invented by and by after Israel and Judah were translated from their possessions: neither yet in the time of Christ Jesus being conversant with his apostles in the flesh, was there used any such tyranny against the saints of God, as shortly after followed in the persecution of St Stephen, and other disciples. But all these in the beginning of their travail with a contrary wind, had always some calm; that is, albeit they had some trouble, yet had they not extreme persecution.

Even so, most dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted church of God within the realm of England: at all times the true word of God suffered contradiction and repugnancy; and so the wind blew against us even from the beginning of the late uprising of the gospel in England: but yet it could not stop our course, till now of late days, that the raging wind bloweth without bridle upon the unstable seas, in the midst whereof we are in this hour of darkness.

To write my mind plainly unto you, beloved brethren, this wind that always hath blown against the church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devil, which rightly in this case is compared to the wind; for as the wind is invisible, and yet the poor disciples feel that it troubleth and letteth [hinders] their ship; so is the pestilent envy of the devil, working always in the hearts of the reprobate so subtil and crafty, that it cannot be espied by God's elect, nor by his messengers, till first they

feel the blasts thereof to blow their ship backward: and as the vehement wind causeth the waves of the sea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it cease nor refrain; so that both it is troubled by the wind, and also itself doth trouble Christ's disciples in their poor ship: so by the envy and malice of the devil, are wicked and cruel, as well subjects as princes, whose hearts are like the raging sea, compelled to persecute and trouble the true church of Christ; and yet so blinded are they, and so enthralled under the bondage of the devil, that neither can they see their manifest iniquity, neither yet can they cease to run to their own destruction. And hereof, England, hast thou manifest experience: for in the time of king Henry the eighth, how the wolf, that wicked Winchester, and others, by the vehement wind of six bloody articles, by the devil devised, intended to have overthrown the poor ship and Christ's disciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Christ Jesus with us sleeping in the ship, who did not despise the faithful crying of such as then were in trouble: but by his mighty power, gracious goodness, and invincible force of his holy word, he compelled those wicked winds to cease, and the raging of those seas to be stilled and calm; so that all the hearts of God's elect within the realm of England did wonder at that sudden change, while that under a lamb the fearful edge of that devouring sword was taken from the necks of the faithful; and the tyranny of those ravening and blood-thirsty wolves,—I mean of wily Winchester, and of some other his brethren, the sons of Belial,—was repressed for a time. But yet ceased not the devil to blow his wind, by his wicked instruments, who found the means, how against nature the one brother should assent to the death of the other. But that could not hinder the course of the travailing boat, but forth she goeth in despite of the devil, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his own honour and service, that is, his detestable mass, to be disclosed and opened before the people, to be damnable idolatry, and assured damnation to such as put their trust

in it: and therefore began he more craftily to work, and finding the same instruments apt enough, whose labours he had used before, he blew such mortal hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the king: for that wretched, alas! and miserable Northumberland could not be satisfied, till such time as simple Somerset most unjustly was bereft of his life. What the devil and his members the pestilent papists, meant by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one; and especially before you, and in Newcastle, as Sir Robert Bradling did not forget a long time after. God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then, and at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard, whose hedges, ditches, towers, and winepress God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit: and that he may remember, that whatever was spoken by my mouth that day, is now complete, and come to pass; except that final destruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unless that he and some other of his sort, that then were enemies to God's truth, will speedily repent, and that earnestly, their stubborn disobedience. God compelled my tongue, I say, openly to declare, that the devil and his ministers intended only the subversion of God's true religion, by that mortal hatred among those which ought to have been most assuredly knit together by Christian charity, and by benefits received; and especially that the wicked and envious papists, by that ungodly breach of charity, diligently minded [intended] the overthrow of him, that, to his own destruction, procured the death of his innocent friend. Thus, I say, I was compelled of conscience oftener than once to affirm, that such as saw and invented the means how the one should be taken away, saw and should find the means also to take away the other; and that all that trouble was devised by the devil and his instruments, to stop and let [hinder] Christ's disciples and their poor boat; but that was not able, because she was not yet come to the midst of the sea.

Transubstantiation, the bird that the devil hatched by pope Nicholas, and since that time fostered and nourished by all his children, priests, friars, monks, and other his conjured and sworn soldiers, and in these last days chiefly by Stephen Gardner and his black brood in England; transubstantiation, I say, was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God had put wisdom in the tongues of his ministers and messengers to utter that vain vanity; and especially gave such strength to that reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, to cut the knots of devilish sophistry linked and knit by the devil's gardener, and his blind buzzards, to hold the verity of the everliving God under bondage, that rather I think they shall condemn his works, which notwithstanding shall continue and remain to their confusion, than they shall enterprize to answer the same. And also God gave boldness and knowledge to the court of parliament to take away the round clipped god,* wherein standeth all the holiness of papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions—kneeling at the Lord's supper excepted—which before profaned Christ's true religion. Then, dear brethren, was the boat in the midst of the sea, and suddenly ariseth the horrible tempest, most fearful and dolorous; our king is taken away from us, and the devil bloweth in such organs as always he had found obedient to his precepts, and by them he inflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man,† whom I judge more to be lamented than hated, to covet the imperial crown of England to be established to his posterity, and what thereupon hath succeeded, it is not now necessary to be written.

Of this short discourse, beloved in the Lord, you may consider and perceive two special notes:—

1. That the whole malice of the devil

* The round god or wafer was taken away by act of parliament.

† Northumberland, whose son had married lady Jane Gray.—*Eid.*

hath always this end, to vex and overthrow Christ's afflicted church; for what else intended the devil and his servants, the pestilent papists, by all these their crafty policies, during the time that Christ's gospel was preached in England, than the subversion of the same gospel, and that they might recover power to persecute the saints of God, as this day in the hour of darkness they have obtained for a time, to their own destruction. Let no man wonder though I say, that the crafty policies of pestilent papists wrought all the mischief; for who could easier and better work greater mischief than such as bare authority and rule? And who, I pray you, ruled the roast in the court all this time, by stout courage and proudness of stomach, but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under king Edward, ruled all by counsel and wit? shall I name the man? I will write no more plainly now than my tongue spake, the last sermon that it pleased God that I should make before that innocent and most godly king Edward the sixth, and before his council at Westminster, and even to the faces of such as of whom I meant. Handling this place of scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem sustulit adversus me calcaneum suum*; that is, "He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me." I made this affirmation, that commonly it was seen, that the most godly princes had officers and chief counsellors most ungodly, conjured enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their princes; not that their wickedness and ungodliness was speedily perceived and espied out of the said princes and godly men, but that for time those crafty colourers could so cloak their malice against God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving masters, that by worldly wisdom and policy at length they attained to high promotions. And for the proof of this mine affirmation, I recited the histories of Ahitophel, Shebna, and Judas; of whom the two former had high offices and promotions with great authority, under the most godly princes, David and Hezekiah, and Judas was purse-master with

Christ Jesus. And when I had made some discourse in that matter, I moved this question :

Why permitted so godly princes so wicked men to be of their council, and to bear office and authority under them ?

To the which I answered, that either they so abounded in worldly wisdom, foresight, and experience, touching the government of a commonwealth, that their counsel appeared to be so necessary, that the commonwealth could not lack them, and so by the colour to preserve the tranquillity and quietness in realms, they were maintained in authority; or else they kept their malice which they bare towards their masters and God's true religion, so secret in their breasts, that no man could espy it, till by God's permission they waited for such occasion and opportunity, that they uttered all their mischief so plainly, that all the world might perceive it: and that was most evident by Ahitophel and Shebna; for of Ahitophel it is written, that he was David's most secret counsellor, and that, because his counsel in those days was like the oracle of God; and Shebna was unto good king Hezekiah sometime comptroller, sometime secretary, and last of all treasurer; to the which offices he had never been promoted under so godly a prince, if the treason and malice which he bare against the king, and against God's true religion, had been manifestly known. No, quoth I, Shebna was a crafty fox, and could show such a fair countenance to the king, that neither he nor his council could espy his malicious treason. But the prophet Isaiah was commanded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traitorous heart and miserable end.

Was David, said I, and Hezekiah, princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abused by crafty counsellors and dissembling hypocrites? what wonder is it then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid that Ahitophel is counsellor, that Judas bears the purse, and that Shebna is scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.

This and somewhat more I spake that

day, not in a corner, as many yet can witness, but even before those whom my conscience judged worthy of accusation: and this day no more do I write, albeit I may justly, because they have declared themselves most manifestly; but yet do I affirm, that under that innocent king, pestilent papists had greatest authority. Oh! who was judged to be the soul and life to the council in every matter of weighty importance? who but Shebna? Who could best despatch businesses, that the rest of the council might hawk, and hunt, and take their pleasure? none like unto Shebna. Who was most frank and ready to destroy Somerset, and set up Northumberland? was it not Shebna? Who was most bold to cry, Bastard, bastard! incestuous, bastard Mary shall never reign over us? And who, I pray you, was most busy to say, Fear not to subscribe with my lords of the king's majesty's most honourable privy council, agree to his majesty's last will and perfect testament, and let never that obstinate woman come to authority,—she is an arrant papist, she will subvert the true religion, and will bring in strangers to the destruction of this commonwealth? which of the council, I say, had these and greater persuasions against Mary, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth? Shebna the treasurer. And what intended such traitorous and dissembling hypocrites by all these and such like crafty flights and counterfeit conveyance [contrivance]? doubtless, the overthrow of Christ's true religion, which then began to flourish in England; the liberty whereof fretted the guts of such pestilent papists, who now have gotten the days which they long looked for, but yet to their own destruction and shame; for in the spite of their hearts the plagues of God shall strike them: they shall be comprehended in the snare which they prepare for others; for their own counsels shall make themselves slaves to a proud, mischievous, unfaithful and vile nation [Spain].

Now to the second note of our discourse, which is this: albeit the tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevail against

God's truth, yet because they are bound slaves to their master the devil, they cannot cease to persecute the members of Christ, when the devil blows his wind in the darkness of the night, that is, when the light of Christ's gospel is taken away, and the devil reigneth by idolatry, superstition, and tyranny.

This most evidently may be seen from the beginning of this world to the time of Christ, and from thence till this day. Ishmael might have perceived, that he could not prevail against Isaac, because God had made his promise unto him, as no doubt Abraham their father taught to his whole household; Esau likewise understood the same of Jacob; Pharaoh might plainly have seen, by many miracles, that Israel were God's people, whom he could not utterly destroy; and also the scribes, and Pharisees, and chief priests were utterly convinced in their conscience, that Christ's whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man, his miracles, and works were wrought by the power of God, and therefore that they could never prevail against him: and yet as the devil stirred them, none of these could refrain to persecute him whom they knew most certainly to be innocent.

This I write that you shall not wonder, albeit, now ye see the poisoned papists, wicked Winchester, and dreaming Durham, with the rest of the faction,—who, sometimes were so confounded, that neither they durst, nor could speak or write in the defence of their heresies,—now so to rage and triumph against the eternal truth of God, as though they had never assayed the power of God speaking by his true messengers.

Wonder not hereat, I say, beloved brethren, that the tyrants of this world are so obedient, and ready to follow the cruel counsels of such disguised monsters; for neither can the one nor the other refrain, because both sorts are as subject to obey the devil, their prince and father, as the unstable sea is to lift up the waves when the vehement wind bloweth upon it.

It is fearful to be heard, that the devil hath such power over any man, but yet the

word of God hath so instructed us. And, therefore, albeit it be contrary to our fantasy, yet we must believe it: for the devil is called the prince and god of this world, because he reigneth and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He is called the prince of darkness that hath power in the air; it is said, that he worketh in the children of unbelief, because he stirreth them to trouble God's elect, as he invaded Saul, and compelled him to persecute David; and likewise he entered into the heart of Judas, and moved him to betray his master. He is called prince over the sons of pride, and father of all those that are liars, and enemies to God's truth; over whom he hath no less power this day, than sometimes he had over Annas and Caiaphas, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil to persecute Christ Jesus, and his most true doctrine. And, therefore, wonder not, I say, that now the devil rageth in his obedient servants, wily Winchester, dreaming Durham, and bloody Bonner, with the rest of their bloody, butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them. They cannot cease nor assuage their furious fumes; for the devil, their sire, stirreth, moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this that I declare, the power of the devil working in cruel tyrants, think you that I attribute or give to him or to them power at their pleasure? no, not so, brethren, not so; for as the devil hath no power to trouble the elements, but as God shall suffer, so hath worldly tyrants, albeit the devil hath fully possessed their hearts, no power at all to trouble the saints of God, but as their bridle shall be loosed by God's hands.

And herein, dear brethren, standeth my singular comfort this day, when I hear that those bloody tyrants within the realm of England, doth kill, murder, destroy, and devour man and woman, as ravenous lions now loosed from bonds. I lift up, therefore, the eyes of mine heart, as my iniquity and present dolour will suffer, and to my heavenly Father will I say:

“O Lord, those cruel tyrants are loosed by thy hand, to punish our former ingrati-

tude, whom, we trust, thou wilt not suffer to prevail for ever; but when thou hast corrected us a little, and hast declared unto the world the tyranny that lurked in their boldened breasts, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt shut them up in their caves again, that the generation and posterity following, may praise thy holy name before thy congregation. Amen."

When I feel any taste or motion of these promises, then think I myself most happy, and that I have received a just compensation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, should suffer present death,—knowing that God shall yet show mercy to his afflicted church within England, and that he shall repress the pride of these present tyrants, likeas he hath done of those that were before our days.

And therefore, beloved brethren, in our Saviour Jesus Christ, hold up to God your hands that are fainted through fear, and let your hearts that have in these dolorous days slept in sorrow, awake, and hear the voice of your God, who sweareth by himself, that he will not suffer his church to be oppressed for ever; neither that he will despise our sobs to the end, if we will row and strive against this vehement wind; I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to idolatry, then shall this storm be assuaged in despite of the devil. Christ Jesus shall come with speed to your deliverance, he shall pierce through the wind, and the raging seas shall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the massy [solid], stable, and dry land. Be not moved from the sure foundation of your faith: for albeit, that Christ Jesus be absent from you, as he was from his disciples in that great storm, by his bodily presence, yet is he present by his mighty power and grace. He standeth upon the mountain in security and rest; that is, his flesh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can suffer no such trouble as sometimes he did: and yet he is full of pity and compassion, and doth consider all our travail, anguish, and labours; wherefore, it is not to be doubted, but that he will suddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world

cannot keep back his coming, more than the blustering wind and raging seas, let [hindered] Christ to come to his disciples, when they looked for nothing but present death. And therefore, yet again I say, beloved in the Lord, let your hearts attend to the promises that God hath made unto true repentant sinners, and be fully persuaded with a constant faith, that God is always true and just in his performance of his promises. You have heard these days spoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, because you were nigh the land, and the storm was not yet risen; that is, ye were young scholars of Christ when no persecution was felt or seen: but now ye are come into the midst of the sea,—for what part of England heard not of your profession?—and the vehement storm whereof we then almost in every exhortation spake of, is now suddenly risen up. But what? hath God brought you so far forth, that you shall, both in souls and bodies, every one perish? nay, my whole trust in God's mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into Egypt, and from thence through the Red sea, to the intent they should perish, but that he in them should show a most glorious deliverance: neither sent Christ his apostles into the midst of the sea, and suffering the storm to assault them and their ship, to the intent they should there perish, but because he would the more have his great goodness towards them, felt and perceived, in so mightily delivering them out of the fear of perishing, giving us thereby an example, that he would do the like to us, if we abide constant in our profession and faith, withdrawing ourselves from superstition and idolatry. We gave you warning of these days long ago: for the reverence of Christ's blood let these words be noted: "The same truth that spake before of these dolorous days, forespake also the everlasting joy prepared for such as should continue to the end." The trouble is come; O dear brethren, look for the comfort, and, after the example of the apostle, abide in resisting this vehement storm a little space.

The third watch is not yet ended; re-

member that Christ Jesus came not to his disciples till it was the fourth watch: and they were then in no less danger than you are now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But Christ Jesus came when they looked not for him; and so shall he do to you, if you will continue in the profession that you have made. This dare I be bold to promise, in the name of Him whose eternal verity and glorious gospel ye have heard and received; who also putteth into my heart an earnest thirst,—God knoweth I lie not,—of your salvation, and some care also for your bodies, which now I will not express.

Thus shortly have I passed through the outrageous tempest, wherein the disciples of Christ were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Christ fed in the desert, omitting many profitable notes, which might well have been marked in the text, because my purpose is at this present not to be tedious, nor yet curious, but only to note such things as are agreeable to these most dolorous days.

And so let us now speak of the end of this storm and trouble, in which I find four things chiefly to be noted:

First, That the disciples, at the presence of Christ, were more afraid than they were before.

Secondly, That Christ useth no other instrument but his word to pacify their hearts.

Thirdly, That Peter in a fervency first left his ship, and yet after feared.

Fourthly and *lastly*, That Christ permitted neither Peter nor the rest of his disciples to perish in that fear, but gloriously delivered all, and pacified the tempest.

Their great fear and the cause thereof, are expressed in the text, in these words; "When the disciples saw him walking upon the sea, they were afraid, saying, it is a spirit; and they cried through fear."

It is not my purpose in this treatise, to speak of spirits, nor yet to dispute, whether spirits good or bad may appear and trouble men: neither yet to enquire, why man's nature is afraid of spirits, and so vehemently abhorreth their presence and company.

But my purpose is only to speak of things necessary for this time.

And first, let us consider that there were three causes why the disciples knew not Christ, but judged him to be a spirit.

The first cause was, the darkness of the night.

The second was, the unaccustomed vision that appeared.

And the third was, the danger and the tempest, in which they so earnestly laboured for the safeguard of themselves.

The darkness, I say, of the night letted their eyes to see him: and it was above nature, that a massy, heavy, and weighty body of a man, such as they understood their master Christ to have, should walk, go upon, or be borne up of the water of the raging sea, and not sink. And finally, the horror of the tempest, and great danger that they were in, persuaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And so all these three things concurring together, confirmed in them this imagination, that Christ Jesus, who came to their great comfort and deliverance, was a fearful and wicked spirit appearing to their destruction.

What here happened to Christ Jesus himself, that I might prove to have chanced and daily to happen to the verity of his blessed word in all ages from the beginning.

For as Christ himself in this their trouble, was judged and esteemed by his disciples at the first sight, a spirit or fantastical body; so is the truth and sincere preaching of his glorious gospel, sent by God for man's comfort, deliverance from sin, and quietness of conscience, when it is first offered and truly preached; it is, I say, no less but judged to be heresy and deceivable doctrine, sent by the devil to man's destruction.

The cause hereof, is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age since the beginning so overwhelmed the world, that sometimes God's very elect were in like blindness and error with the reprobate: as Abraham was an idolater; Moses was instructed in all the ways of the Egypt-

tians; Paul a proud Pharisee, conjured against Christ and his doctrine; and many in this same our age, when the truth of God was offered unto them, were sore afraid, and cried against it, only because the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let pass, till more opportunity.

The chief note that I would have you well observe and mark in this preposterous fear of the disciples, is this:

“The more nigh deliverance and salvation approacheth, the more strong and vehement is the temptation of the church of God. And the more nigh that God’s vengeance approacheth to the wicked, the more proud, cruel, and arrogant are they.

Whereby it commonly cometh to pass, that the very messengers of life are judged, and deemed to be the authors of all mischief: and this in many histories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted Israelites by the hand of Moses, from the tyranny of the Egyptians, and Moses was sent to the presence of Pharaoh for the same purpose, such was their affliction and anguish by the cruelty which newly was exercised over them, that with open mouths they cursed Moses, and no doubt in their hearts they hated God who sent him, alleging, that Moses and Aaron were the whole cause of their last extreme trouble.

The like is to be seen in the book of the Kings, both under Elisha and Isaiah the prophets: for in the days of Joram, son of Ahab, was Samaria besieged by the king of Syria; in which Samaria, no doubt, albeit the king and the most multitude were wicked, there were yet some members of God’s elect church, who were brought to such extreme famine, that not only things of small price were sold beyond all measure, but also women, against nature, were compelled to eat their own children. In this same city Elisha the prophet most commonly was most conversant and dwelt, by whose counsel and commandment, no doubt, the city was kept: for it appeareth, the king, to lay that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman, who for hunger had eaten her own

son, rent his clothes with a solemn oath and vow, that the head of Elisha should not stand upon his shoulders that day. If Elisha had not been of counsel, that the city should have been kept, why should the king have more fumed against him, than against others? but whether he was the author of the defending the city or not, all is one to my purpose; for before the deliverance, was the church in such extremity, that the chief pastor of that time was sought to be killed by such as should have defended him.

The like is read of Hezekiah, who, defending his city Jerusalem, and resisting proud Sennacherib, no doubt, obeying the counsel of Isaiah, at length was so oppressed with sorrow and shame, by the blasphemous words of Rabshakeh, that he had no other refuge, but in the temple of the Lord, as a man desperate and without comfort, to open the disdainful letters sent unto him, by that haughty and proud tyrant.

By these and many histories more, it is most evident, that the more nigh salvation and deliverance approach, the more vehement is the temptation and trouble.

This I write to admonish you, that albeit yet you shall see tribulation so abound, that nothing shall appear but extreme misery, without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God; and that albeit sometimes ye be moved to hate the messengers of life, that, therefore, ye shall not judge that God will never show mercy after. No, dear brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, so will he deal with you.

God will suffer tribulation and dolour to abound, that no manner of comfort shall be seen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance cometh, the glory may be His, whose only word may pacify the tempest most vehement.

He drowned Pharaoh and his army; he scattered the great multitude of Benhadad; and by his angel, killed the host of Sennacherib,—and so delivered his afflicted, when nothing appeared to them but utter destruction. So shall he do to you, beloved brethren, if patiently ye will

abide his consolation and counsel. God open your eyes that ye may rightly understand the meaning of my writing. Amen.

But yet, peradventure, you would wonder not a little why God permitteth such blood-thirsty tyrants, to molest and grieve his chosen church, I have recited some causes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold me content with one.

The justice of God is such, that he will not pour forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, until such time as their iniquity is so manifest, that their very flatterers cannot excuse it. Pharaoh was not destroyed, till his own household servants and subjects, abhorred and condemned his stubborn disobedience.

Jezebel and Athaliah were not thrust from this life into death, till all Israel and Judah were witnesses of their cruelty and abominations. Judas was not hanged till the princes of the priests bare witness of his traitorous act and iniquity.

To pass over the tyrants of old time, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the tyrants which now are within the realm of England, whom God will not long spare. If Stephen Gardner, Cuthbert Tunstal, and butcherly Bonnar, false bishops of Winchester, Durham, and of London, had for their false doctrine and traitorous acts, suffered death when they justly deserved the same, then would arrant papists have alleged, as I and others have heard them do, that they were men reformable, that they were meet instruments for a commonwealth; that they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged, neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man; and of lady Mary, who hath not heard, that she was not sober, merciful, and one that loved the commonwealth of England? Had she, I say, and such as now be of her pestilent council, been dead before these days, then should not their iniquity and cruelty, so manifestly have appeared to the world; for who could have thought that such cruelty could have entered into the heart of a woman? and into the heart of her that is called a virgin, that she would thirst for

the blood of innocents, and of such as, by just laws and faithful witnesses, can never be proved to have offended by themselves.

I find that Athaliah, through appetite to reign, murdered the seed of the kings of Judah, and that Herodias' daughter, at the desire of a whorish mother, obtained the head of John the Baptist; but yet that ever a woman suffered herself to be called the most blessed virgin, caused so much blood to be spilt, for establishing of the usurped authority of the pope, I think, the like is rare to be found in scripture or other history.

I find that Jezebel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be murdered unjustly for his own vineyard; but yet, I think, she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone. But you papists, will excuse your Mary the virgin. Well, let her be your virgin, and a goddess meet to entertain such idolaters, yet shall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no papist within England will justify or defend: and, therefore, O ye papists, here I will a little turn my pen unto you. Answer unto this question, O ye seed of the serpent, would any of you have confessed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dissembling, unconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises,—except such promises as she made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father. I am sure you would hardly have thought it of her: and now, doth she not manifestly show herself to be an open traitress to the imperial crown of England, contrary to the just laws of the realm, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard king, to the shame, dishonour, and destruction of the nobility; to the spoil of their honours, lands, possessions, chief offices, and promotions of them and theirs; to the utter decay of the treasures, commodities, navy, and fortifications of the realm; to the abasing of the yeomanry; to the slavery of the commonalty; to the overthrow of Christianity and God's true religion; and finally to the utter

subversion of the whole public estate and commonwealth of England? Let Norfolk and Suffolk, let her own promise and proclamation, let her father's testament, let the city of London, let the ancient laws and acts of parliaments before established in England, be judges betwixt mine accusation and her most tyrannous iniquity.

First, her promise and proclamation did signify and declare, that neither she would bring in, neither yet marry, any stranger. Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of London, do testify and witness the same. The ancient laws and acts of parliament pronounce it treason, to transfer the crown of England into the hands of a foreign nation; and the oath made to observe the said statutes, crieth out, that all they are perjured that consent to that her traitorous fact.

Speak now, O ye papists, and defend your monstrous masters, and deny, if ye can for shame, that she hath not uttered herself to be borne, alas! therefore, to the ruin and destruction of noble England? Oh who would ever have believed,—I write now in bitterness of heart,—that such unnatural cruelty should have had dominion over any reasonable creature? but the saying to be true, that the usurped government of an affectionate [passionate] woman is a rage without reason.

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that realm, which hath brought forth, which hath nourished, and so nobly maintained that wicked woman, should not have moved her heart with pity? Who seeth not now, that she in all her doings declareth most manifestly, that under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart? If God, I say, had not for our scourge suffered her and her cruel council to have come to authority, then could never these their abominations, cruelty, and treason against God, against his saints, and against the realm, whose liberties they are sworn to defend, so manifestly have been declared: and who ever could have believed, that proud Gardner, and treacherous Tunstall, whom all papists praised, for the love they bare to their country, could have become so manifestly traitorous, not only against their solemn oaths, that they should

never consent nor agree unto, that a foreign stranger should reign over England; but also, that they would adjudge the imperial crown of the same, to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance of lineal descent? O traitorous traitors! how can you for shame show your faces?

It cometh to my mind, that upon Christmas day, anno 1552, preaching in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and speaking against the obstinacy of the papists, I made this affirmation, that whosoever in his heart was enemy to Christ's gospel and doctrine, which then was preached within the realm of England, was enemy also to God, and secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth of England; for as they thirsted nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquity could procure; so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and actions intended against me did declare. But let my very enemies now say their conscience, if those my words have not proved true.

What is the cause that Winchester and the rest of his pestilent sect, so greedily would have a Spaniard to reign over England? the cause is manifest; for as that hellish nation surmounteth all other in pride and whoredom, so for idolatry and vain papistical and devilish ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very sons of superstition: and therefore, are they found and judged by the progeny of antichrist, most apt instruments to maintain, establish, and defend the kingdom of that cruel beast, whose head and wound is lately cured within England, which, alas! for pity, must now be brought into bondage and thralldom, that pestilent papists may reign without punishment.

But, O thou beast! I speak to thee, Winchester, more cruel than any tiger. Shall neither shame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not ashamed, thou bloody beast, to betray thy native country, and the liberties of the same? Fearest thou not to open such a door to all iniquity, that whole England should be made a common stew to Span-

iards? Wilt thou recompense the benefits which thou hast received of that noble realm with that ingratitude? rememberest thou not that England hath brought thee forth? that England nourished thee? that England hath promoted thee to riches, honour, and high dignity? and wilt thou now, O wretched captive, for all these manifold benefits received, be the cause that England shall not be England? yea, verily: for so wilt thou gratify thy father the devil, and his lieutenant the pope, whom with all his baggage thou labourest now, with tooth and nail, to make flourish again in England; albeit, like a dissembling hypocrite, and double-faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of God's holy word, wrotest, long ago, thy book entitled True Obedience, against that monstrous whore of Babylon, and her falsely usurped power and authority: but now, to thy perpetual shame, thou returnest to thy vomit, and art become an open arch-papist again. Furthermore, why seekedst thou the blood of Thomas Cranmer, of good father Hugh Latimer, and of that learned and discreet man doctor Ridley? Dost thou not consider, that the lenity, sincere doctrine, pure life, godly conversation, and discreet counsel of these three, are notably known in more realms than in England? Art thou not ashamed to seek the destruction of those, who laboured for the safeguard of thy life, and obtained the same, when thou justly deservedst death? but, O thou son of Belial, well declarest thou, that nothing can mollify the cruel malice, nor purge the deadly venom of him, in whose heart wickedness beareth the dominion. Thou art like to Cain, and fellow to Judas the traitor, and therefore, canst thou do nothing but thirst for the blood of Abel, and betray Christ Jesus and his eternal verity?

Thus, dear brethren, must the sons of the devil declare their own impiety and ungodliness, that when God's vengeance, which shall not sleep, shall be poured forth upon them, all tongues shall confess, acknowledge, and say, that God is righteous in all his judgments: and to this end are cruel tyrants permitted and suffered

for a space and time, not only to live in wealth and prosperity, but also to prevail and obtain victory, as touching the flesh, over the very saints of God, and over such as enterprize to resist their fury at God's commandment. But now to the subsequent, and that which followeth.

The instrument and means wherewith Christ Jesus used to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguish of his disciples, is his only word; for so it is written, "But by and by Jesus spake unto them, saying, be of good comfort, it is I, be not afraid." The natural man, that cannot understand the power of God, would have desired some other present comfort in so great a danger; as, either to have had the heavens to have opened, and to have showed unto them such light in that darkness, that Christ might have been fully known by his own face; or else, that the winds and raging waves of the seas suddenly should have ceased; or some other miracle that had been subject to all their senses, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truly, equal it had been to Christ Jesus to have done any of these, or any work greater, as to have said, "It is I, be not afraid:" but willing to teach us the dignity and effectual power of his most holy word, he useth no other instrument to pacify the great and horrible fear of his disciples, but the same his comfortable word and lively voice; and this is not done only at one time, but whensoever his church is in such strait perplexity, that nothing appeareth but extreme calamity, desolation, and ruin; then the first comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the means of his word and promise: as in the troubles and temptations of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and Paul may appear

To Abraham was given no other defence, after that he had discomfited four kings, whose posterity and lineage, no doubt, he being a stranger, greatly feared, but only this promise of God made to him by his holy word: "Fear not, Abraham, I am thy buckler;" that is, thy protection and defence.

The same we find of Isaac, who flying

from the place of his accustomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, got no other comfort nor conduct, but this promise only, I will be with thee.

In all the journeys and temptations of Jacob, the same is to be espied; as when he fled from his father's house, for fear of his brother Esau, when he returned from Laban; and when he feared the inhabitants of the region of the Canaanites, and Perizzites, for the slaughter of the Shechemites committed by his sons; he receiveth none other defence, but only God's word and promise.

And this in Moses, and in the afflicted church under him, is most evident: for when Moses himself was in such despair, that he was bold to chide with God, saying, "Why hast thou sent me? for since that time I have come to Pharaoh, to speak in thy name, he hath oppressed this people: neither yet hast thou delivered thy people."

This same expostulation of Moses, declareth how sore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God, that is, that God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from such a tyrant's hands; or else, that he was mutable, and unjust of his promises. And this same, and sorer temptations, assaulted the people; for in anguish of heart, they both refused God and Moses, as we before have partly touched. And what means used God to comfort them in that great extremity? did he straightway suddenly kill Pharaoh, the great tyrant? no. Did he send them a legion of angels, to defend and deliver them? no such thing: but he only reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promises to them, which oftentimes they had before; and yet the rehearsal of the same wrought so mightily in the heart of Moses, that not only were bitterness and despair removed away, but also he was enflamed with such boldness, that without fear he went again to the presence of the king, after he had been threatened and repulsed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye, knowing the word of God not only to be that whereby were created heaven and earth, but also to be the power of God to

salvation, to all that believe; the bright lantern to the feet of those that by nature walk in darkness; the life to those that by sin are dead; a comfort to such as be in tribulation; the tower of defence to such as be most feeble; the wisdom and great felicity of such as delight in the same; and to be short, you know God's word to be of such efficacy and strength, that thereby is sin purged, death vanquished, tyrants suppressed, and finally, the devil, the author of all mischief, overthrown and confounded. This, I say, I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy word, and most blessed gospel and voice of God, which once you have heard, I trust, to your comfort, may now, in this hour of darkness and most raging tempest, thirst and pray, that ye may hear yet once again this amiable voice of your Saviour Christ, "Be of good comfort, it is I, fear not." And also that ye may receive some consolation, by that blessed gospel which before you have professed, assuredly knowing, that God shall be no less merciful unto you, than he hath been to others afflicted for his name's sake before you. And albeit, that God speedily removeth not this horrible darkness, neither suddenly pacifieth this tempest, yet shall he not suffer his tossed ship to be drowned.

Remember, brethren, that God's vengeance plagued not Pharaoh the first year of his tyranny; neither did the dogs devour and consume both the flesh and bones of wicked Jezabel, when she first erected and set up her idolatry: and yet, as none of them escaped due punishment, so did God preserve his afflicted church, in despite of Satan, and of his blind and most wretched servants; as he shall not fail to do in this great tempest and darkness within the realm of England. And therefore, yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of God's promises somewhat quicken your dulled spirits; exercise yourselves now secretly, in revolving that which sometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your ears; and be every man now a faithful preacher unto his brother. If your communication be of Christ, assuredly he will come before you be aware: his word

is like unto sweet smeling ointment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved nor handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of those that stand by; which is nothing so delectable, if the ointment remain within the box, and the flowers stand or lie without touching our motion.

Mark well, dear brethren, before that Christ spake, his disciples judged him to have been some wicked spirit, which was to them no delectable savour; but when he speaketh, the sweet sound of his voice pierceth their hearts; for what comfort was in the hearts of the disciples, when they heard these words, "Be of good comfort, it is I?" that is, judge not that I am a spirit come to your destruction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: it is I, your Master; yea, your master most familiar: it is I, whose voice and doctrine you know, for ye are my sheep: it is I, whose works you have seen, although perfectly ye considered not the same: it is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore, am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, be not afraid, this storm shall cease, and you shall be delivered.

What comfort, I say, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the disciples, hearing Christ's voice, and knowing him by the same, can neither the tongue nor pen of man express, but only such as, after long conflict and strife, which is betwixt the flesh and the spirit, in the time of extreme troubles, when Christ appeareth to be absent, feeleth at last the consolation of the Holy Ghost, witness and declare.

And Peter giveth some external sign, what Christ's words wrought inwardly in his heart: for immediately after he heard his Master's voice, he saith, "Lord, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee upon the waters. Here it may be seen what Christ's voice had wrought in Peter's heart; truly, not only a forgetting and contempt of the great tempest, but also such boldness and love, that he could fear no danger following, but assuredly did believe, that his master Christ's puissance, power, and might were such, that nothing

might resist his word and commandment, and therefore he saith, "command me to come:" as though he should say, I desire no more but the assurance of thy commandment: if thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; for assuredly, I know, that the waters cannot prevail against me, if thou speak the word: so that whatsoever is possible unto thee, by thy will and word, may be possible unto me.

Thus Christ, to instruct Peter further, and us by his example, condescended to his petition, and commanded him to come; and Peter quickly leaving the ship, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Christ. Thus far of Peter's fact, in which lieth great abundance of doctrine; but I will pass over all that especially appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the realm of England.

Before it is said, well-beloved brethren, that sometimes the messengers of life are judged to be the very messengers of death; and that not only with the reprobate, but also with God's elect; as was Moses with the Israelites, Jeremiah with the city of Jerusalem, and Christ himself with his apostles: but that is not a sin permanent, and that abideth for ever with God's elect, but it vanisheth away in such sort, that not only they know the voice of their Pastor, but also they earnestly study to obey and follow it, with the danger of their own lives: for this is the special difference betwixt the children of God and the reprobate:

The one obeyeth God speaking by his messengers, whom they embrace with unfeigned love; and that they do, sometimes not only against all worldly appearance, but also against civil statutes and ordinances of men: and therefore, in their greatest extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation.

The other always resisteth God's messengers, and hateth his word: and therefore, in their great adversity, God either taketh from them the presence of his word, or else they fall into so deadly despair, that although God's messenger be sent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by God's promises, neither follow the counsel of God's true messen-

gers, be it never so perfect and fruitful. Hereof have we many evident testimonies within the scriptures of God.

Of Saul it is plain, that God so left him, that neither would he give him answer by prophet, dream, nor vision.

To Ahaz king of Judah, in his great anguish and fear which he had conceived by the multitude of those that were con-jured against him, was sent Isaiah the prophet, to assure him by God's promise, that his enemies should not prevail against him; and to confirm him in the same, the prophet required him to desire a sign of God, either from the heaven, or beneath in the deep: but such was the deadly despair of him, that always had despised God's prophets, and had most abominably defiled himself with idolatry, that no consolation could enter into his heart, but desperately, and with a dissembling and feigned excuse, he refused all the offers of God.

And albeit God kept touch with [stood by] that hypocrite for that time, which was not done for his cause, but for the safety of his afflicted church, yet after escaped he not the vengeance of God.

The like we read of Zedekiah, the wretched and last king of Judah, before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, who in his great fear, and extreme anguish, sent for Jeremiah the prophet, and secretly demanded of him, how he might escape the great danger that appeared when the Chal-deans besieged the city. And the prophet boldly spake, and commanded the king, if he would save his life and the city, to render and give up himself into the hands of the king of Babylon. But the miserable king had no grace to follow the prophet's counsel, because he never delighted in the said prophet's doctrine, neither yet had showed unto him any friendly favour; but even as the enemies of God, the chief priests and false prophets, required of the king, so was the good prophet ill used, sometimes cast into prison, and sometimes judged and condemned to die. The most evident testimony of the wilful blinding of wicked idolaters, is written and recited in the same prophet Jeremiah, as followeth.

After that the city of Jerusalem was

burnt and destroyed, the king led away prisoner, his sons and chief nobles slain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the disobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the land, to make use of and possess the same, who called upon the prophet Jeremiah, to know concerning them the will and pleasure of God, whether they should remain still in the land of Judea, as was appointed and permitted by the Chaldeans, or if they should depart and fly into Egypt: to certify them of this their duty, they desire the prophet to pray unto God for them: who, condescending and granting their petition, promised to keep back nothing from them, which the Lord God should open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witness, made a solemn vow, to obey whatsoever the Lord should answer unto him. But when the prophet, by the inspiration of the spirit of God, and assured revelation and knowledge of his will, commanded them to remain still in the land that they were in, promising them, if they so would do, that God would there plant them; and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them, and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the king of Babylon. But contrariwise, if they would not obey the voice of the Lord, but would against his commandment go to Egypt, thinking that there they should live in rest and abundance, without any fear of war and penury of victual, then the very plagues which they feared should come upon them, and take them: for, saith the prophet, it shall come to pass, that all men that obstinately will go to Egypt, there to remain, shall die, either by sword, by hunger, or pestilence: but when the prophet of God had declared unto them this plain sentence and will of God, I pray you, what was their answer? The text declared it, saying, "Thou speakest a lie, neither hath the Lord our God sent thee unto us, commanding that we should not go into Egypt, but Baruch the son of Neriah provoketh thee against us, that he may give us into the power of the Chaldees, that they might kill us, and lead us prisoners

into Babylon: and thus they refused the counsel of God, and followed their own fantasies.

Here may be espied in this people great obstinacy and blindness; for nothing which the Lord had before spoken by this prophet Jeremiah, had fallen in vain; their own eyes had seen the plagues and miseries which he had threatened take effect in every point, as he had spoken before; yea, they were yet green and fresh both in mind and presence, for the flame and fire wherewith Jerusalem was consumed and burnt, was then scantily quenched, and yet could they not believe his threatenings then spoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitful counsel, given for their great wealth and safeguard. And why so? Because they never delighted in God's truth, neither had they repented their former idolatry, but still continued and rejoiced in the same, as manifestly appeareth in the four and fortieth chapter of the same prophet; and therefore, would they and their wives have been in Egypt, where all kind of idolatry and superstition abounded, that they, without reproach or rebuke, might have their bellies full thereof, in despite of God's holy laws and prophets. In writing hereof, it came to my mind, that after the death of that innocent and most godly king, Edward the sixth, while that great tumult was in England, for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority,—I mean of Mary that now reigneth in God's wrath,—entreating the same argument in a town in Buckinghamshire, named Hammersham, before a great congregation, with sorrowful heart, and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation:

O England, now is God's wrath kindled against thee, now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatened a long while, by his true prophets and messengers; he hath taken from thee the crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head: and this appeareth to be only the beginning of sorrows, which appear to increase; for I perceive that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is bent against another and di-

vision to be in the whole realm, which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O England, England, dost thou not consider, that the commonwealth is like a ship sailing in the sea, if thy mariners and governors shall one consume another, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time? O England, England, alas! these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldst not know the most happy time of thy gentle visitation: but wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his sight, and the estate of thy commonwealth shall be preserved.

But, O England, England, if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league, with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry,—such as the emperor, who is no less enemy unto Christ than ever was Nero;—if for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes thou returnest to thine old abominations, before used under the papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favours thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve antichrist.

This and much more in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of such as yet may bear record,—through God's permission,—I then pronounced: the thing that I then most feared, and which also my tongue spake, that is, the subversion of the true religion, and bringing in of strangers to reign over that realm,—this day I see come to pass in men's councils and determinations; which if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then, so assuredly as my God liveth, and as those Israelites, that obstinately returned into Egypt again, were plagued to the death; so shall England taste what the Lord hath threatened by his prophets before. God grant us true and unfeigned repentance of our former offences. God for his great mercies' sake stir up some Phineas, Elijah, or Jehu, that the blood of

abominable idolaters may pacify God's wrath, that it consume not the whole multitude. Amen.

But to return to our matter; of the premises it is plain, that such as contemn God's eternal verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by God's messengers, neither yet can they follow the counsel of God, be it never so profitable, but God giveth them over, and suffereth them to wander in their own vanities, to their own perdition; whereas, contrariwise, such as bear a reverence to God's most holy word, are drawn by the power and virtue of the same,—as before is said,—to believe, follow, and obey that which God commandeth, be it never so hard, so unapparent, or contrary to their affections: and therefore, as God always keepeth appointment with them, so are they wondrously preserved, when God's vengeance is poured forth upon the disobedient. And this is most evident in Abraham, at God's commandment, leaving his country, and going forth, he knew not whither; which was a thing not so easy to be done, as it is to be spoken or read. It appeareth also in Abraham, believing God's promises, against all appearance, and also in offering his son Isaac, against all fatherly love and natural affection. The same is said, in Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Micahiah, and other of the prophets, who at the commandment of God's word, boldly passed to the presence of tyrants, and there to them did [deliver] their message, as charge was given unto them.

But lest that some should allege, that these examples appertain nothing to a multitude, because they were done in single men, I answer, we will consider what the power of God's word hath wrought in many, at one instance. After that the Israelites had made the golden calf, and so fallen to idolatry; Moses coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations,—the honour that they gave to an idol,—and the people spoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and shame, was inflamed with such zeal, indignation, and wrath, that first, he brake the tables of the commandments;

then he beat their calf to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cause them to understand, that their filthy guts should receive that which they worshipped for God: and finally, he commanded that every man that was of God should approach and come nigh unto him: and the sons of Levi, saith the text, came to him, to whom he said, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; let every man put his sword upon his thigh, and go in and out, from port to port in the tents; and let every man kill his brother, his neighbour, and every man his nigh kinsman: and the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell the same day of the people, nigh three thousand." It is evident by this history, that the power of God's word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one time in a great number against nature, and compelled them to be executors of God's vengeance, regarding nothing the affinity or nighness of blood: and also that their doing so well, pleased Moses the ambassador of God, that he said unto them, "Consecrate your hands this day every man in his own son, and in his own brother, that a fortunate benediction may be given to you this day." As though he should say; your father Levi profaned and defiled his hands, killing the Shechemites in his blind rage, which moved his father Jacob in his last testament, to condemn, execrate, and curse, that his most vehement and ungodly zeal: but because in this work you have preferred God's commandment before blood, nature, and also affection, in place of that rebuke and curse, you have obtained blessing and praise.

The like puissance and virtue of God's word, working in a multitude, is to be read in the prophet Jeremiah; who perceiving the time of God's vengeance to draw nigh, and the city of Jerusalem to be besieged, boldly crieth out in his open sermon, saying, "He that remaineth in this city, shall die, either by sword, by hunger, or by pestilence. But he that shall go forth to the Chaldeans, shall live, and shall find his soul for a prey." This might have appeared a deceivable, seditious, and ungodly sermon, to command subjects to depart

from the obedience and defence of their native prince, rich citizens and valiant soldiers, from their possessions and strongholds, and to will them to render themselves, without all manner of resistance, into the hands of strangers, being their enemies. What carnal man would not have judged the persuasions of the prophet most foolish and false? and yet in the hearts of such as God had elected and appointed to life, so effectually wrought this sermon, that a great number of Jerusalem left their king, their city, riches, and friends, and obeyed the prophet's counsel: for so may be espied by the answer of Zedekiah the king, when Jeremiah counselled him, that he should render himself into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, he saith, "I fear these Jews, that are fled to the Chaldeans, lest perchance, they give me into their hands."

Hereof it is plain, that many were departed from him, whom he feared more than he did his enemies.

Many more testimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily God's word, spoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes: as in the hearts of the Ninevites, who at Jonah's preaching condemned their former religion, conversation, and life: and in the hearts of those three thousand, who at Peter's first sermon, openly made after Christ's ascension, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were soon after baptized. But these premises are sufficient to prove, as well that God's word draweth his elect after it against worldly appearance, against natural affections, and against evil statutes and constitutions; as also, that such as obey God's speaking by his ministers, never lack just reward and recompence: for only such as obeyed the voice of the prophet, found favour and grace, to the praise and glory of God's name, when his just judgments took vengeance upon the disobedient. But now briefly by notes we will touch the rest of Peter's act, and Christ's merciful deliverance of him; which is the end of all troubles sustained by God's elect.

And first, that Peter seeing a mighty wind, was afraid, and so, when he began to

sink, he cried, Lord save me, are three things principally to be noted:—

The *first*, From whence cometh the fear of God's elect.

The *second*, What is the cause that they faint and fall in adversity.

The *third*, What resteth with them in the time of this fear and down-sinking.

And first, it is plain, that so long as Peter had his eyes fixed upon Christ, and attended upon no other thing but the voice of Christ, he was bold, and without fear: but when he saw a mighty wind,—not that the wind was visible, but the vehement storm and waves of the sea that were stirred up, and carried by the wind were seen, then began he to fear, and to reason, no doubt, in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his ship; for so might Christ have come to him: but now the storm and rage of wind was so vehement, that he could never come to Christ, and so he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, that the only cause of our fear that have left our ship, and through the storms of the sea would go to Christ with Peter, is, that we more consider the dangers and lets that are in our journey, than we do the Almighty power of him that hath commanded us to come to himself. And this is a sin common to all the elect and chosen children of God, that whensoever they see a vehement trouble appearing to let them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and to doubt of God's power and good will.

With this fear was Abraham stricken, when he denied his wife. This storm saw Moses, when he refused to be God's messenger. And Hezekiah's sore complaint declareth, that more he believed, considered, and looked upon the proud voices, and great power of Sennacherib, than he did the promises of the prophet.

This I note for this purpose, that albeit, this late and most raging storm within the realm of England, has taken from you the presence of Christ for a time, so that you have doubted, whether it was Christ which you saw before, or not. And albeit, that the vehemency of this contrary wind that

would drive you from Christ, has so employed your ears, that almost you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himself, when that he cried, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are burdened, and I shall refresh you. Pass from Babylon, O my people, &c." Albeit, I say, that this raging tempest hath stricken such fear in your heart, that almost all is forgotten, yet, dear brethren, despair not, such offences have chanced to God's elect before you. If obstinately ye shall not continue, yet shall you find mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agreeable to your profession, to have looked to Christ alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but such perfection is not alway with man, but happy is he that feeleth himself to sink.

The cause that God's elect begin to faint and to sink down in the time of great adversity, is fear and unbelief, as in Peter doth appear; for so long as he neither feared danger, neither mistrusted Christ's word, so long the waves above, and contrary to their nature, did obey and serve his feet, as they had been the dry, solid, and sure ground: but so soon as he began to despair and fear, so soon began he to sink: to instruct us, that lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us through such perils, as be incapable to nature; but when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to sink down in every danger: as in the histories before rehearsed, it may appear, and in the prophets it is plain; for Elias at God's commandment passing to the presence of king Ahab, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to consume his sacrifice: by which also he was made so bold, that in the presence of the king he feared nothing to kill his false prophets. But the same Elias hearing of the managings and threatenings of cursed Jezebel, and considering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reasonable means be appeased, he saw a storm, and feared the same, and so he prepared to fly; which he doth not without some sinking down, for he began to reason and dispute with God, which never can be done by the creature,

without foolishness and offence. The same we find in Jeremiah, and many more.

But the question may be asked, seeing Christ knew before what should happen to Peter, why did he not hinder him from coming from his boat? or else, why did he not so confirm him in faith, that he should not have doubted?

To the which may be answered; albeit, that we could render no reason of this work of Christ, yet were the work itself a sufficient reason; and it were enough to answer, that so it pleased him, who is not bound to render a reason of all his works: but yet if we shall mark with diligence to what office Peter was to be called, and what offences long rested with him, we shall find most just and necessary causes of this work of Christ, and down-sinking of Peter. It is plain that Peter had many notable virtues, as a zeal and fervency towards Christ's glory, and a readiness and forwardness to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, that of long continuance there rested with Peter a desire of honour and worldly rest, and that moved him to persuade Christ that he should not die. There rested with him pride, presumption, and a trust in himself; which presumption and vain trust in his own strength, unless it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Christ's flock: and such sins can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confessed. Doubtless so arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know or confess the infirmity of itself, until such time as it hath a trial by manifest experience; this is most plain by Peter, long after this tempest; for when Christ said to his disciples, "This night shall ye all be slandered in me," Peter boldly bragged and said, "Albeit that all should be slandered, and should fly from thee, yet shall not I be slandered, but I am ready to go to prison, and to die with thee." This was a bold presumption, and an arrogant promise spoken in contempt of all his brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Christ's admonition, but the more that Christ showed him, that he should deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the

contrary; as though his master Christ, the author of all truth, yea rather truth itself, should make a loud lie; and therefore, of necessity it was, that he should prove in experience what was the frailty of man's nature, and what was the imbecility and weakness of faith, even in those that were his chief apostles, who had continually heard his heavenly doctrine, seen daily his wonderful miracles, who had heard themselves so many admonitions of him, who also had followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecility and weakness of faith, if Peter had not proved and felt it in himself, neither could he rightly have praised God's infinite goodness, and embraced his free mercy; neither had he been apt and meet to have been a pastor to the weak sheep and tender lambs of Christ, but he should have been as proud a contemner and despiser of his weak brethren, as the arrogant papists, that contemn and despise all godly and great learned men, though they be a thousand parts more excellent than they. But to correct and inform both presumptuous arrogancy, and frail imbecility, and weakness of faith, Peter was permitted once to sink, and thrice most shamefully to refuse and deny his Master, to the intent, that by the knowledge of his own weakness he might be the more able to instruct others of the same; and also, that he might more largely magnify God's free grace and mighty deliverance: and that Christ taught him before his falling; saying, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:" as though Christ should have said, Peter, yet art thou too proud to be a pastor, thou canst not stoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak sheep, thou dost not yet know thine own infirmity and weakness, and therefore canst thou do nothing, but despise the weak ones; but when thou shalt be instructed by experience of thine own self, what hid iniquity lurketh within the nature of man, then shalt thou learn to be humble, and stoop among other sinners; and also shalt be an example to others, which after shall offend, as thou didst, so that if they repent as thou didst, they need not despair of mercy, but

may trust most assuredly of Christ to obtain grace, mercy, and forgiveness of sins, as thou didst.

This fruit have we to gather, dear brethren, of Peter's down-sinking in the sea,—which was a secret knowledge and privy admonition, that he after should deny Christ,—that we are assured by the voice of Christ, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we cry with Peter, we shall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our denial of Christ, as he did, we shall find the same grace and favour at Christ's hand, that he found.

But now let us touch the third note, which is this, that with God's elect in their greatest fear and danger there resteth some small spark of faith, which by one means or other declareth itself, albeit the afflicted person in fear or danger, doth not presently perceive the same. As herein Peter is most clear and manifest. For perceiving himself to sink down, he cried, saying, Lord, save me, which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and sore perplexed heart, whose nature is,—I mean of faith,—to hope against hope, that is, against all appearance or likelihood to look for help and deliverance, as the words of Peter witnesseth that he did. He saw nothing but the raging sea ready to swallow him up. He felt nothing but himself sinking down in body, and sore troubled in heart, and yet he cried, Lord, save me. Which words first declare, that he knew the power of Christ able to deliver him. For foolishness it had been to have called for the help of him, whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

The calling for Christ's help by prayer in this extreme danger, declared also that Peter had some hope through his gracious goodness to obtain deliverance. For in extreme perils, impossible it is, that the heart of man can cry for God's help, without some hope of his mercy.

It is also to be noted, that in his great jeopardy Peter murmureth not against Christ. Neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Christ, albeit, at his commandment he had left his boat.

He saith not, why lettest thou me sink, seeing that I have obeyed thy commandment. Moreover, Peter asked help at Christ alone, of whom he was persuaded, both could and would help at a pinch. He cried not upon Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David; neither upon any other of the patriarchs, prophets, or saints departed: neither yet upon his own fellows in the boat, but upon Christ, at whose commandment he had left the boat.

All these things together considered, declare, that Peter in this his extreme fear and danger, had yet some spark of faith, albeit, in that present jeopardy he had neither consolation nor comfort. For these premises are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this:

“And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? And when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased; and they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.”

Hereof first is to be noted, that God is always nigh to those that call upon him faithfully; and so willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear, nor extreme danger hinder his godly hand. Peter was sinking down, and looked for no other thing but present death, and yet the hand of Christ prevented him. That that was visibly and openly done to Peter in that his great peril, is invisibly and secretly done to Christ's holy church, and to the chosen members of Christ's mystical body in all ages.

How nigh and ready was the hand of God to deliver his people Israel, when they were almost overwhelmed with despair in the days of Moses and Esther, the history doth witness: how nigh was God to Daniel amongst the lions, to Jonah in the whale's belly, to Peter in the prison, is likewise most evidently declared in the Holy Scriptures. How suddenly and beyond all expectation was David many times delivered

from Saul's tyranny, his own heart confessed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to sing, saying, “He sent from above, and hath delivered me, he hath drawn me forth of many waters.”

Open your ears, dear brethren, and let your hearts understand, that as our God is unchangeable, so is not his gracious hand shortened this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the storm that bloweth against us is sore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but if we unfeignedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lord's hand is nigher than the sword of our enemies.

The sharp rebuke that Christ Jesus gave to Peter, teacheth us, that God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his elect, but maketh them manifest to the end that the offenders may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

That Christ called Peter of little faith, argueth and declareth, as we before have noted, that Peter was not altogether faithless, but that he fainted, or was uncertain in his faith, for so soundeth the Greek term *ὀλιγόπιστος*, whereof we ought to be admonished, that in passing to Christ through the storms of this world, is not only required a fervent faith in the beginning, but also a constancy to the end; as Christ saith, “He that continueth to the end shall be saved;” and St Paul, “Unless a man shall strive lawfully, he shall not be crowned.” The remembrance of this ought to put us in mind, that the most fervent man, and such as have long continued in profession of Christ, is not yet sure to stand at all hours, but that he is subject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty, as the apostle teacheth us, saying, “Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall;” for if Peter that began so fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Christ, what ought we to fear, in whom such fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worst; and by the knowledge of our own weakness, with the apostles, incessantly to pray, “O Lord increase our faith.” Christ's demand and question,

asking Peter, "Why doubtest thou?" containeth in itself a vehemency; as if he should have said, whether doubtest thou of my power, or of my promises, or of my good will? If my power had not been sufficient to have saved thee, then could I neither have come to thee through the stormy sea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou beganest to come to me; and if my good will had not been to have delivered thee, and thy brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the tempest to devour and swallow you up: but considering that your eye saw me present, your ears heard my voice, and thou, Peter, especially knewest the same, and obeyedst my commandment, why then doubtdest thou? Beloved brethren, if this same demand and question were laid to our charge, we should have less pretence of excuse than had Peter; for he might have alleged, that he was not advertised that any great storm should have risen betwixt him and Christ, which justly we cannot allege; for, since that time, that Christ hath appeared unto us by the brightness of his word, and called upon us by his lively voice. He hath continually blown in our ears, that persecution and trouble should follow the word that we professed, which days are now present. Alas! then, why doubt we through this storm to go to Christ? Support, O Lord, and let us sink no further.

Albeit that Peter fainted in faith, and, therefore, was worthy most sharply to be rebuked, yet doth not Christ leave him in the sea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempest to continue, but first they entered both into the ship, and thereafter the wind ceased; and last, their ship arrived without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured.

O blessed and happy are those that patiently abide this deliverance of the Lord; the raging sea shall not devour them: albeit they have fainted, yet shall not Christ Jesus leave them behind in the stormy sea, but suddenly he shall stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall place

them in the ship amongst their brethren; that is, he shall conduct them to the number of his elect and afflicted church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world.

The majesty of his presence shall put to silence this boisterous wind, the malice and envy of the devil which so bloweth in the hearts of princes, prelates, kings, and of earthly men, that altogether they are conjured against the Lord, and against his anointed Christ; in despite of whom, he safely shall conduct, convey, and carry his sore troubled flock to the life and rest for which they travel.

Albeit, I say, that sometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit, that weakness in faith permitted them to sink, yet from the hand of Christ can they not be rent: he may not suffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them; but for the glory of his own name he must deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection, and keeping; and therefore must he keep and defend such as he hath received at his father, from sin, from death, from devil and hell.

The remembrance of these promises is to mine own heart such occasion of comfort, as neither can any tongue or pen express, but yet, peradventure, some there are of God's elect that cannot be comforted in this tempest, by any meditations of God's election or defence, but rather beholding such as sometimes boldly have professed Christ's verity, now to be returned to their accustomed abominations; and also themselves to be overcome with fear, that against their knowledge and conscience they stoop to an idol, and with their presence maintain the same; and being at this point, they begin to reason, whether it be possible that the members of Christ's body may be permitted so horribly to fall to the denial of their head; and in the same to remain of long continuance: and from this reasoning, they enter in dolour, and from dolour they begin to sink to the gates of hell and ports of despair.

The dolour and fear of such I grant to be most just; for oh! how fearful is it for

the love of this transitory life, in the presence of man to deny Christ Jesus, and his known and undoubted verity?

But yet to such as are not obstinate contemners of God, and of all godliness, I would give this my weak counsel, that rather they should appeal to mercy, than by the severe judgments of God to pronounce against themselves the fearful sentence of condemnation; and to consider that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: that the Lord killeth and giveth life, he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again. But I will not that any man think, that by this my counsel, I either justify such as horribly are returned back to their vomit; either yet that I flatter such as maintain that abominable idol with their daily presence; God forbid! for then were I but a blind guide, leading the blind headlong to perdition: only God knoweth the dolour and sobs of my heart, for such as I hear daily do turn back; but the cause of my counsel is, that I know the conscience of some to be so tender, that whensoever they feel themselves troubled with fear, wounded with anguish, or to have slidden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themselves to be unworthy of God's mercies for ever; to such direct I my counsel, to those, I mean, that rather offend by weakness and infirmity, than of malice and set purpose. And I would that such should understand and consider, that all Christ's apostles fled from him, and denied him in their hearts: and also I would, they should consider, that no man from the beginning stood in greater fear, greater danger, or greater doubt, than Peter did, when Christ's presence was taken from him; yea, no man felt less comfort, nor saw less appearance of deliverance; and yet, neither were the disciples rejected for ever, neither was Peter permitted to drown in that deep.

But some shall object, faith was not utterly quenched in them, and therefore they got deliverance, and were restored to comfort.

Ans. That is it which I would, that the afflicted and troubled consciences in this

age should consider, that neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting, nor backsliding, can utterly destroy and quench the faith of God's elect, but that always there remaineth with them some root and spark of faith; howbeit in their anguish, they neither feel nor can discern the same. Yet some shall demand, how shall it be known in whom the spark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, seeing that all flee from Christ, and bow down to idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impossible, that one man shall wittingly judge of another,—for that could not Elijah do of the Israelites of his days,—but every man may easily judge of himself: for the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of necessity, by process of time it will send forth some branches that may be seen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in Peter, compelling him to cry upon Christ, when that he was in greatest necessity. Wilt thou have a trial whether the root of faith remaineth with thee, or not? I speak to such as are weak, and not to proud contemners of God.

1. Feelest thou thy soul fainting in faith, as Peter felt his body sink down in the waters?

2. Art thou as sore afraid that thy soul shall drown in hell, if thou consentest or obeyest idolatry, as Peter was that his body should drown in the waters?

3. Desirest thou as earnestly the deliverance of thy soul, as Peter did the deliverance of his body?

4. Believest thou that Christ is able to deliver thy soul, and that he will do the same, according to his promise?

5. Dost thou call upon him without hypocrisy, now in the day of thy trouble?

6. Dost thou thirst for his presence, and for the liberty of his word again?

7. Mournest thou for the great abominations that now overflow the realm of England?

If these premises, I say, remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether destitute of faith, neither shalt thou descend to perdition for ever; but mercifully shall the

Lord stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell; but by what means he shall perform that his merciful work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define: but this is requisite, and is our bounden duty, that such means as the hand of our God shall offer,—to avoid idolatry,—we refuse not, but that willingly we embrace the same, albeit, it partly disagree to our affections. Neither yet think I, that suddenly, and by one means, shall all the faithful in England be delivered from idolatry: no, it may be that God so strengthen the hearts of some of those that have fainted before, that they will resist idolatry to the death, and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance. Of others God may so touch the hearts, that they will rather choose to walk and go as pilgrims, from realm to realm, suffering hunger, cold, heat, thirst, weariness, and poverty, than that they will abide having all abundance, in subjection of idolatry. To some may God offer such occasion, that in despite of idolaters, be they princes or prelates, they may remain within their own dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to Baal, neither yet lack the lively food of God's most holy word. If God offer unto us any such means, let us assuredly know, that Christ Jesus stretched forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to perish; and therefore, let us not refuse it, but with gladness let us take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thousand means, very unappearing to man's judgment, whereby he will deliver, support, and comfort his afflicted church. And therefore, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, considering that the remembrance of Christ's banquet, whereof, I doubt not, some of you have tasted with comfort and joy, is not yet utterly taken from your mind; and that we have entered in this journey at Christ's commandment, considering that we find the sea-winds blow contrary and against us, as before was prophesied unto us, and that we see the same tempest rage against us, that ever hath raged against Christ's elect church; and con-

sidering also that we feel ourselves ready to faint, and like to be oppressed by these stormy seas,—let us prostrate ourselves before the throne of grace, in the presence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitterness of our hearts, let us confess our offences, and for Christ Jesus' sake let us ask deliverance and mercy, saying, with sobs and groanings from our troubled hearts:—

COMPLAINT.

“O God, the heathen are entered into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, and have profaned thy blessed ordinance. In place of thy joyful signs, they have erected their abominable idolatry: the deadly cup of all blasphemy is restored again to their harlot's hand: thy prophets are persecuted, and none are permitted to speak thy word freely: the poor sheep of thy pasture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of men's traditions. But, O Lord, thou knowest how sore they grieve us. But such is the tyranny of these most cruel beasts, that plainly they say, they shall root us out at once, so that no remembrance shall remain of us on earth.

“O Lord, thou knowest that we are but flesh, and that we have no power of ourselves to withstand their tyranny; and therefore, O Father, open the eyes of thy mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confess, O Lord, that we are punished most justly, because we lightly regarded the tyranny [time] of our merciful visitation. Thy blessed gospel was in our ears like a lover's song; it pleased us for a time, but alas! our lives did nothing agree with thy statutes and holy commandments: and thus we acknowledge that our iniquity hath compelled thy justice to take the light of thy word from the whole realm of England. But be thou mindful, O Lord, that it is thy truth which we have professed, and that thy enemies blaspheme thy holy name, and our profession, without cause: thy holy gospel is called heresy, and we are accused as traitors for professing the same. Be merciful

therefore, O Lord, and be salvation unto us in this time of our anguish: albeit our sins accuse and condemn us, yet do thou according to thine own name. We have offended against thee; our sins and iniquities are without number, and yet art thou in the midst of us, O Lord, albeit, that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirsteth our souls for the comfort of thy word: correct us, therefore, but not in thy hot displeasure; spare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance to be in rebuke for ever. Let such, O Lord, as now are most afflicted, yet once again praise thy holy name before thy congregation; repress the pride of those blood-thirsty tyrants; consume them in thine anger, according to the reproach which they have laid against thy holy name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy saints required of their hands. Delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haste. Let the earth swallow them up, and let them go down quick to hell; for there is no hope of their amendment; the fear and reverence of thy holy name is quite banished from their hearts: and therefore, yet again, O Lord, consume them, consume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counsels to effect; but according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the snare which they have prepared for thine elect. Look upon us, O Lord, with the eyes of thy mercy, and show pity upon us, thy weak and sore oppressed flock. Gather us yet once again to the wholesome treasures of thy most holy word, that openly we may confess thy blessed name within the realm of England. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Christ Jesus thy Son's sake. Amen."

If on this manner or otherwise, as God shall put in our hearts, without hypocrisy, in the presence of our God, respecting more his glory than our private wealth, continually we pour forth our complaint, confession, and prayers; then so assuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel these present troubles, shall our God himself rise to our defence. He shall confound the

counsels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of such as most wrongfully trouble us. He shall send Jesus to execute his just judgments against idolaters, and against such as obstinately defend them. Yea, the chief men of our times shall not escape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The flatterers and maintainers of her abominations shall drink the cup of God's wrath. And, in despite of the devil, shall yet the glory of Christ Jesus, and the brightness of his countenance, so shine in our hearts by the presence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his gospel, that altogether we shall fall before him, and say: "O Lord thou art our God, we shall extol thee, and shall confess thy name, for thou hast brought wondrous things to pass, according to thy counsels, which albeit, appear to be far off, yet are they true and most assured. Thou hast brought to ruin the palaces of tyrants, and therefore shall the afflicted magnify thee, and the city of tyrannical nations shall fear thee. Thou hast been, O Lord, a strong defence to the poor, a sure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time of his anguish.

This, no doubt, dear brethren, shall one day be the song of God's elect within the realm of England, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon those disobedient and blood-thirsty tyrants, who now triumph in all abominations: and therefore, yet again, beloved in the Lord, abide patiently the Lord's deliverance, avoiding and flying such offences as may separate and divide you from the blessed fellowship of the Lord Jesus at his second coming. Watch and pray, resist the devil, and row against this vehement tempest, and shortly shall the Lord come to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppressed with anguish and care: but then shall ye so rejoice, that through gladness you shall say, "Behold this is our God, we have waited upon him, and he hath saved us." This is our Lord, we have long thirsted for his coming, now shall we rejoice and be glad in his salvation, Amen. The great bishop of our

souls, Jesus our Lord, so strengthen and assist your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of his Holy Ghost, that earthly tyrants nor worldly torments have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that kingdom, which for the elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom

be all praise and honour, now and ever. Amen.

Remember me, dear brethren, in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.
Yours with sorrowful heart,

JOHN KNOX.

THE
FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET,

AGAINST THE
MONSTROUS REGIMEN [GOVERNMENT]
OF WOMEN.

[In all the copies of the Blast, attached to former editions of the history, there are in the two or three first pages, and in the preface, a vast number of errors, and some considerable omissions. I have to thank Dr M'Crrie for the use of a copy belonging to him, corrected with his own hand, from an old copy in the Advocates' Library. This has enabled me to give this, the most celebrated of Knox's productions, perhaps verbatim as it was published by himself.]

THE PREFACE.

“THE KINGDOM APPERTAINETH TO OUR GOD.”

WONDER it is, that amongst so many pregnant wits, as the isle of Great Britain hath produced, so many godly and zealous preachers as England did sometime nourish, and amongst so many learned, and men of grave judgment as at this day by Jezebel are exiled, none are found so stout of courage, so faithful to God, nor loving to their native country, that they dare admonish the inhabitants of that isle, how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea of a traitress and bastard,* and what a people or nation left destitute of a lawful head may do, by the authority of God's word, in electing and appointing common rulers and magistrates. That isle, alas! for the contempt and horrible abuse of God's mercies

offered, and for the shameful revolting to Satan from Christ Jesus, and from his gospel once professed, doth justly merit to be left in the hands of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion and bondage of strangers. But yet I fear that this universal negligence of such as were sometimes esteemed watchmen, shall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, than excuse this our universal ungodly silence in so weighty a matter. We see our country set forth for a prey to foreign nations, we hear the blood of our brethren the members of Christ Jesus, most cruelly to be shed, and the monstrous empire of a cruel woman,—the secret counsel of God excepted,—we know to be the only occasion of all these miseries; and yet with silence we pass the time as though the matter did appertain nothing to us. But the contrary examples of the ancient prophets move me to doubt of this our

* From the use of this opprobrious word, Knox must have believed in the nullity of Henry VIII.'s marriage with his brother's widow.
—Ed.

fact. For Israel did universally decline from God by embracing idolatry under Jeroboam, in which they did continue even to the destruction of their commonwealth,¹ and Judah with Jerusalem did follow the vile superstition, and open iniquity of Samaria: yet ceased not the prophets of God to admonish the one and the other, yea, even after that God had poured forth his plagues upon them; for Jeremiah² did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainly instructing them who did remain in that idolatrous nation. Ezekiel³ from the midst of his brethren prisoners in Chaldea, did write his vision to those that were in Jerusalem; and, sharply rebuking their vices, assured them that they should not escape God's vengeance, by reason of their abominations committed. The same prophets, for comfort of the afflicted chosen saints of God, who did lie hid amongst the reprobate of that age,—as the corn commonly doth amongst the chaff,—did prophesy and before speak the changes of kingdoms, the punishment of tyrants, and the vengeance which God would execute upon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the prophets, every one in their season,⁴ by whose examples, and by the plain precept which was given to Ezekiel, commanding that he shall say to the wicked, “thou shalt die the death.” We in this miserable age are bound to admonish the world, and the tyrants thereof, of their sudden destruction, to assure them, and to cry unto them, whether they list to hear or not, that the blood of the saints which by them is shed, continually crieth and craveth vengeance, in the presence of the Lord of hosts. And further it is our duty to open the truth revealed to us, unto the ignorant and blind world: unless that to our own condemnation, we list to wrap up and hide the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath revealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a monster in nature, that a woman shall reign and have empire

above man. And yet with us all, there is such silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The natural man enemy to God, shall find, I know, many causes why no such doctrine ought to be published in these our dangerous days, first, For that it may seem to tend to sedition. Secondly, it shall be dangerous, not only to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall read the writings or favour the truth spoken: and lastly, it shall not amend the chief offenders, partly because it shall never come to their ears, partly because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, if any of these be a sufficient reason, that a truth known shall be concealed, then were the ancient prophets of God very fools, who did not better provide for their own quietness, than to hazard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were not known to the world, and Christ Jesus did injury to his apostles, commanding them to preach repentance and remission of sins in his name to every realm and nation; and Paul did not understand his own liberty, when he cried⁵ “woe be to me, if I preach not the evangel!” If fear, I say, of persecution, of slander, or any inconveniency before named, might have excused and discharged the servants of God from plainly rebuking the sins of the world, just cause had every one of them to have ceased from their office; for suddenly their doctrine was accused by terms of sedition, of new learning, and of treason.⁶ Persecution and vehement trouble did shortly come upon the professors with the preachers; kings, princes, and worldly rulers, did conspire against God, and against his anointed Christ Jesus. But what? Did any of these move the prophets and apostles to faint in their vocation? No, but by the resistance which the devil made to them by his supposts, were they the more inflamed to publish the truth revealed unto them; and to witness with their blood, that grievous condemnation and God's heavy vengeance should follow

1 Ezek. xvi. 2 Jer. xxix. 3 Ezek. vii. viii. ix. 4 Isa. xiii. Jer. xlvi. Ezek. xxxvi.

5 1 Cor. ix. 6 Mat. xxvi. Acts xviii. xxi. Psal. ii. Acts iv.

the proud contempt of graces offered. The fidelity, bold courage, and constancy of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to follow their footsteps, unless we look for another kingdom than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in profession of his name to the end. If any think that the empire of women is not of such importance, that for the suppressing of the same, any man is bound to hazard his life. I answer, that to suppress it is in the hand of God alone; but to utter the impiety and abomination of the same, I say, it is the duty of every true messenger of God, to whom the truth is revealed in that behalf. For the special duty of God's messengers is to preach repentance, to admonish the offenders of their offences, and to say to the wicked, thou shalt die the death except thou repent. This I trust will no man deny to be the proper office of all God's messengers, to preach as I have said, repentance and remission of sins. But neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. For how shall any man repent, not knowing wherein he hath offended? And where no repentance is found, there can be no entry to grace. And therefore, I say, that of necessity it is, that this monstiferous empire of women,—which among all enormities that this day do abound upon the face of the whole earth, is most detestable and damnable,—be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. And thus far be the first sort. Now to such as think that it will be long before such doctrine come to the ears of the chief offenders, I answer, that the verity of God is of that nature, that at one time or at another it will purchase to itself audience. It is an odour and a smell that cannot be suppressed, yea, it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversaries; it will compel the very enemies to their own confusion, to testify and bear witness of it: for I find that the prophecy and preaching of Elisha, was declared in the hall of the king of Syria, by the servants and flatterers of the same wicked king, making mention that Elisha

declared to the king of Israel whatsoever the said king of Syria spoke in his most secret chamber.¹ And the wondrous works of Jesus Christ were notified to Herod, not in any great praise or commendation of his doctrine: but rather to signify, that Christ called that tyrant a fox, and that he did no more regard his authority than did John the baptist, whom Herod before had beheaded for the liberty of his tongue.² But whether the bearers of the rumours were favourable of Christ, or flatterers of the tyrant, certain it is that the fame, as well of Christ's doctrine as of his works, came to the ears of Herod. Even so may the sound of our weak trumpet, by the support of some wind,—blow it from the south, or blow it from the north, it is no matter,—come to the ears of the chief offenders. But whether it do or not, yet dare we not cease to blow as God will give strength. For we are debtors to more than to princes, to wit, to the multitude of our brethren, of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent, and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empires, not understanding how abominable, odious, and detestable is all such usurped authority in God's presence. And therefore must the truth be plainly spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished. And as, concerning the danger which may hereof ensue, I am not altogether so brutish and insensible, but that I have laid mine account what the finishing of the work may cost me for my own part. First, I am not ignorant how difficult and dangerous it is to speak against a common error, especially when that the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's simple commandment: for, to the most part of men, lawful and godly appeareth whatsoever antiquity hath received. And, secondly, I look to have mine adversaries, not only of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, politic, and quiet spirits of the world, so that as well shall such as ought to maintain the truth

1 Kings vi. 12. 2 Mat. xiv.

and verity of God, become enemies to me, in this case, as shall the princes and ambitious persons, who, to maintain their unjust tyranny, do always study to suppress the same. And thus I am most certainly persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remember that accounts of the talents received must be made to him, who neither respecteth the multitude, neither yet approveth the wisdom, policy, peace, nor antiquity, concluding or determining any thing against his eternal will, revealed to us in his most blessed word, I am compelled to cover mine eyes, and shut up mine ears, that I neither see the multitude that shall withstand me in this matter, neither that I shall bear the opprobries, nor consider the dangers which I may incur for uttering the same. I shall be called foolish, curious, spiteful, and a sower of sedition; and one day perchance, although now I be nameless, I may be attainted of treason. But seeing that impossible it is, but that either I shall offend God, daily calling to my conscience, that I ought to manifest the verity known, or else that I shall displease the world for doing the same; I am determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world shall rage thereat. I know that the world offended, may, by God's permission, kill the body; but God's majesty being offended, hath power to punish body and soul for ever. His majesty is offended, when that his precepts are contemned, and his threatenings esteemed to be of none effect; and amongst his manifold precepts given to his prophets, and amongst his threatenings, none is more vehement than that which is

pronounced to Ezekiel in these words, "Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore, thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me; when I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die, if thou do not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand; nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way, to turn from it, if he do not turn from his ways, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul."* This precept, I say, with the threatening annexed, together with the rest that is spoken in the same chapter, not to Ezekiel only, but to every one, whom God placeth watchman over his people and flock,—and watchmen are they, whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonish the ungodly,—compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole world should be offended with me for so doing. If any wonder why I do conceal my name, let him be assured, that the fear of corporal punishment is neither the only, neither the chief cause. My purpose is thrice to blow the trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit. Twice I intend to do it without name; but at the last blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged.†

1 Ezek. xxxiii.

* The old translation is used in the old edition.

† Knox never found leisure to effect his purpose in this respect. He wrote only the heads of the second Blast, as will be seen in the sequel, and nothing at all of the third.—*Ed.*

THE FIRST BLAST

TO

AWAKE WOMEN DEGENERATE.

To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice. In the probation of this proposition, I will not be so curious, as to gather whatsoever may amplify, set forth, or decore [adorn] the same, but I am purposed, even as I have spoken in most plain and few words, so to stand content with a simple proof of every member, bringing in for my witnesses God's ordinance in nature, his plain will revealed in his word, and the minds of such as be most ancient among godly writers.

And first, when that I affirm the empire of a woman to be a thing repugnant to nature, I mean not only that God, by the order of his creation, hath spoiled woman of authority and dominion, but also that man hath seen, proved, and pronounced just causes why that so it should be. Man, I say, in many other cases blind, doth in this behalf see very clearly. For the causes be so manifest that they cannot be hid. -For who can deny but it repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see, that the weak, the sick, and impotent persons, shall nourish and keep the whole and strong; and finally, that the foolish, mad, and frantic, shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? and such be all women compared unto man in bearing authority. For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness, their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness, and judgment frenzy, if it be rightly considered. I except such as God, by singular privilege, and for certain causes, known only to him-

self, hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women, as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, unpatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regimen. And these notable faults in all ages espied in that kind, for the which have men not only removed women from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel or empire of their wives, were unworthy of all public office. For thus writeth Aristotle in the second of his politics: what difference shall we put, saith he¹, whether that women bear authority, or husbands that obey the empire of their wives, be appointed to be magistrates? For what ensueth the one, must needs follow the other, to wit, injustice, confusion, and disorder. The same author further reasoneth, that the policy or regimen of the Lacedæmonians, who, otherwise, amongst the Grecians were most excellent, was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongst the number of commonwealths that were well governed, because the magistrates and rulers of the same, were too much given to please and obey their wives. What would this writer, I pray you, have said to that realm or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in parliament among the midst of men. O fearful and terrible are thy judgments, O Lord, who hath thus abased man for his iniquity. I am assuredly persuaded, that if any of those men, who, illuminated only by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women ought not to bear rule nor authority, should this day live and

see a woman sitting in judgment, or riding from parliament in the midst of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the sword and sceptre borne before her, in sign that the administration of justice was in her power; I am assuredly persuaded, I say, that such a sight should astonish them that they should judge the whole world to be transformed into Amazons,¹ and that such a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do feign was made of [the] companions of Ulysses, or at least, that albeit the outward form of men remained, yet should they judge that their hearts were changed from the wisdom, understanding, and courage of men to the foolish fondness and cowardice of women. Yea, they further should pronounce that where women reign and be in authority, there must needs vanity be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride, to temperance and modesty, and finally, that avarice the mother of all mischief must needs devour equity and justice. But lest that we should seem to be of this opinion alone, let us hear what others have seen and decreed in this matter. In the rules of the law thus it is written, "women are removed from all civil and public office, so that neither they may be judges, neither may they occupy the place of the magistrate; neither yet may they be speakers for others." The same is repeated in the third and sixteenth books of the Digests,² where certain persons are forbidden, *ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor advocates for others, and among the rest are women forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefacedness intermeddle themselves with the causes of others; neither yet that women presume to use the offices due to men. The law in the same place doth further declare, that a natural shamefacedness ought to be in womankind, which most certainly she loseth whensoever she

taketh upon her the office and estate of man. As in Calphurnia³ was evidently declared, for she having licence to speak before the senate, at length becomes so impudent and importune, that by her babbling she troubled the whole assembly, and so gave occasion that this law was established.

In the first book of the Digests,⁴ it is pronounced that the condition in many cases is worse than of the man. As in jurisdiction, saith the law, in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in public accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power, which she hath not upon her own sons. The law further will not permit, that the woman give any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to presume to give any thing to her head. The law doth moreover pronounce womankind to be the most avaricious; which is a vice intolerable in those that should rule or minister justice. And Aristotle,⁵ as before is touched, doth plainly affirm, that whensoever women bear dominion, there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, excess and vanity; and in the end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruin.

Would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections of women, their natural weakness, and inordinate appetites. I might adduce histories,⁶ proving some women to have died for sudden joy; some for unpatience to have murdered themselves, some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city; and some to have been so desirous of dominion,⁷ that for the

1 Amazons were monstrous women, that could not bide the regiment of men, and therefore killed their husbands. Read Justine. Aris. 2 Pol. lib. 50. *de regulis juris*.

2 Lib. 3. 15. *Digestorum ad senatus consul. Velleianum*, lib. 3. *de postulatione*. Tit. 1.

3 Calphurnia. 4 *De statu hominum*, Tit. 8. By the civil law power is taken from women over their own children, *Dig. Lib. 24. de donatione inter virum et fem. Lib. 1. Dig. de legibus et senatuscon. Tit. 3.* 5 *Politic.* 2. Great imperfections of women. 6 Romilda the wife of Gisulphus, betrayed to Cacanus the dukedom of Friul in Italy. Jane Queen of Naples hanged her husband, Athalia destroyed all the seed royal, 2 Kings ii. 7 *Jerne. Anton. Isabell*.

obtaining of the same, they have murdered the children of their own sons, yea, and some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children. But to me it is sufficient, because this part of nature is not my most sure foundation, to have proved, that men illuminated only by the light of nature, have seen and determined, that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, that women rule and govern over man, for these that will not permit a woman to have power over her own sons, will not permit her, I am assured, to have rule over a realm; and those that will not suffer her to speak in defence of those that be accused, nor admit her accusation intended against man, will not approve her that she shall sit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, usurping the authority in the midst of men.¹

But now to the second part of nature, in the which I include the revealed will and perfect ordinance of God; and against this part of nature, I say, that it doth manifestly repugn, that any woman shall reign or bear dominion over man. For God first, by the order of the creation, and, after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman, by the reason of her rebellion, hath pronounced the contrary. First, I say, the woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him. As St Paul doth reason in these words, "Man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man."² And man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man: for this cause ought the woman to have a power upon head;" that is, a coverture in sign of subjection; of which words it is plain that the apostle meaneth, that woman, in her greatest perfection, should have known that man was lord above her; and therefore, that she should never have pretended any kind of superiority above him, no more than do the angels above God the creator, or above Christ Jesus their head. So I say, that in her greatest

perfection, woman was created to be subject to man. But after her fall and rebellion committed against God, there was put upon her a new necessity, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these words,³ "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception, with sorrow shalt thou bear thy children, and thy will shall be subject to thy man: and he shall bear dominion over thee." Hereby may such as altogether be not blinded, plainly see, that God by his sentence hath dejected all women from empire and dominion above man. For two punishments are laid upon her, to wit, a dolour, anguish, and pain, as oft as ever she shall be a mother, and a subjection of herself, her appetites, and will to her husband and his will. From the former part of this malediction, can neither art, nobility, policy, nor law made by man deliver womankind. But whosoever attaineth to that honour to be mother, proveth in experience the effect and strength of God's word. But, alas! ignorance of God, ambition, and tyranny have studied to abolish and destroy the second part of God's punishment; for women are lifted up to be heads over realms, and to rule above men at their pleasure and appetites: but horrible is the vengeance, which is prepared for the one and for the other, and for the persons promoted, except they speedily repent. For they shall be dejected from the glory of the sons of God to the slavery of the devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all such as do exalt themselves against God. Against God can nothing be more manifest, than that a woman should be exalted to reign above man: for the contrary sentence hath he pronounced in these words, "Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and he shall bear dominion over thee. As God should say, for as much as thou hast abused thy former condition, and because thy free will hath brought thyself and mankind into the bondage of Satan, I will therefore bring thee in bondage to man. For when be-

¹ The less things are denied to women, therefore the greater cannot be granted.

² 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10.

³ Gen. iii. 16.

fore thy obedience should have been voluntary, now it shall be by constraint and necessity, and that because thou hast deceived thy man, thou shalt therefore be no longer mistress over thine own appetites, over thine own will and desires. For in thee there is neither reason nor discretion which be able to moderate thy affections, and therefore they shall be subject to the desire of thy man. He shall be lord and governor, not only over thy body, but even over thy appetites and will. This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against *Heva* and her daughters, as the rest of the scripture doth evidently witness. So that no woman can ever presume to reign above man, but the same she must needs do in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and malediction. I am not ignorant, that the most part of men do understand this malediction of the subjection of the wife to her husband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holy Ghost giveth us another interpretation of this place, taking from all women all kind of superiority, authority, and power over man, speaking as followeth, by the mouth of St Paul, "I suffer not a woman to teach, neither yet to usurp authority above man."¹ Here he nameth women in general, excepting none: and in the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. the apostle permitteth that all persons may prophesy one after another, that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and lest the plurality of speakers should have bred confusion, he addeth, "The spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" as if he should say, God shall always raise up some to whom the verity shall be revealed, and to such you shall give place, albeit they sit in the lowest place. And thus the apostle would have prophesying an exercise to be free to the whole church, that every one should communicate with the congregation what God had revealed to them, providing it were done orderly. But from this general privilege he secludeth all women, saying,² "Let women keep silence in the congregation:" and why, I

pray you? Was it because he thought no women to have any knowledge? No, he giveth another, saying, "Let her be subject as the law saith." In the words is first to be noted, that the apostle calleth the former sentence pronounced against women, a law, that is, the immutable decree of God, who by his own voice hath subjected her to one member of the congregation, that is, to her husband. Whereupon the Holy Ghost concludeth, that she may never rule, nor bear empire above man, for she that is made subject to one, may never be preferred to many. And that by the Holy Ghost is manifestly expressed in these words, "I suffer not a woman to usurp authority above man." So both by God's law and the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, women are utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God in the offices foresaid, which he has assigned to man, whom he hath appointed to be his lieutenant on earth. The apostle taketh power from all women to speak in the assembly:³ *ergo*, he permitteth no woman to rule above man. The former part of the argument is evident, and so the conclusion doth of necessity follow; for he that taketh from woman the least part of authority, will not permit unto her that which is greatest: but greater it is⁴ to reign above realms and nations, to publish and make laws, to appoint judges and ministers, than to speak in the congregation. Woman's judgment, sentence, or opinion proposed in the congregation may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godly. But woman being promoted in sovereign authority, her laws must be obeyed, her opinion followed, and her tyranny maintained, suppose it be expressly against God and the profit of the commonwealth. And therefore yet again I repeat, that a woman promoted to sit in the seat of God, that is, to teach, to judge, or to reign above the man, is a monster in nature, contumely to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. That you may understand this my judgment to be no new in-

1 Tim. ii. 2 1 Cor. xiv.

3 A strong argument. 4 Note.

terpretation of God's scriptures, I will recite the minds of some ancient writers in the same matter. Tertullian¹ in his book of Woman's apparel, after he hath showed many causes why gorgeous apparel is abominable and odious in a woman, he addeth these words, speaking, as it were, to every woman by name, "Doth not know, saith he, that thou art Eve? The sentence of God liveth, and is effectual against thy kind; and in this world, of necessity it is, that the punishment also live; thou art the port and gate of the devil, thou art the first transgressor of God's law; thou didst persuade and easily deceive him, whom the devil durst not assault; for thy merit,—that is for thy death,—it behoved the Son of God to suffer death. And doth it yet abide in thy mind to deck them above thy skin coats?" By these and many other grave sentences and quick interrogations did this godly writer labour to bring every woman in contemplation of herself, that she might avoid and abhor whatsoever thing might puff her up with pride, or that might be an occasion that should forget the sentence, which God hath pronounced against the whole race and daughters of Eve; and what, I pray you, is more able to cause woman forget her own condition, than if she be lifted up in authority above man? It is a thing very difficile to man,—be he never so constant,—promoted to honours, not to be tickled somewhat with pride; for the wind of vain-glory doth easily carry up the dry dust of the earth. But as for woman, it is no more possible that she, being set aloft in authority above man, shall resist the motions of pride, than it is possible to the weak reed, or to the turning weather-cock, not to bow or to turn at the vehemency of the inconstant wind: and, therefore, the same writer expressly forbiddeth all women to intermeddle with the office of man, for thus he writeth in his book,² *De virginibus velandis*, "It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the congregation, neither to teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindi-

cate to herself any office of man." The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the preface of his sixth book against Marcion,³ when he, recounting certain monstrous things which were to be seen at the sea called Euxinum, amongst the rest he reciteth, "there is a great monster in nature, that women in those parts were not tamed nor embossed by consideration of their own sex and kind, but that all shame laid apart, they made exercise upon weapons, and learned the feats of war, having more pleasure to fight, than to marry and be subject to man." Thus Tertullian, who taketh from woman all office appertaining to man, would never suffer her to reign above man; and he that judged it a monster in nature, that a woman should exercise weapons, would judge it, no doubt, to be a monster of monsters, that a woman should be exalted above a whole realm and nation. Of the same mind is Origen and divers others, whose sentences I omit, to avoid prolixity. Augustine in his 22d book against Faustus,⁴ proveth that a woman ought to do service to her husband as unto God, affirming, that in nothing hath woman equal power with man, except that neither have power over their own bodies, by which he would plainly include, that woman ought never to pretend nor thirst for that power and authority which is due to man. And in another place he affirmeth,⁵ that woman ought to be repressed and bridled betimes, if she aspires to. any dominion: alleging that dangerous it is to suffer her to proceed, although it be in temporal and corporal things; and thereto he addeth these words, "God seeth not for a time, neither is there any new thing in his sight, and knowledge," meaning thereby, that what God had seen in one woman,—as concerning dominion and having of authority,—the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same hath he forbidden to all, and this most evidently; yet in another place he writeth, moving this

1 *Tertullian de habitu mulierum.*

2 *Tertul.*

lib. 8. de virg. velandis.

3 *In proem. 6 lib. contra Marcion.*

4 *Aug.*

lib. 22. contra Faustinum, cap. 31.

5 *De Trinitate, lib. 12. cap. 7.*

question, "How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man, and hath neither authority to teach, to be witness, nor to judge, much less to rule or bear empire? Woman, saith Augustine, compared to other creatures is the image of God,¹ for she beareth dominion over them; but compared to man, she may not be called the image of God, for she beareth not rule nor lordship over man, but ought to obey him," &c. And how woman ought to obey him, he speaketh² yet more clearly in these words, "The woman shall be subject unto man as unto Christ," &c. With Augustine agreeth in every point St Ambrose, who thus writeth³ in his Hexameron, "Adam was deceived by Eva, and not Eva by Adam, and therefore just it is, that woman receive and acknowledge him for governor whom she called to sin, lest again she slide by womanly facility." And writing upon the epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. he saith,⁴ "Let women be subject to their own husbands as unto the Lord, for the man is head to the woman," &c. As the congregation is subject to Christ, even so ought women to be to their husbands in all things. He proceedeth further, saying, "Women are commanded to be subject to men by the law of nature, because that man is the beginner of the woman: for as Christ is the head of the church, so is man of the woman; from Christ the church took beginning, and therefore it is subject unto him, even so did woman take beginning from man that she should be subject." If any man think that all these former sentences be spoken only of the subjection of the married woman to her husband, as before I have proved the contrary by the plain words and reasoning of St Paul, so shall I shortly do the same by other testimonies of the foresaid writers. The same Ambrose,⁵ writing upon the second chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, after he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women, he addeth these words, "Woman

ought not only to have simple raiment, but all authority is to be denied unto her: for she must be in subjection to man,—of whom she hath taken her original,—as well in habit as in service." And after a few words, he saith, "Because death entered into the world by her, there is no boldness that ought to be permitted unto her, but she ought to be in humility." Hereof it is plain, that from all women, married or unmarried, is all authority taken to execute any office that appertaineth to man yea, plain it is, that all women are commanded to serve, to be in humility and subjection, which thing the same writer speaketh yet more plainly in these words,⁶ "It is not permitted to women to speak, but to be in silence, as the law saith. What saith the law? Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he shall bear dominion over thee. This is a special law, saith Ambrose, whose sentence lest it should be violated, infirmed, or made weak women are commanded to be in silence." Here he includeth all women, and yet he proceedeth further in the same place, saying, "It is a shame for them to presume to speak of the law, in the house of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be subject to their men." But most plainly speaketh he, writing upon the xvi. chapter of the epistle to the Romans, upon these words, "Salute Rufus and his mother." "For this," saith Ambrose, "did the apostle place Rufus before his mother, for the election of the administration of the grace of God." In the which a woman hath no place by the administration of God's grace is understood, not only the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, by which God's grace is presented and ordinarily distributed to man, but also the administration of civil justice, by the which virtue ought to be maintained, and vices punished, the execution whereof no less is denied to woman, than is the preaching of the evangel or administration of the sacraments, as hereafter shall most plainly appear. Chrysostome among the Grecian

1 In Quest. Vet. Test. Quest. 45. 2 Lib. de Continentia, cap. 4. 3 Ambros. in Hexameron, lib. 5. cap. 7. 4 Idem super, Ephes. chap. 5. 5 Ambros. super, cap. 2. 1 Tim.

6 Ambros. in 1 Eph. ad Cor. cap. 14. Gen. 3. 7 Rufus is by St Paul saluted before his mother.

writers of no small credit, speaking in rebuke of men, who in his days were become inferior to some women in wit and godliness, hath these words:¹ "For this cause was woman put under thy power,"—he speaketh to man in general,—“and thou wast pronounced Lord over her, that she should obey thee, and that the head should not follow the feet.” But often we see, that he who in his order ought to be the head, doth not keep the order of the feet, that is, doth not rule the feet, and that she that is in place of the feet is constitute to be head. He speaketh the words, as it were in admiration that man was become so brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing most monstrous, that women should be preferred to men in any thing, whom God hath subjected to man in all things. He proceedeth, saying, “Nevertheless, it is the part of the man, with diligent care to repel the woman that giveth him wicked counsel, and woman, who gave that pestilent counsel unto man, ought at all times to have the punishment, which was given to Eve, sounding in her ears.” And in another place he bringeth in God speaking to the woman in this sort,² “Because thou left him, of whose nature thou was participant, and from whom thou wast formed, and hast had pleasure to have familiarity with that wicked beast, and would take his counsel; therefore I subject thee to man, and I appoint him to be thy lord; and because thou couldest not bear rule, learn well to be ruled.” Why they should not bear rule, he declareth in other places,³ saying, “Womankind is imprudent and soft,—or flexible;—imprudent, because she cannot consider with wisdom and reason the things which she heareth and seeth, and soft, because she is easily bowed.” I know Chrysostome bringeth in these words, to declare the cause why false prophets do commonly deceive women, because they are easily persuaded to any opinion, especially if it be against God; and because they lack prudence and right reason to judge the things that are spoken, they who are appointed to govern others, ought to be

constant, stable, prudent in doing every thing with discretion and reason, which virtues women cannot have in equality with men; for that he doth witness in another place,⁴ saying, “Women have in themselves a tickling and study of vain-glory; and that they may have [in] common with men: they are suddenly moved to anger; and that they may have in common with some men: but virtues in which they excel, they have not common with man: therefore the apostle has removed them from the office of teaching, which is an evident proof that in virtue they far differ from man.” This writer further proceedeth; and after he hath in many words lamented the effeminate manners of men, he finally concludeth, “That notwithstanding that men be degenerate, yet may not women usurp any authority above them.” And in the end he addeth these words, “These things do I not speak to extol women, but to the confusion and shame of ourselves, and to admonish us to take again the dominion that is meet and convenient for us; not only that power which is according to the excellency of dignity, but that which is according to providence, and according to help and virtue, for then is the body in best proportion, when it hath the best governor: but women can never be the best governor, because in the nature of all women lurketh such vices, as in good governors are not tolerable.” Which the same writer expresseth in these words: “Womankind,”⁵ saith he, “is rash and fool-hardy; and their covetousness is like the gulf of hell that is insatiable.” And therefore in another place⁶ he willeth, that woman shall have nothing to do in judgment in common affairs, or in the regimen of the commonwealth; because she is impatient of troubles: but that she shall live in tranquillity and quietness. And if she has occasion to go from the house, that yet she shall have no matter of trouble, neither to follow her, neither to be offered unto her, as commonly there must be to such as bear authority. And with Chrysostome fully agreeth Basilus Mag-

1 Chrysost. Homil. 17. in Gen. 2 Homil. 15. in Gen. 3 In Matth. xxiii. Hom. 44.

4 Ad Ephes. cap. iv. serm. 3. 5 In Cap. xxii. Joh. Homil. 57. 6 In John, Hom. 41.

nus, in a sermon which he maketh upon some places of scripture,¹ wherein he reproves divers vices, and amongst the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tender creature, flexible, soft, and pitiful, which nature God hath given unto her, that she may be apt to nourish children. The which facility of the woman did Satan abuse, and thereby brought her from God's obedience. And therefore, in divers other places doth he conclude, that she is not apt to bear rule, and that she is forbidden to teach. Thus having proved by the determinations and laws, illuminated only by the light of nature, by the order of God's creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman by the mouth of St Paul, who is the interpreter of God's sentence and law, and finally, by the minds of those writers who in God's church have been always holden in greatest reverence,—that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, to God's will and appointed ordinance, yea, that it cannot be without contumely against God, that a woman should be promoted to dominion or empire, to reign over man, be it in realm, nation, province or city. Now resteth in few words to be shown, that the same empire of women is the subversion of good order, equity and justice. Augustine² defineth order to be that thing by which God hath appointed and ordained all things. Augustine³ will admit no order where God's appointment is absent. And in another place he saith, "Order is a disposition giving their own proper places to things which be unequal," which he termeth in Latin, *parium et disparium*, that is, of things equal or like, or things unequal or unlike; of which two places, and of the whole disputation, which is contained in his second book *De ordine*, it is evident, that whatsoever is done without the assurance of God's will, or else against his will revealed in his word, is done against order. But such is the empire and regimen of all women: therefore, I say, it is a thing plainly repugnant to good order,

yea it is the subversion of the same. If any please to reject Augustine's definition, as either not proper to this purpose, or else as insufficient to prove my intent, let the same man understand, that in so doing he hath infirmed mine argument nothing. For as I depend not upon the determinations of men, so I think my cause no weaker, albeit their authority be denied unto me, providing that God's revealed will stands evident on my side. That God hath subjected womankind to man, by the order of his creation, and by the curse that he hath pronounced against her, is before declared. Besides these, he hath set before our eyes two other mirrors and glasses, in which he willeth that we should behold the order which he hath appointed and established in nature: the one is the natural body of man, the other is the politic or civil body of that commonwealth, in which God by his own word hath appointed an order. In man's natural body, God hath appointed an order that the head should occupy the uppermost place; and the head hath he joined with the body, that from it doth life and motion flow to the rest of the members. In the head he hath placed the eye to see, the ear to hear, and the tongue to speak, which offices are appointed to none other members of the body. The rest of the members have every one their own place and office, but no member may have the place or office of the head, for who would not judge that body to be a monster, where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly, and the ears in the feet: no less is the body of that commonwealth, where a woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a lawful head, as in very deed it doth, or else an idol is exalted instead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and strength, which the name and proportion doth resemble and promise. I confess a realm may, in despite of God,—he of his wise judgment so giving them over unto a reprobate mind,—exalt up a woman to that monstiferous honour, to be esteemed as head. But im-

1 Basilius in aliquot Scripturæ locos.

2 Aug. de ord. lib. I. cap. x. 3 De civit. Dei, lib. xix. cap. xlii.

possible it is to man or angel to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the same God that denied power to the hands to speak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to see, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wisdom to consider, and providence to foresee, the things that be profitable to the commonwealth; yea, finally, he hath pronounced plainly, that man is head to woman, even as Christ is head to all men.¹ If men in a blind rage should assemble together and appoint themselves another head than Jesus Christ, as the papists have done their Roman antichrist, should therefore Christ lose his own dignity, or should God give to that counterfeit head power to give life to the body, to see whatsoever might endamage or hurt it, to speak in defence, and to hear the requests of every subject? It is certain that he would not, for that honour which, before all time, he hath appointed to his only son, will he give to no creature besides: no more will he admit or accept woman to be lawful head over man, although man, devil, and angel will conjure in her favour. Chrysostome explaining these words of the apostle, "The head of a woman is the man," compareth God in his universal regimen to a king sitting in his royal majesty, to whom all his subjects being commanded to give homage and obedience, appear before him, bearing every one such a badge and cognizance of dignity and honour, as he hath given to them; which if they despise or contemn, then do they dishonour their king. "Even so," saith he, "ought men and women to appear before God, bearing the ensigns of the condition which they have received of him. Man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman; and therefore ought he to appear before his high majesty bearing the sign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head, to witness, that on earth man hath no head." Beware, Chrysostome, what thou sayest! thou shalt be reputed a traitor if Englishmen hear thee; for they must have my sovereign lady and

mistress, and Scotland hath drunken also the enchantment and venom of Circes, let it be to their own shame and confusion. He proceedeth in these words, "But woman ought to be covered, to witness that on earth she hath a head, that is, man." True it is, Chrysostome, woman is covered in both the said realms, but it is not with the sign of subjection, but it is with the sign of superiority, to wit with the royal crown. To that he answereth in these words: "What if man neglect his honour? He is no less to be mocked," saith Chrysostome, "than if a king should depose himself of his diadem or crown and royal estate, and clothe himself in the habit of a slave." What, I pray you, should this godly father have said, if he had seen the crown, sceptre, and sword, which are the ensigns of the royal dignity, given to a woman cursed of God, and all the men of a realm to fall down before her? I am assured he should have judged not only foolish, but also enraged and slaves to Satan, manifestly fighting against God and his appointed order. The more I consider the subversion of God's order, which he hath placed generally in all things, the more I do wonder at the blindness of man, who doth not consider himself in this case so degenerate, that the brute beasts are to be preferred unto him in this behalf: for nature hath in all beasts printed a certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain subjection in the female, which they keep inviolate: for no man ever saw the lion make obedience and stoop before the lioness; neither yet can it be proved, that the hind taketh the conducting of the herd amongst the harts. And yet, alas! man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only to his own shame stoop under the obedience of woman, but also in despite of God and of his appointed order, rejoiceth and maintaineth that monstrous authority, as a thing lawful and just. The insolent joy, the bonfires, and banquetting which were in London and elsewhere in England, when that cursed Jezebel was proclaimed queen, did witness to my heart, that men were become more than enraged; for else how could they so have re-

1 Cor. xi.

joiced at their own confusion and certain destruction? For what man was there of so base judgment, supposing that he had any light of God, who did not see the erecting of that monster to be the overthrow of true religion, and the assured destruction of England and of the ancient liberties thereof? And yet, nevertheless, all men so triumphed, as if God had delivered them from all calamity. If any man think these my words sharp or vehement, let him consider, that the offence is more heinous than could be expressed by words. God, for his great mercies' sake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceive into what miserable bondage they are brought by the monstiferous empire of women! The second glass which God hath set before man's eyes, wherein he may behold the order which pleases his wisdom, concerning authority and dominion, is the commonwealth, to which it hath pleased his majesty to give laws, statutes, rites and ceremonies, not only concerning religion, but also touching the policy and regimen of the same. And against that order it doth manifestly re-pugn, that any woman shall occupy the throne of God, that is, the royal seat, which he by his word hath appointed to man; as in giving the law to Israel concerning the election of a king is evident: for thus it is written, ¹“If thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, thou shalt make thee a king, whom the Lord thy God shall choose, one from among thy brethren shalt thou appoint king over thee, thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, that is not thy brother.” Here expressly is a man appointed to be chosen king, and a man, native amongst themselves; by which precept is all women and all strangers seclud-ed. What may be objected for the part or election of a stranger, shall be, God willing, answered in the blast of the second trumpet; for this present, I say, that the electing of a woman to that honour, is not only to invert the order which God hath established, but also to defile and pollute,—so

far as in man lieth,—the throne and seat of God, which he hath sanctified and appointed for man only, as his minister and lieutenant on earth. If any think that the foresaid law did bind the Jews only, let the same man consider that the election of a king and appointing of judges did neither appertain to the ceremonial law, neither yet was it merely judicial, but that it did flow from the moral law, as an ordinance having a respect to the conservation of both tables; for the office of the magistrate ought to have the first and chief respect to God's glory, commanded and contained in the former table, as is evident by that which God enjoined by Joshua when he was admitted governor over his people in these words: ²“Thou shalt divide the inheritance to this people, the which I sware to their fathers to give them; only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand nor to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest. Let not the book of the law depart from thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein. For then shall thy ways prosper, and thou shalt have good success,” &c. And the same precept giveth God by the mouth of Moses to kings, after they be elected, in these words: ³“When he shall sit in the throne, or seat of his kingdom, he shall write to himself a copy of this law in a book, and that shall be with him, that he may read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and all these statutes that he may do them,” &c. By these two places it is evident, that principally it appertaineth to the king or chief magistrate to know God's will, to be instructed in his law and statutes, and to promote his glory, with his whole heart and study, which be the chief points of the first table. No man denieth, but that the sword is committed to the magistrate,

¹ Deut. xvii. 14, 15

² Josh. i. ³ Deut. xvii.

to the end that he should punish vice and maintain virtue. He ought not only to punish adultery, theft, murder, but also such vices as openly impugn God's glory, as idolatry, blasphemy, and manifest heresy taught and obstinately maintained, as the histories and notable acts of Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah do plainly teach us, whose care was not only to glorify God in their own life, but also to bring their subjects to the true worship of God; and therefore, they destroyed all monuments of idolatry, punished to death the teachers thereof, and removed from office and honours such as were maintainers of the same, whereby, I suppose, it is evident, that the office of the king, or supreme magistrate, hath respect to the law moral, and to the conservation of both tables. Now if the law moral be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to the which the gentile is no less bound than was the Jew; and if God willeth that among the gentiles the ministers and executors of the law be now appointed, as sometimes they were amongst the Jews; further, if the execution of justice be no less requisite in the policy of the gentiles, than ever it was amongst the Jews,—what man can be so foolish to suppose or believe, that God will now admit those persons to sit in judgment, or to reign over men in the commonwealth of the gentiles, whom he by his express word and ordinance did before debar and seclude from the same? And that women were secluded from the royal seat, besides the places before recited of the election of a king, and besides the places of the New Testament which be most evident, the order and election which were kept in Judah and Israel do manifestly declare; for when the males of the kingly flock failed,—as oft it chanced in Israel, and sometimes in Judah,—it never entered into the people's hearts to choose and promote to honour any of the king's daughters, had he never so many. For they, knowing God's vengeance to be poured forth upon the father by the away-taking of his sons, they had no further respect to his stock, but elected such a man or other as they judged most apt for

that honour and authority; of which premises I conclude, as before, that to promote a woman to be head over man is repugnant to nature, and a thing most contrarious to that order, which God hath approved in that commonwealth which he did institute and rule by his word. But now to the last point, to wit, that the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to justice and the destruction of every commonwealth when it is received, in few words, because the matter is more than evident,—I say, if justice be a constant and perpetual will to give to every person their own right, as the most learned in all ages have defined it to be, then to give, or to will to give to any person that which is not their right, must repugn to justice. But to reign above man can never be the right to woman, because it is a thing denied to her by God, as before is declared. Therefore to promote her to that estate or dignity can be nothing else but repugnancy to justice. If any find fault with justice as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt, for I have the warrant of him who assuredly will defend the quarrel, and he commandeth me to cry that whatsoever repugneth to his will, expressed in his sacred word, repugneth to justice. But that women have authority above men repugneth to his will expressed in his word: and, therefore, at my Author's commandment, without fear I conclude, that all such authority repugneth to justice. The first part of the argument is a principle not only universally received, but also deeply printed in the heart of man, so that no less the reprobate are co-acted and constrained to acknowledge the same, than be the chosen children of God, albeit to divers ends. The elect with displeasure of their fact, confess their offence, having access to grace and mercy, as did Adam, David, Peter, and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobate, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, the which they have offended, yet are they never inwardly displeased with their iniquity, but rage and complain, and storm against God, whose vengeance they cannot

escape, as did Cain, Judas, Herod, Julian the apostate, yea, Jezebel and Athaliah: for Cain no doubt was convict in conscience, that he had done against justice in murdering of his brother. Judas did openly confess before the high priest, that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood. Herod being stricken by the angel, did mock these his flatterers, saying unto them, behold your God,"—meaning himself,—“cannot now preserve himself from corruption and worms.” Julianus was compelled in the end to cry, “O Galilean,”—so always in contempt did he name our Saviour Jesus Christ,—“thou hast now overcome.” And who doubts but Jezebel and Athaliah were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murder which they had committed, and the empire which the one had six years usurped, were repugnant to justice: even so shall they, I doubt not, which do this day possess and maintain their monstiferous authority of women, shortly be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and devices have been bent against God, and that all such authority as women have usurped, repugneth to justice: because, as I have said, it repugneth to God’s will expressed in his sacred word. Here might I bring in the oppression and injustice which is committed against realms which sometimes have lived free, and now are brought in bondage of foreign nations, by reason of this monstiferous authority and empire of women. But that I delay till better opportunity. And now I think it expedient, such objections as carnal men, ignorant of God, use to make for maintenance of this tyranny,—authority, it is not worthy to be called,—and most unjust empire of women.

¹ First, they do object the example of Deborah and of Huldah the prophetess, of whom the one judged Israel, and the other by all appearance did teach and exhort.

² I answer, the men that object the same are not altogether ignorant that examples

have no strength, when the question is of law: as if I should ask what marriage is lawful? And it should be answered, That lawful it is to man not only to have so many wives at once, but also to marry two sisters, and to enjoy them both living at once, because David, Jacob, and Solomon, servants of God, had the same. I trust no man would justify the vanity of this reason: or if the question were demanded, if a Christian with good conscience may defraud, or steal, or deceive? and answer were made, that so he might by the example of the Israelites, who, at God’s commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garments, gold, and silver, I think likewise this reason should be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Deborah did rule in Israel, and Huldah spake prophecy in Judah: *ergo*, it is lawful for women to reign above realms, or to teach in the presence of men. The consequence is vain, and of none effect; for of particular examples we may establish no common law, but are always bound to the law written and to the commandment expressed in the same. But the law written and pronounced by God forbiddeth no less that any woman reign over man, than it forbiddeth man to take plurality of wives, to marry two sisters living at once, to steal, to rob, to murder, to lie. If any of these have been transgressed, and yet God hath not imputed the same, it maketh not the like fact lawful to us; for God being free, may, for such causes as are approved by his inscrutable wisdom, dispense with the rigour of his own law, and may use his creatures at his pleasure. But the same power is not permitted unto man, whom he hath made subject to his law, and not to the examples of fathers. I think this sufficient to reasonable and moderate spirits. But to repress the raging of women’s madness, I will descend somewhat deeper in the matter, and not fear to affirm, that as we find a contrary spirit in all those most wicked women, that this day are exalted into this tyrannous authority, to the spirit that was in these godly matrons, so I fear

¹ Objection 1. Judg. iv. Paral. 24. ² Examples against law have no strength when the question is of law.

not to affirm, that their condition is unlike, and their end shall be diverse.¹ In these matrons we find that the spirit of mercy, truth, and justice, and humility did reign, and that under them God did show mercy to his people, delivering them from the tyranny of strangers, and from the venom of idolatry, but in these of our ages, we find cruelty, falsehood, pride, covetousness, deceit, oppression, the spirit of Jezebel and Athaliah, and under them simple people oppressed, true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christ's members most cruelly shed; and, finally, the titles and liberties of ancient realms taken from the just possessors, and given and betrayed into the hands of strangers. But to prosecute my purpose, let such as defend these monsters in their tyranny prove first, that their sovereign mistress is like to Deborah in godliness and piety, and secondly, that the same success doth follow their tyranny, which did follow the extraordinary regimen of that godly matron, which although they were able to do, as they never shall be, let them blow till they burst, yet shall her example profit them nothing at all. For they are never able to prove that Deborah, or any other godly matron, having the commendation of the Holy Ghost within the scriptures, hath usurped authority above any nation by reason of their birth and blood, neither yet did they claim it by right or inheritance, but God by his singular privilege, favour, and grace, exempted Deborah from the common malediction given in that behalf to woman, and against nature he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happy in regimen, and a blessed mother and a deliverer of his people. The which he did, partly to advance the power of his majesty in giving salvation and deliverance, by the means of the most weak vessels, and partly to confound all men of that age, because they had for the most part declined from his obedience. But what maketh this for Mary and her match Philip? One thing I would ask such as depend upon the example of

Deborah, whether she was a widow or wife when she judged Israel, and when God gave under her that notable victory to his people? If they answer she was a widow, I would lay against them the testimony of the Holy Ghost, witnessing that she was the wife of Lapidoth:² and if they will allege that she might so be called, notwithstanding that her husband was dead. I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and manner of speech in scriptures, that a woman shall be called the wife of a dead man, except there be some note added, whereby it may be known that her husband is departed, as is witness of Anna.³ But in the place of the Judges there is no note added, that her husband should be dead, but rather the contrary is expressed:⁴ for the text saith, "In that time a woman named Deborah, a prophetess, wife to Lapidoth, judged Israel." The Holy Ghost plainly speaketh, that what time she judged Israel she was wife to Lapidoth. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I ask, did she not prefer her husband to that honour to be captain and leader of the host of the Lord? If any think that it was her husband, the text proveth the contrary, for it affirmeth that Barak of the tribe of Naphtali was appointed to that office. If Barak had been her husband, to what purpose should the Holy Ghost so diligently have noted the tribe, and another name than was before expressed? yea, to what purpose should it be noted, that she sent and called him? Thus, I doubt not, but every reasonable man doth consider, that this Barak was not her husband, and that her judgment or government in Israel was no usurped power, as our queens unjustly this day possess, but that it was the spirit of prophecy that rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord, by which spirit she did rebuke the idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end bring them this comfort, that God should deliver them from

1 An antithesis betwixt the former matrons and our Jezebels.

2 Judg. iv. 3 Luke ii. 4 Judg. iv. 4.

the bondage and thralldom of their enemies. And this she might do, notwithstanding that another did occupy the place of the supreme magistrate, if any was in those days in Israel, for so I find did Huldah, the wife of Shallum, in the days of Josiah king of Judah,¹ speak prophecy, and comfort the king; and yet he resigned to her neither the sceptre nor the sword. That this our interpretation, how that Deborah did judge in Israel, was the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, the pondering of the history shall manifestly prove: when she sendeth for Barak, she saith not to him, I being thy princess, thy sovereign lady and queen, command thee upon thine allegiance, and under pain of treason, to go and gather an army; but she speaketh as one that had a special revelation from God, which was neither known to Barak nor to the people, saying, "Hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded thee?" Such like when she had delivered to him the whole counsel of God, appointing unto him the number of his soldiers, the tribes out of which they should be gathered, the place of the battle, and had assured him of the victory in God's name, which she could not have done without a special revelation from heaven, he fainted, and openly refused to enter into journey, except the prophetess would accompany him. But what, did she use against him any external power, did she threaten him with rebellion and death? No, no; but for assurance of his faint heart, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, that the glory should not be his in that journey, but that the Lord should sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. Hereby it is evident, that Deborah did all by his spiritual sword, the word of God, and not by any usurped temporal regimen nor authority over Israel; as our queens do this day claim. In Israel, I suppose, at that time, there was no lawful magistrate, by reason of their great affliction, for so witnesseth the history, saying, "And Ehud being dead, the Lord sold Israel into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan:" and he by Sisera his captain, afflicted Israel greatly

the space of twenty years: and Deborah herself, in her song of thanksgiving, confesseth, that before she did arise as a mother in Israel, and in the days of Jael, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any stick to the term, alleging the Holy Ghost saith, "that she judged Israel," let them understand, that neither doth the Hebrew word, neither yet the Latin, always signify civil judgment, or the execution of the temporal sword, but most commonly is taken in the sense which we have before expressed; for of Christ it is said, "He shall judge many nations, and pronounce judgment to the Gentiles;" and yet it is evident that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth Judah and Jerusalem to judge between him and his vineyard, and yet he appointed not all them to be civil magistrates. To Ezekiel² it is said, "Shalt thou not judge them, son of man?" And after, "Thou son of man, shalt thou not judge? Shalt thou not judge, I say, the city of blood?" and also, "Behold I shall judge betwixt beast and beast." And such places in great numbers are to be found throughout the whole scriptures. And yet I trust no man will be so foolish as to think, that any of the prophets were appointed by God to be politic judges, or to punish the sins of men by corporal punishment. No; the manner of their judgment is expressed in these words:³ "Declare to them all their abominations; and thou shalt say to them, thus saith the Lord God, A city shedding blood in the midst of her, that her time may approach, and which hath made idols against herself, that she might be polluted; thou hast transgressed in the blood that thou hast shed, and art polluted in the idols which thou hast made." Thus, I say, do God's prophets judge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Deborah judged at that time, when Israel had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpation of any civil authority: and if the people gave

1 2 Kings 22.

2 Ezek. 20. 22, 34.

3 Ezek. 22.

to her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet it was no such empire as our monsters claim; for which of her sons or nearest kinsmen left she ruler and judge in Israel after her? The Holy Ghost expresseth no such thing: wherefore it is evident, that by her example God offereth no occasion to establish any regimen of women above men, realms, and nations.¹ But is it not lawful, say some, that women have their right and inheritance, like as the daughters of Zelophehad were commanded by the mouth of Moses² to have their portion of ground in their tribe? I answer, it is both lawful and equitable, that women possess their inheritance. But I add therewith, that to bear rule and authority over men, can never be right nor inheritance to a woman: for that can never be just inheritance to any person, which God by his word has plainly denied unto them: but to all women God hath denied authority above man, as most manifestly is before declared: therefore to her it can never be inheritance. The portion of Zelophehad's daughters was not to reign over any one tribe, nor yet over any one man within Israel, but only that they might have a portion of ground amongst the men of their tribe, lest that the name of their father should be abolished. And this was granted to them without any respect had to any civil regimen. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing this monstrous empire of women? Although women may succeed to the possession, substance, patrimony, or inheritance of their fathers, yet they may not succeed in their father's offices, least of all to that office, the executor whereof doth occupy the place and throne of God. One thing there is yet to be observed in the law made concerning the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad, to wit,³ that it was forbidden to them to marry without their own tribe, lest such portion as fell to their lot should be transferred from one tribe to another, and so should the tribe of Manasseh be defrauded and spoiled of

their just inheritance by their occasion. Wonder it is that the patrons of our ladies did not consider this law, before they counselled the blind princes and unworthy nobles of their country, to betray the liberties thereof into the hands of strangers. England for satisfying the inordinate appetites of that cruel monster Mary, unworthily by reason of her bloody tyranny of the name of a woman, betrayed, alas! to the proud Spaniard: and Scotland, by the rash madness of foolish governors, and by the practice of a crafty dame, resigned likewise under the title of marriage into the power of France. Doth such translations of realms please God's justice? or is the possession by such means lawful in God's sight? Assuredly no, for if God would not permit that the inheritance, commodity, and usual fence, which may be gathered of the portion of ground limited and assigned to one tribe of the children of Israel should pass to another, by the marriage of any daughter, notwithstanding that they were all one people, speaking one tongue, descended of one father, professors of one God and one religion. Will he suffer that the laws, liberties, commodities, and fruits of whole realms be given into the power and distribution of others by reason of marriage, especially in the powers of such as, besides that of a strange tongue, of strange names and laws, but also ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true members, and haters of all virtue. The Spaniards, for very despite which they do bear against Christ Jesus, whom their forefathers did crucify,—for Jews they are, as histories do witness, and themselves confess,—do this day make plain war against all true professors of his holy gospel. And the French king and his pestilent prelates, by the flaming fires which lick up the innocent blood of Christ's members, and by cruel edicts do notify and proclaim how blindly and outrageously they fight against the verity of God. And yet to these two cruel tyrants, France and Spain, is the right and possession of England and Scotland appointed. But just and lawful shall that possession never be,

1 2 Objection. 2 Num. 27. 3 Num. 36.

till God do change the statute of his former law, which he will not do for the pleasure of man; for he hath not created the earth to satisfy the ambition of two or three tyrants, but for the universal seed of Adam, and hath appointed and defined the bounds of their habitation, assigning to divers nations divers countries, as he himself confesseth, speaking to Israel in these words: “¹You shall pass by the bounds and limits of your brethren, the sons of Esau, who dwell in mount Seir. They shall fear you; but take diligent heed that you show not yourselves cruel against them, for I will give you no part of their land, no not the breadth of a foot; for mount Seir I have given to Esau to be possessed.” And the same doth he witness of the sons of Lot, to whom he had given Ar to be possessed. And Moses plainly affirmeth,² that when the Almighty did distribute and divide possessions to the Gentiles, and when he did disperse and scatter the sons of men, that then he did appoint the limits and bounds of the people, for the number of the sons of Israel, whereof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in prey to tyrants, making all things lawful, which by violence and murder they may possess; but that he hath appointed to every several nation a several possession, willing them to stand content,—as nature did teach an Ethnic to affirm,³—with that portion, which by lot and just means they had enjoyed. For what cause God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and realms and ancient nations to be possessed of strangers, I delay at the time to entreat: But come to a third objection.⁴ The consent, say our ladies’ advocates, of realm and laws, pronounced and admitted in this behalf, long consuetude and custom, together with the felicity of some women in empires, have established their authority. I answer, neither can the tyranny of princes, neither the foolishness of people, neither wicked laws made against God, neither yet the felicity that in this earth may hereof ensue, make that thing lawful,

which he by his word hath manifestly condemned; for if the approbation of princes and people, and laws made by men, or the consent of realms, may establish any thing against God and his word, then should idolatry be preferred to true religion: for more realms and nations, more laws and decrees published by emperors, with common consent of their councils, have established the one, than have approved the other: and yet I think that no man of sound judgment will therefore justify and defend idolatry; no more ought any man this odious empire of women, although it were approved of all men by their laws: for the same God, that in plain words forbiddeth idolatry, doth also forbid the authority of women over men. I know these, who maintain this monstrous empire, have yet two main shifts. First, they allege,⁵ that albeit women may not absolutely reign by themselves, because they may neither sit in judgment, neither pronounce sentence, neither execute any public office, yet they may do such things by their lieutenants, deputies, and judges substitute. Secondly, say they, a woman born to rule over any realm, may choose her own husband, and to him she may transfer and give her authority and right. To both I answer in few words. First, that from a corrupt and venomous fountain can spring no wholesome waters. Secondly, that no person hath power to give the thing which doth not justly appertain to themselves. But the authority of a woman is a corrupted fountain, and therefore, from her can never spring any lawful officer. She is not born to rule over man, and therefore, she can appoint none by her gift nor by her power, which she hath not, to the place of a lawful magistrate: and therefore, whosoever receiveth of a woman office or authority, are adulterous and bastard office-bearers before God. This may appear strange at the first, but if we will look with an indifferent eye, the reason will suddenly appear the case. Suppose that a tyrant by conspiracy usurped the royal seat and dignity of a king, and in the same did so

1 Deut. ii. 2 Deut. xxxii. 3 Cicero
de Offic. lib. 1. 4 Objection 3.

5 Objection 4.

establish himself, that he appointed officers, and did what pleased him for a time; and in this meantime the native king made straight inhibition to all his subjects, that none should acknowledge him or receive dignity of him, yet nevertheless they would honour the same traitor as king, and become his officers in all affairs of the realm. If after the native prince did recover his just honour and possession, should he repute or esteem any man of the traitor's appointment for a lawful magistrate, or for his friend and true subject? Or should he not rather without sentence condemn the head with the members? And if he should do so, who were able to accuse him of rigour, much less to condemn his sentence of injustice? And dare we deny the same power to God in the like case? For that woman reigneth above man, she hath obtained it by treason and conspiracy; how can it be then, that she, being guilty and criminal of treason against God committed, can appoint any officer pleasing in his sight? It is impossible. Wherefore, let men that receive of women authority, honour, or office, be most surely persuaded, that in so maintaining that usurped power, they declare themselves enemies to God. If any think that because the realm and estates thereof have given their consents unto a woman, and have established her and her authority, that therefore, it is lawful and acceptable to God, let the same men remember what I have said before, to wit, that man cannot approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his word and ordinance. And, therefore, they must have a more assured defence against God's wrath, else they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the consuming fire. That is, they must acknowledge that the regimen of a woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God; they must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitress and rebel against God; and finally, they must study to repress her inordinate pride and tyranny to the uttermost of their powers. The same is the duty of the nobility and estates by whose blindness a woman is promoted. First, in so far as

they have most heinously offended against God, placing in authority such as God by his word has removed from the same, unfeignedly they ought to call for mercy, and, being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in sign and token of true repentance, with common consent, they ought to retract that which unadvisedly and, by ignorance they have pronounced, and without further delay to remove from authority all such persons as by usurpation, violence, or tyranny, do possess the same. For so did Israel and Judah after they had revolted from David, and Judah alone in the days of Athaliah.¹ For after that she, by murdering her son's children, had the empire over the land, and had most unhappily reigned in Judah six years, Jehoiada the high-priest called together the captains and chief rulers of the people, and showing to them the king's son Joash, did bind them by an oath to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royal seat, which they faithfully did, killing at his command not only that cruel and mischievous woman, but also the people did destroy the temple of Baal, break his altars and images, and kill Mattan, Baal's high-priest, before his altars. The same is the duty as well of the estates as of the people that have been blinded: first, they ought to remove from honour and authority that monster in nature. So call I a woman clad in the habit of a man, yea, a woman against nature reigning above man. Secondly, if any person presume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear first to pronounce, and thereafter to execute against them the sentence of death. If any be afraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to such monsters, let them most assuredly be persuaded, that as the beginning of their oaths, proceeding from ignorance, was sin, so is the obstinate purpose to keep the same nothing but plain rebellion against God. But of this matter in the second Blast, God willing, we shall speak more at large. Now, to put an end to the first Blast; let all men take heed

1 2 Kings xi.

what quarrel and cause from henceforth they do defend. If God raise up any noble heart to vindicate the liberty of his country, and to suppress the monstrous empire of women, let all such as shall presume to defend them in the same most certainly know, that in so doing they lift their hands against God, and that one day they shall find his power to fight against their foolishness. Let not Christ's faithful soldiers be utterly discouraged; neither let the tyrants rejoice, albeit for a time they triumph. For the cause why he suffereth his soldiers to fall in battle, as by holy scripture may be gathered, is sometimes to bear down the pride of flesh, sometimes to punish the offences of his own children, and to bring them to unfeigned acknowledgment of the same. You know the cause of the Israelites who did fight against Benjamin was most just, for it was to punish that most horrible abomination of these sons of Belial, abusing the Levite's wife, whom the Benjamites did defend; and they had God's precept to assure them of well doing, for he not only commanded them to fight, but also appointed Judah to be their leader and captain. But because at the first they trusted in their multitude, power, and strength, therefore they fell twice in battle against these most wicked adulterers. Yet after they had wept before the Lord, after they had fasted and made sacrifice in sign of their unfeigned repentance, they so prevailed against that proud tribe of Benjamin, that after twenty-five thousand strong men of war were killed in battle, they destroyed man, woman, child, and beast, as well in the fields as in the cities, which all were burned with fire: so that of that whole tribe remained only six hundred men, who fled to the wilderness, where they remained four months, and so were saved. The same God who did execute this grievous punishment, even by the hands of those whom he suffered twice to be overcome in battle, doth this day retain his power and justice. Cursed Jezebel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papists, make no little brag and boast, that they have triumphed not only against

Wyat,* but also against all such as have enterprised any thing against them or their proceedings: but let her and them consider, that yet they have not prevailed against God. His throne is more high than that the length of their horns be able to reach. And let them further consider, that in the beginning of this their bloody reign, the harvest of their iniquity was not come to full maturity and ripeness: no, it was so green, so secret I mean, so covered, and so hid with hypocrisy, that some men, even of the servants of God, thought it not impossible, but that wolves might be changed into lambs, and also that the viper might remove her natural venom. But God, who doth reveal in his time appointed the secrets of hearts, and that will have his judgments justified, even by the very wicked, hath now given open testimony of her and their beastly cruelty. For man and woman, learned and unlearned, nobles and men of baser sort, aged father and tender damsels, and finally, the bones of the dead, as well women as men, have tasted of their tyranny. So that now, not only the blood of father Latimer, the mild man of God the bishop of Canterbury, of learned and discreet Ridley, of innocent lady Jane Dudley, and many godly and worthy preachers that cannot be forgotten, such as fire hath consumed, and the sword of tyranny most unjustly hath shed, doth call for vengeance in the ear of the Lord God of hosts; but also the sobs and tears of the poor oppressed, the groanings of the angels the watchmen of the Lord, yea, and every earthly creature abused by their tyranny, do continually cry and call for the hasty execution of the same. I fear not to say, that the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster Jezebel of England, and such as maintain her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the eternal: and I verily believe, that it is so nigh, that she shall not reign so long in tyranny as hitherto she has done, when God shall declare himself to be her enemy, when he shall pour forth

* Sir Thomas Wyat, who was at the head of an insurrection against queen Mary of England.—*Ed.*

contempt upon her according to her cruelty, and shall kindle the hearts of such as sometimes did favour her with deadly hatred against her, that they may execute his judgments. And therefore let such as assist her take heed what they do; for assuredly her empire and reign is a wall without foundation; I mean the same of the authority of all women. It hath been underpropped this blind time that is past, with the foolishness of people, and with the wicked laws of ignorant and tyrannous princes. But the fire of God's word is already laid

to these rotten props,—I include the pope's law with the rest,—and presently they burn, albeit we espy not the flame. When they are consumed, as shortly they will be,—for stubble and dry timber cannot long endure the fire,—that rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of women, shall fall by itself in despite of all men, to the destruction of so many as shall labour to uphold it. And therefore let all men be advertised, for the trumpet hath once blown.

Praise God, ye that fear him.

[THE following advertisement was first printed at the end of his appellation to the nobility, &c. of Scotland.]

JOHN KNOX TO THE READER.

BECAUSE many are offended at the first blast of the trumpet, in which I affirm, that to promote a woman to bear rule or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, and a thing most contrarious to his revealed and approved ordinance; and because also, that some have promised, as I understand, a confutation of the same, I have delayed the second blast till such time as their reasons appear, by the which I either may be reformed in opinion, or else shall have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my judgment. Yet in the meantime, for the discharge of my conscience, and for avoiding suspicion, which might be engendered by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notify these subsequent propositions, which by God's grace I purpose to entreat in the second blast promised.

1. It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people professing Christ

Jesus and his eternal verity; but in his election must the ordinance, which God hath established in the election of inferior judges, be observed.

2. No manifest idolater or notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts ought to be promoted to any public regimen, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and to his blessed evangel.

3. Neither can oath or promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God and against his truth known.

4. But if either rashly they have promoted any manifestly wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such a one, as after declareth himself unworthy of regimen above the people of God,—and such are all idolaters and cruel persecuters,—most justly may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint, and elect.

Math. vi. "If the eye be single, the whole body shall be clear."

LETTER OF JOHN KNOX'S

TO THE

PEOPLE OF EDINBURGH,

FIRST PRINTED AT STIRLING BY ROBERT LEKPREVIK, ANNO 1571.

TO HIS LOVING BRETHREN WHOM GOD ONCE GLORIOUSLY GATHERED IN THE CHURCH OF EDINBURGH, AND NOW ARE DISPERSED FOR TRIAL OF OUR FAITH, &c.

THE troubles of the just shall shortly come to an end, to the glory of God, and to their eternal comfort. Beloved brethren in the Lord Jesus, partakers now of his afflictions, if the inability of body would suffer, I would write a long letter: but being in that estate, that I may not write with my own hand two lines, I must abide the good leisure of God, and desire you to have me excused, that I have not sooner visited you in this your dolorous persecution. When I call to mind the fearful threatenings of God that have been oftentimes thundered out into your ears, and do consider these present days, in the midst of my dolour I praise my God that Satan hath not gotten the full victory, as he pretended. For this separation which now is made to the grief of many hearts, is yet a secure document, that the word of God hath not lost the whole strength in you: but that God, working thereby, hath pulled you forth from the midst of the wicked, lest that ye should be with them condemned, who now most manifestly rebel both against God and man.

Of one thing I must put you in mind, and I pray God that ye may fruitfully remember it: that the word of God preached by the mouth of man, is not a vain sound and words spoken without a purpose: but is the summoning of God himself, forewarning men before the judgment come. Ye have heard it plainly spoken, that we would [go] to Egypt again, in despite of Jeremiah and all admonitions: which

threatening for that time was not only mocked, but also boldly spoken against. But whether this day declareth the truth of that and other threatenings, let the very blind world judge. For what can be to return to Egypt, if to join hands with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authority,—by God justly condemned,—without order, both against God and man? Such men when they were spoken unto, and were plainly admonished of their appearing defection, could not abide to be called proud contemners of God; who now spare not at every moment to blaspheme God, and by their wicked works plainly to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betwixt vice and virtue.

Rejoice, therefore, and praise God's mercies, who hath called you from the company of such; and continue constant in that, that God of his mercy hath wrought in you, to wit, a fear to remain in the faction of the wicked; which fear, I pray God, may daily increase in your hearts. I know the assaults that ye shall suffer, are sore and hard to be gainstood; and therefore be ye fervent in prayer, that ye repent not that God hath chosen you to suffer affliction with his son Jesus Christ. Hard it is, I say, to gainstand flesh and blood, and whatsoever is most precious in this life only, in hope of that kingdom promised. And yet only they that continue to the end, shall stand in assurance before the Lord Jesus, in that general day when virtue shall receive a just re-

ward, and vice, with the workers of impiety, shall suffer wrath and vengeance without end.

Be ye not slandered at the multitude of them that have joined hands with impiety. "For if they had been of us," as St John saith, "they had remained with us." But now this their defection doth plainly declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humours within the body, which behoved to be expelled forth, before the body could convalesce and come to perfection again. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade. For howsoever they prosper in their attempts, the end thereof shall be their destruction, temporal and eternal, unless speedy repentance prevent God's judgments; which to wish is godly, but to believe is foolish presumption, as oftentimes ye have heard.

Look not for final victory, before that the strength and pride of flesh be beaten down; neither be ye discouraged, albeit that iniquity prosper before the world.

For the time of their felicity, which

troubleth you for the present, shall be short. Join not with them, therefore, as ye will avoid plagues present, and condemnation eternal. Be faithful and loving one to another. Let bitterness and suspicion be far out of your hearts: and let every one watch for the preservation of another, without grudging or murmuring; being assured, that as God hath appointed you to suffer affliction for righteousness' sake, so hath he appointed you to possess a kingdom, wherein neither Satan, sin, nor death shall have power to molest you. Rejoice in the Lord, that he hath counted you worthy to suffer for his name's sake. Pray for me, brethren, that I may fight my battle joyfully to the end. The Lord Jesus preserve you now and ever. Amen. Of St Andrews, the 17th of July, 1571. Your brother to power in Christ Jesus,

JOHN KNOX.

If I might write, I would exhort you to remember, "that by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven"

JOHN KNOX,

THE SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST.

IN PREACHING OF HIS HOLY EVANGEL, TO THE BENEVOLENT READER, DESIRETH GRACE AND PEACE, WITH THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUS JUDGMENT.

WONDER not, Christian reader, that [with] all my study and travail within the scriptures of God, these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of scripture, except this only rude and indigested sermon, preached by me in the public audience of the church of Edinburgh, the nineteenth day of August, anno 1565.* That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the scriptures, I have ever thought myself to have most just reason; for, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that

so much is written, and by men of most singular erudition, and yet so little well observed; I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myself especially called. I dare not deny, lest that in so doing, I should be injurious to the giver, but that God hath revealed unto me, secrets unknown to the world, and also that he hath made my tongue a trumpet, to forewarn realms and nations, yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet were appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny, be it never so blind, to be fulfilled,† and the rest, alas! I fear shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection

* From this and what follows, it appears that Knox did not usually write his sermons before preaching them. Probably he carefully pondered his subject with prayer to God for the aid of his Spirit, and with no other preparation, went to the pulpit, where, from the fullness of his heart, he found words at will. This is what the celebrated Fenelon recommends as the best way of attaining true pulpit eloquence. This Knox certainly possessed in a high degree. He was aware that the talent of oral preaching was that which God had given to him, and he very wisely and faithfully occupied it to the glory of his Master. His pen was otherwise employed than writing sermons, and his time better occupied than getting them by heart to be recited from memory. In a former note I called his Admonition to the people of England an expository lecture; but from what he says above, he did not himself regard it as such, for he calls the following discourse the first thing of that kind which he had set forth. And I suppose it was the only one published by himself; but Dr M'Crie mentions two more, which must have been published after his death, for the complimentary style of their titles could not be the product of his own pen. One of them, like the following, was written after being preached, and it does not appear that the other was preached at all. The former

is entitled, "A Notable and Comfortable exposition of Mr John Knox's, upon the fourth of Matthew, concerning the temptations of Christ. First had in the public church, and afterwards written for the comfort of certain private friends, and now published in print for the benefit of all that fear God." There is a copy in the advocates' library; but I suppose it was never reprinted. The other is, "A Fort for the Afflicted. Wherein are ministered many notable and excellent remedies against the storms of tribulation: written chiefly for the comfort of Christ's little flock, which is the small number of the faithful, by John Knox, John xvi. 23." This, says Dr M'Crie, is an exposition of the sixth psalm.

He was induced, as he tells us, to write and publish the following sermon, because it was that which gave such offence to the court, that they prohibited him from preaching, as related in the fourth book of the history. The most offensive passage was that in which he complained of the misery of the country, when they had women and children for their rulers; and truly these rulers proved themselves to be children indeed by the offence which they took.

This sermon is taken from D. Buchanan's edition, Crawford's does not contain it.—*Ed.*

† See notes, pp. 42 and 374.—*Ed.*

than my sorrowful heart desireth. Notwithstanding these revelations and assurances, I did ever abstain to commit any thing to writing, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him, who commanded me to cry. If any then will ask to what purpose this only sermon is set forth, and greater matters omitted; I answer, to let such as Satan hath not altogether blinded see upon how small occasions great offence is now conceived. This sermon is it, for the which, from my bed, I was called before the council, and after long reasoning, I was by some forbidden to preach in Edinburgh, so long as the king and queen were in town. This sermon is it that so offendeth such as would please court, and will not appear to be enemies to the truth, yet they dare affirm, that I exceeded the bounds of God's messenger. I have, therefore, faithfully committed unto writing whatsoever I could remember might have been offensive in that sermon, to the end, that as well the enemies of God's truth, as the professors of the same, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the least cease to condemn me, before they have convinced me by God's manifest word. If any man think it easy unto me to mitigate by my pen, the inconsiderate sharpness of my tongue, and so cannot men freely judge of that my sermon; I answer, that I am neither so impudent, that I will study to abuse the world in this great light, neither yet so void of the fear of my

God, that I will avow a lie in his own presence: and no less do I esteem it to be a lie, to deny or conceal that which in his name I have once pronounced, than to affirm, that God hath spoken, when his word assures me not of the same; for in the public place I consult not with flesh and blood, what I shall propose to the people, but as the Spirit of my God, who hath sent me, and unto whom I must answer, moveth me, so I speak; and when I have once pronounced threatenings in his name, how unpleasant soever they are to the world, I dare no more deny them, than I dare deny that God hath made me his messenger, to forewarn the inobedient of their assured destruction. At that sermon were auditors unto me, not only professors of the truth and such as favour me, but rank papists, dissembling hypocrites, and no small number of covetous clawbacks of the new court. Now, I will appeal to the conscience of them all, as they will answer in the presence of the eternal God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or else note unto me the sentences offensive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing; for in God's presence I protest, that so far as memory would serve me, I have written more vehemently than in the action I spake and pronounced; but of purpose I have omitted persuasions and exhortations which then were made. *Quædam hic desunt.*

A SERMON

PREACHED

BY JOHN KNOX.

Isaiah xxvi. 13—16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.

They are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise; therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.

Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast increased the nation, thou art glorified, thou hast removed it far unto the ends of the earth.

Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them, &c.

As the cunning mariner, being master, having his ship tossed with a vehement tempest and contrary winds, is compelled oft to traverse, lest that either by too much resisting to the violence of the waves, his vessel might be overwhelmed; or by too much liberty granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempest would, his ship should be driven upon the shore, and so make shipwreck; even so doth our prophet Isaiah in this text, which now you have heard read; for he, foreseeing the great desolation that was decreed in the council of the eternal, against Jerusalem and Judah, to wit, that the whole people that bare the name of God should be dispersed; that the holy city should be destroyed; the temple wherein was the ark of the covenant, and where God had promised to give his own presence, should be burnt with fire; the king taken; his sons in his own presence murdered; his own eyes immediately after to be put out; the nobility, some cruelly murdered, some shamefully led away captives; and finally, the whole seed of Abraham rased, as it were, from the face of the earth: the prophet, I say, fearing these horrible calamities, doth, as it were, sometimes suffer himself, and the people committed to his charge, to be carried away with the violence of the tempest, without further resis-

tance; then by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the Majesty of God; as in the 13th, 17th, and 18th verses of this present text we may read. At other times he valiantly resisteth the desperate tempest, and pronounceth the fearful destruction of all such as trouble the church of God; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply, even in such time as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. But because there is no small rest to the whole body, till that the head return to judgment, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiseth such a visitation, as whereby the wickedness of the wicked shall be disclosed, and finally recompensed in their own bosoms.

These are the chief points, of which, by the grace of God, we intend more largely at this present to speak.

First, the prophet saith, "O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have ruled us."

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint, in the which he complaineth of the unjust tyranny that the poor afflicted Israelites sustained during the time of their captivity. True it is, that the prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people; for one hundred years after his decease was not the people led

away captive: yet he, foreseeing the assurance of the calamity, did before-hand indite and dictate unto them the complaint that after they should make. But at the first sight it appeareth, that the complaint hath but small weight: for what new thing was it, that other lords than God in his own person ruled them, seeing that such had been their regimen from the beginning? For who knoweth not that Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, the judges, Samuel, David, and other godly rulers were men, and not God; and so other lords than God ruled them in their greatest prosperity.

For the better understanding of this complaint, and of the mind of the prophet, we must first observe from whence all authority floweth; and secondly, to what end powers are appointed by God: the which two points being discussed, we shall the better understand what lords and what authority rule beside God, and who they are in whom God and his merciful presence rules.

The first is resolved to us by the words of the apostle, saying, "There is no power but of God." David bringeth in the eternal God, speaking to judges and rulers, saying, "I have said, ye are gods and sons of the Most High." And Solomon, in the person of God, affirmeth the same, saying, "By me kings reign, and princes discern the things that are just." Of which place it is evident, that it is neither birth, influence of stars, election of people, force of arms, nor, finally, whatsoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that maketh the distinction betwixt the superior power and the inferior, or that doth establish the royal throne of kings; but it is the only and perfect ordinance of God, who willet his terror, power, and majesty in a part, to shine in the thrones of kings, and in the faces of judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man; so that whosoever would study to deface that order of regimen that God hath established, and by his holy word allowed, and bring in such a confusion, as no difference should be betwixt the upper powers and the subjects, doth nothing but

evert [subvert] and turn upside down the very throne of God, which he wills to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cause of this ordinance more plainly shall appear: which is the second point we have to observe, for the better understanding of the prophet's words and mind.

The end and cause then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble flesh of man, this image of his own power and majesty, is not to puff up flesh in opinion of itself; neither yet that the heart of him that is exalted above others, shall be lifted up by presumption and pride, and so despise others; but that he shall consider, that he is appointed lieutenant to one, whose eyes continually watch upon him, to see and examine how he behaveth himself in his office. St Paul in few words declareth the end wherefore the sword is committed to the powers, saying, "It is to the punishment of the wicked doers, and unto the praise of such as do well."

Of which words, it is evident, that the sword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to use as it pleaseth him, but only to punish vice and maintain virtue, that men may live in such society as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and only cause, why God hath appointed powers in this earth.

For such is the furious rage of man's corrupt nature, that unless severe punishment were appointed, and put in execution upon malefactors, better it were that man should live among brute and wild beasts, than among men. But at this present, I dare not enter into the description of this common place; for so should I not satisfy the text, which by God's grace I purpose to absolve. This only by the way, I would that such as are placed in authority should consider, whether they reign and rule by God, so that God ruleth them; or if they rule without, besides, and against God, of whom our prophet here doth complain.

If any list to take trial of this point, it is not hard: for Moses, in the election of judges, and of a king, describeth not only what persons shall be chosen to that honour, but doth also give to him that is elected and chosen, the rule by the which

he shall try himself, whether God reign in him or not, saying "When he shall sit upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write to himself an exemplar of this law, in a book, by the priests and Levites; it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and these statutes, that he may do them, that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left."

The same is repeated to Joshua in his inauguration to the regimen of the people, by God himself, saying, "Let not the book of this law depart from thy mouth; but meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest keep it, and do according to all that which is written in it: for then shall thy way be prosperous, and thou shalt do prudently."

The first thing then that God craveth of him that is called to the honour of a king, is, The knowledge of his will revealed in his word.

The second is, An upright and willing mind to put in execution such things as God commandeth in his law, without declining to the right or to the left hand.

Kings, then, have not an absolute power to do in their regimen what pleaseth them; but their power is limited by God's word: so that if they strike where God hath not commanded, they are but murderers; and if they spare where God hath commanded to strike, they and their throne are criminal and guilty of the wickedness that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.

O that kings and princes would consider what account shall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and misknowledge of God's will, as for the neglecting of their office! But now to return to the words of the prophet. In the person of the whole people he doth complain unto God, that the Babylonians, whom he calleth, "other lords besides God," both because of their ignorance of God, and by reason of their cruelty and inhumanity, had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or

compassion had upon the ancient men and famous matrons: for they being mortal enemies to the people of God, sought by all means to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminated the memory of them and of their religion from the face of the earth.

After the first part of this dolorous complaint, the prophet declareth the protestation of the people, saying, "Nevertheless in thee shall we remember thy Name:" others read it, "But we will remember Thee only, and thy Name:" but in the Hebrew there is no conjunction copulative in that sentence. The mind of the prophet is plain, to wit, that, notwithstanding the long-sustained affliction, the people of God declined not to a false and vain religion, but remembered God, that sometime appeared to them in his merciful presence; which albeit then they saw not, yet would they still remember his Name; that is, they would call to mind the doctrine and promise which at sometimes they heard, albeit in their prosperity they did not sufficiently glorify God, who so mercifully ruled in the midst of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Israelites was great in those days: they were carried captives from the land of Canaan, which was to them the gauge and pledge of God's favour towards them; for it was the inheritance that God promised to Abraham, and to his seed for ever. The league and covenant of God's protection appeared to have been broken; they lamentably complained, that they saw not their accustomed signs of God's merciful presence; the true prophets were few, and the abominations used in Babylon were exceeding many; and so it might have appeared to them, that in vain it was, that they were called the posterity of Abraham, or that ever they had received the law, or form of right religion from God. That we may the better feel it in ourselves, the temptation, I say, was even such, as if God should utterly destroy all order and policy that this day is within his church; that the true preaching of the word should be suppressed; the right use of sacraments abolished; idolatry and papistical abomination erected up again; and

therewith, that our bodies should be taken prisoners by Turks or other manifest enemies of God and of all godliness. Such, I say, was their temptation; how notable then is their confession, that in bondage they make, to wit, that they will remember God only, albeit, he hath appeared to turn his face from them, they will remember his Name, and will call to mind the deliverance promised.

Hereof have we to consider, what is our duty, if God bring us,—as for our offences and unthankfulness justly he may,—to the like extremity. This confession is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and basking in their pleasures; but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own destitute of some comfort in their most desperate calamities. This is then our duty, not only to confess our God in time of peace and quietness, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midst of his and our enemies. And this is not in us to do; but it behoveth, that the Spirit of God work in us above all power of nature. And thus we ought earnestly to meditate before the battle rise more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now must we enter in somewhat more deeply to consider these judgments of God.

This people dealt withal, as we have heard, was the only people upon the face of the earth to whom God was rightly known; among them only were his laws, statutes, ordinances, and sacrifices used, and put in practice; they only invocated his name, and to them alone had he promised his protection and assistance. What then should be the cause that he should give them over unto this great reproach, and bring them into such extremity, as his own Name in them should be blasphemed? The prophet Ezekiel, that saw this horrible destruction forespoken by Isaiah put in just execution, giveth an answer in these words: "I gave unto them laws that were good, in the which whosoever should walk, should live in them; but they would not walk in my ways, but rebelled against me; and therefore, I have given unto them laws that are not good, and

judgments in the which they shall not live." The writers of the books of Kings and Chronicles declare this in more plain words, saying, "The Lord sent unto them his prophets, rising early, desiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to amend their wicked ways,"—for he would have spared his people and his tabernacle,— "but they mocked his servants, and would not return unto the Lord their God to walk in his ways." Yea, Judah itself kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the manners and ordinances of Israel; that is, of such as then had declined to idolatry from the days of Jeroboam. And, therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole seed of Israel, that is, the whole body of the people; he promised them, and gave them into the hands of those that spoiled them, and so he cast them out from his presence.

Hereof it is evident, that their disobedience unto God and unto the voices of his prophets, was the cause of their destruction. Now have we to take heed how we should use the good laws of God, that is, his will revealed unto us in his word, and that order of justice, that by him, for the comfort of man, is established amongst men. It is no doubt, but that obedience is the most acceptable sacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth; that when he manifesteth himself by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now so it is, that God, by that great Pastor, our Lord Jesus, now manifestly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body as of mind, to holiness of life, and to his spiritual service: and for this purpose he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right administration of his sacraments: but what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conscience, and consider what statutes and laws we would have to be given unto us.

Wouldest thou, O Scotland, have a king to reign over thee in justice, equity, and mercy? Subject thou thyself to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnify thou that word that calleth unto

thee, "This is the way, walk in it;" and if thou wilt not, flatter not thyself—the same justice remaineth this day in God to punish thee, Scotland, and thee, Edinburgh, in especial, that before punished the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem. Every realm or nation, saith the prophet Jeremiah, that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise punished. But if thou shalt see impiety placed in the seat of justice above thee, so that in the throne of God, as Solomon doth complain, reigneth nothing but fraud and violence, accuse thy own ingratitude and rebellion against God; for that is the only cause why God taketh away,—as the same prophet in another place doth speak, "The strong man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and the honourable, the counsellor and the cunning artificer. And I will appoint, saith the Lord, children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them. Children are extortioners of my people, and women have rule over them."

If these calamities, I say, apprehend us, so that we see nothing but the oppression of good men, and of all godliness, and wicked men without God to reign above us; let us accuse and condemn ourselves as the only cause of our own miseries. For if we had heard the voice of the Lord our God, and given upright obedience unto the same, God should have multiplied our peace, and should have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the prophet saith further:

"The dead shall not live, saith he, neither shall the tyrants or the dead arise, because thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory."

From this 14th verse unto the end of the 19th, it appeareth, that the prophet observeth no order; yea, that he speaketh things directly repugning one to another: for first he saith, "The dead shall not live;" after he affirmeth, "Thy dead men shall live. Secondly, he saith, "Thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory;" immediately after, he saith, "Thou hast increased thy nation, O Lord, thou hast increased thy nation.

They have visited thee, and have poured forth a prayer before thee."

Who, I say, would not think, that these are things not only spoken forth of [contrary to] good order and purpose, but also manifestly repugning one to another. For to live, and not to live; to be so destroyed that no memorial remaineth, and to be so increased, that the coasts of the earth shall be replenished, seem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better understanding of the prophet's mind, we must understand that the prophet had to do with divers sorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifest enemies of God's people, the Chaldees or Babylonians; even so, such as profess Christ Jesus have to do with the Turks and Saracens. He had to do with the seed of Abraham, whereof there were three sorts. The ten tribes all degenerate from the true worshipping of God, and corrupted with idolatry, as this day are our pestilent papists in all realms and nations, there rested only the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem, where the form of true religion was observed, the law taught, and ordinances of God outwardly kept. But yet there were in that body,—I mean, in the body of the visible church,—a great number that were hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do profess the Lord Jesus, and have refused papistry; not a few that were licentious livers; some that turned their back to God,—that is, had forsaken all true religion; and some that lived a most abominable life, as Ezekiel saith in his vision; and yet there were some godly, as a few wheat corns oppressed and hid among the multitude of chaff: now according to this diversity, the prophet keepeth divers purposes, and yet in most perfect order.

And, first, after the first part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of spirit, he bursteth forth against all the proud enemies of God's people, against all such as trouble them, and against all such as mock and forsake God: and saith, "The dead shall not live, the proud giants shall not rise, thou hast

scattered them, and destroyed their memorial." In which words he fighteth against the present temptation and dolorous state of God's people, and against the insolent pride of such as oppressed them; as if the prophet should say, O ye troublers of God's people, howsoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your cruelty, nor considereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted, yet shall ye be visited, yea, your carcasses shall fall and lie as stinking carions upon the face of the earth, ye shall fall without hope of life or of a blessed resurrection; yea, howsoever ye gather your substance, and augment your families, ye shall be so scattered that ye shall leave no memorial of you to the posterities to come, but that which shall be execrable and odious.

Hereof have the tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted church inestimable comfort. The tyrants that do oppress, shall receive the same end that they did which have passed before; that is, they shall die and fall with shame, without hope of resurrection, as is foresaid, not, that they shall not arise to their own confusion and just condemnation, but that they shall not recover power to trouble the servants of God, neither yet shall the wicked arise, as David saith, in the council of the just. Now have the wicked their councils, their thrones, and finally handling, for the most part, of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor servants of God are reputed unworthy of men's presence, envied, mocked; yea, they are more vile before these proud tyrants, than is the very dirt and mire that is trodden under foot: but in that glorious resurrection this state shall be changed; for then shall such as now, by their abominable living and cruelty, destroy the earth and molest God's children, see him whom they have pierced; they shall see the glory of such as now they persecute, to their terror and everlasting confusion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the days of affliction, and so to comfort us, that when we see tyrants in their blind rage tread under foot the saints of God, that utterly

we despair not, as if there were neither wisdom, justice, nor power above in the heavens to repress such tyrants, and to redress the dolours of the unjustly afflicted. No, brethren, let us be assured that the right hand of the Lord will change the state of things that are most desperate. In our God there is wisdom and power, in a moment to change the joy and mirth of our enemies into everlasting mourning, and our sorrows into joy and gladness that shall have no end.

Let us, therefore, in these apparent calamities,—and marvel not that I say calamities apparent; for he that seeth not a fire begun, that shall burn more than we look for, unless God of his mercy quench it, is more than blind,—not be discouraged; but with unfeigned repentance, let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuse and condemn our former negligence, and steadfastly depend upon his promised deliverance: so shall our temporal sorrows be converted into everlasting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the destruction of those whom God exalteth, shall be discussed, if time will suffer, after that we have passed throughout the text. Now proceedeth the prophet, and saith;

"Thou hast increased the nations, O Lord, thou hast increased the nations; thou art made glorious, thou hast enlarged all the coasts of the earth."

"Lord in trouble," &c.

In these words the prophet giveth consolation to the afflicted; assuring them, that how horrible soever that desolation should be, yet should the seed of Abraham be so multiplied, that it should replenish the coasts of the earth; yea, that God should be more glorified in their affliction, than he was during the time of their prosperity. This promise, no doubt, was incredible when it was made; for who could have been persuaded, that the destruction of Jerusalem should have been the means whereby the nation of the Jews should have been increased, seeing that much rather it appeared, that the overthrow of Jerusalem should have been the very abolishing of the seed of Abraham. But we must consider to what end it was

that God revealed himself to Abraham, and what is contained in the promise of the multiplication of his seed, and the benediction promised thereto.

First, God revealed himself to Abraham, and that by means of his word; to let all flesh after understand, that God first called man, and revealed himself unto him, that "flesh can do nothing but rebel against God;" for Abraham, no doubt, was an idolater before that God called him from Ur of the Chaldees. The promise was made, "That the seed of Abraham should be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea;" which is not simply to be understood of his natural seed, although it was sometimes greatly increased; but rather of such as should become the spiritual seed of Abraham, as the apostle speaketh. Now if we be able to prove, that the right knowledge of God's wisdom, justice, mercy, and power, was more amply declared in their captivity, than ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God, even when to man's judgment he had utterly rased them from the face of the earth, did increase the nation of the Jews, so that he was glorified in them, and did extend the coasts of the earth for their habitation. And for the better understanding hereof, let us shortly try the histories from their captivity to their deliverance, and after the same, to the coming of the Messiah.

It is no doubt, but that Satan intended by the dispersion of the Jews, so to have profaned the whole seed of Abraham, that among them should neither have remained the true knowledge of God, nor yet the spirit of sanctification: but that all should have come to a like contempt of God: for, I pray you, for what purpose was it, that Daniel and his fellows were taken into the king's court, were commanded to be fed at the king's table, and were put to the schools of their divines, soothsayers, and astrologians? It may be thought that it proceeded of the king's humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they should be brought up in virtue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was so understood of a great number of the Jews: but the

secret practice of the devil was understood of Daniel, when he refused to defile himself with the king's meat, which was forbidden to the seed of Abraham in the law of their God. Well, God beginneth shortly after to show himself mindful of his promise made by his prophet, and to trouble Nebuchadnezzar himself, by showing to him a vision in his dream, which did the more trouble him, because he could not forget the terror of it; neither yet could he remember what the vision and the parcels thereof were: whereupon were called all divines, interpreters of dreams, and soothsayers; of whom the king demanded, if they could let him understand what he had dreamed: but while that they answer, that such a question should not be demanded of any soothsayer or magician,—for the resolution thereof only appertained to the gods, whose habitation was not with men,—the charge was given, that they all should be slain; and amongst the rest Daniel was sought, whose innocency the devil envied, to have suffered the same judgment. He reclaimeth, and asketh time to disclose the secret;—I only touch the history, to let you see by what means God increaseth his knowledge;—which being granted, the vision is revealed unto him; he showeth the same unto the king, with the true interpretation of it; adding, that the knowledge thereof came not from the stars, but only from the God of Abraham, who only was and is the true God; which thing understood, the king burst forth in his confession, saying, "Of a truth your God is the most excellent of all gods, and he is Lord of kings, and only he that revealeth the secrets, seeing that thou couldst open this secret." And when Nebuchadnezzar, after that, puffed up in pride by the counsel of his wicked nobility, would make an image, before the which he would that all tongues and nations subject to him should make adoration, and that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, would not obey his unjust commandment, and so were cast in the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by God's angels were so preserved, that no smell of fire remained in their persons or garments: this same king giveth a

more notable confession, saying, "The Lord God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, is to be praised, who hath sent his angels, and delivered his worshippers that put trust in him, who have done against the king's commandment, who have rather given their own bodies to torment, than that they would worship another god except their own God. By me, therefore, is there made a decree, that whosoever shall blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, he shall be cut in pieces, and his house shall be made detestable."

Thus we see how God began, even almost in the beginning of their captivity, to notify his name, to multiply his knowledge, and set forth as well his power as his wisdom, and true worshipping, by those that were taken prisoners; yea, that were despised, and of all men contemned, so that the name and fear of the God of Abraham, was never before notified to so many realms and nations. This wondrous work of God proceeded from one empire to another: for Daniel, being promoted to great honour by Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, falleth into a desperate danger; for he was committed to prison among lions, because he was deprehended, breaking the king's injunction; not that the king desired the destruction of God's servants, but because the corrupt idolaters, that in hatred of Daniel had procured that law to be made, urged the king against his nature; but God by his angel did stop the lion's mouths, and so preserved his servant: which considered with the sudden destruction of Daniel's enemies by the same lions, king Darius, besides his own confession, wrote to all people, tongues, and nations after this form: "It is decreed by me, that in all the dominions of my kingdom, men shall fear and reverence the God of Daniel, because he is the living God abiding for ever, whose kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion remaineth, who saveth and delivereth, and showeth signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the lions."

This knowledge was yet further increased in the days of Cyrus, who giving freedom to the captives to return to their

own native country, giveth this confession: "Thus saith Cyrus, the king of the Persians, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given unto me, and hath commanded me, that a house be built to him in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever therefore of you that are of his people, let the Lord his God be with him, and let him pass up to Jerusalem, and let him build the house of the Lord God of Israel; for he only is God that is in Jerusalem." Time will not suffer me to entertain the points of this confession, neither yet did I for that purpose adduce the history; but only to let us see how constantly God kept his promise in increasing of his people, and in augmenting of his true knowledge, when that both they that were the seed of Abraham, and that religion which they professed, appeared utterly to have been extinguished; above men's expectation, I say, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darkness, and life out of death. I am not ignorant that the building of the temple and reparation of the walls of Jerusalem were long stayed, so that the work had many enemies; but so did the hand of God prevail in the end, that a decree was made by Darius,—by him I suppose that succeeded to Cambyses,—not only that all things necessary for the building of the temple, and for the sacrifices that were to be there brent [burnt], should be ministered upon the king's charges; but also, that whosoever should hinder that work, or change that decree, that a balk should be taken out of his house, and that he should be hanged thereupon; yea, that his house should be made a dung-hill; and thereto he addeth a prayer, saying, "The God of heaven, who hath placed his name there, root out every king and people,—O that kings and nations should understand,—that shall put his hand, either to change or to hurt this house of God that is in Jerusalem!" And so, in despite of Satan, was the temple builded, the walls repaired, and the city inhabited; and in the most desperate dangers it was preserved, till that the Messiah promised, the glory of the second temple, came, manifested himself to the world, suffered and rose again,

according to the scriptures; and so, by sending forth his gospel from Jerusalem, did replenish the earth with the true knowledge of God; and so did God in perfection increase the nation and the spiritual seed of Abraham.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no small consolation, if the state of all things be this day rightly considered. We see in what fury and rage the world, for the most part, is now raised against the poor church of Jesus Christ, unto the which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearful bondage of that spiritual Babylon, in the which we have been holden captives longer space than Israel was prisoner in Babylon itself: for if we shall consider, upon the one part, the multitude of those that live wholly without Christ, and upon the other part, the blind rage of the pestilent papists, what shall we think of the small number of them that do profess Christ Jesus, but that they are as a poor sheep, already seized in the claws of the lion? yea, that they, and the true religion which they profess, shall in a moment utterly be consumed?

But against this fearful temptation, let us be armed with the promise of God, to wit, that he will be the protector of his church; yea, that he will multiply it, even when to man's judgment it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. This promise hath our God performed, in the multiplication of Abraham's seed, in preservation of it when Satan laboured utterly to have destroyed it, in deliverance of the same, as we have heard, from Babylon. He hath sent his Son Christ Jesus, clad in our flesh, who hath tasted of all our infirmities, sin except, who hath promised to be with us to the end of the world. He hath further kept promise in publication, yea, in the restitution of his glorious gospel. Shall we then think that he will leave his church destitute in this most dangerous age? Only let us stick to his truth, and study to conform our lives to the same, and he shall multiply his knowledge and increase his people. But now let us hear what the prophet saith more.

“Lord, in trouble have they visited thee;

they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them.”

The prophet meaneth, that such as in the time of quietness did not rightly regard God nor his judgments, were compelled by sharp corrections to seek God, yea, by cries and dolorous complaints to visit him. True it is, that such obedience deserveth small praise before men; for who can praise, or accept that in good part, which cometh as it were of mere compulsion? And yet rare it is that any of God's children do give unfeigned obedience until the hand of God turn them; for if quietness and prosperity make them not utterly to forget their duty, both towards God and man, as David for a season, yet it maketh them careless, insolent, and in many things unmindful of those things that God chiefly craveth of them; which imperfection espied, and the danger that thereof might ensue, our heavenly Father visiteth the sins of his children, but in the rod of his mercy, by the which they are moved to return to their God, to accuse their former negligence, and to promise better obedience in all times hereafter; as David confesseth, saying, “Before I fell in affliction, I went astray; but now will I keep thy statutes.”

But yet, for the better understanding of the prophet's mind, we may consider, how God doth visit man, and how man doth visit God; and what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon the chosen.

God sometimes visiteth the reprobate in his hot displeasure, pouring upon them his plagues for their long rebellion; as we have heard before that he visited the proud and destroyed their memory. Other times God is said to visit his people, being in affliction, to whom he sendeth comfort or promise of deliverance, as he did visit the seed of Abraham, being oppressed in Egypt: and Zechariah saith, that God had visited his people, and sent unto them hope of deliverance, when John the Baptist was born. But of none of these visitations speaketh our prophet here, but of that only which we have already touched, to wit, when that God layeth his correction upon

his own children, to call them from the venomous breasts of this corrupt world, that they suck not in over-great abundance the poison thereof; and doth as it were, wean them from their mother's paps, that they may learn to receive other nourishment. True it is, that this weaning,—or spaneing, as we term it,—from worldly pleasure, is a thing strange to the flesh, and yet it is a thing so necessary to God's children, that unless they are weaned from the pleasures of the world, they can never feed upon that delectable milk of God's eternal verity; for the corruption of the one doth either hinder the other to be received, or else so troubleth the whole powers of man, that the soul can never so digest the truth of God as that he ought to do.

Albeit this appeareth hard, yet it is most evident; for what liquor can we receive from the breasts of the world, but that which is in the world? what that is, the apostle John teacheth, saying, "Whatsoever is in the world, is either the lusts of the eyes, the lusts of the flesh, or the pride of life." Now, seeing that these are not of the Father, but of the world, how can it be that our souls can feed upon chastity, temperance, and humility, so long as that our stomachs are replenished with the corruption of these vices?

Now so it is, that willingly flesh can never refuse these forenamed, but rather still delighteth itself in every one of them; yea, in them all, as the examples are but too evident.

It behoveth, therefore, that God himself shall violently pull his children from these venomous breasts, that when they lack the liquor and poison of the one, they may visit him, and learn to be nourished of him. Oh! if the eyes of worldly princes should be opened, that they might see with what humour and liquor their souls are fed, while that their whole delight consisteth in pride, ambition, and lusts of the stinking flesh. We understand then how God doth visit men, as well by his severe judgments, as by his merciful visitation of deliverance from trouble, or by bringing trouble upon his chosen for their humilia-

tion; and now it resteth to understand how man visiteth God. Man doth visit God when he appeareth in his presence, be it to the hearing of his word, or to the participation of his sacraments; as the people of Israel, besides the observation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a-year to present themselves before the presence of the tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we present ourselves to the hearing of the word; for there is the footstool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himself, wheresoever the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered.

But men may, on this sort, visit God hypocritically; for they may come for the fashion, they may hear with deaf ears, yea, they may understand and yet never determine with themselves to obey that which God requireth: and let such men be assured, that He who searcheth the secrets of hearts will be avenged of all such. For nothing can be to God more odious, than to mock him in his own presence. Let every man therefore examine himself, with what mind and what purpose he cometh to hear the word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what testimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth virtue, and forbideth impiety

Repinest thou when God requireth obedience? Thou hearest thine own condemnation. Mockest thou at God's threatenings? Thou shalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when flesh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the visitation, whereof our prophet speaketh, is only proper to the sons of God, who in the time when God taketh from them the pleasures of the world, or showeth his angry countenance unto them, have their recourse unto him, and, confessing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This visitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth only to God's children: for the reprobates can never have access to God's mercy in time of their tribulation; and that because they abuse as well his

long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands: for as the same prophet heretofore saith, "Let the wicked obtain mercy, yet shall he never learn wisdom, but in the land of righteousness," that is, where the very knowledge of God aboundeth, he will do wickedly, which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his throne among us, but that we should fear him? Why doth he reveal his holy will unto us, but that we should obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we should be witnesses unto the world, that he is gracious and merciful?

Now when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do malapertly fight against all equity and justice, what, I pray you, do they else but make manifest war against God? Yea, when they have received from God such deliverance that they cannot deny but that God himself hath in his great mercy visited them, and yet they continue wicked as before, what deserve they, but effectually to be given over unto a reprobate sense, that headlong they may run to ruin both of body and soul? It is almost incredible that a man should be so enraged against God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy showed, should remove them to repentance; but because the scriptures bear witness of the one and the other, let us cease to marvel, and let us firmly believe, that such things as have been are even presently before our eyes, albeit, many blinded by affection cannot see them.

Ahab, as in the book of the Kings it is written, received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did visit him in divers sorts; sometimes by his plagues, sometimes by his word, and sometimes by his merciful deliverance. He made him king, and for the idolatry used by him and his wife, he plagued whole Israel by famine. He revealed to him his will and true religion by the prophet Elijah. He gave unto him sundry deliverances; but one most special, when proud Benhadad came to besiege Samaria, and was not content to receive Ahab's gold, silver, sons, daughters,

and wives, but also required that his servants should have at their pleasure whatsoever was delectable in Samaria. True it is, that his elders and people willed him not to hear the proud tyrant. But who made unto him the promise of deliverance? and who appointed and put his army in order? Who assured him of victory? The prophet of God only, who assured him, that by the servants of the princes of the provinces, who in number were only two hundred thirty and two, he should defeat that great army, in the which there were two and thirty kings with all their forces; and as the prophet of God promised, so it came to pass; victory was obtained not once only, but twice, and that by the merciful visitation of the Lord.

But how did Ahab visit God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatry? Did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezebel? No, we find no such thing; but the one and the other we find to have continued and increased in former impiety. But what was the end hereof? The last visitation of God was, that dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eat the flesh of the other. In few words, then, we understand what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon his chosen: the reprobate are visited, but never truly humbled nor yet amended; the chosen being visited, they sob and they cry unto God for mercy; which obtained, they magnify God's name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us, therefore, that hear these judgments of our God, call for the assistance of his Holy Spirit, that howsoever it pleaseth him to visit us, that we may stoop under his merciful hands, and unfeignedly cry to him when he correcteth us; and so shall we know in experience, that our cries and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the prophet saith further.

"Like as a woman," saith he, "with child that draweth near the travail, is in sorrow, and crieth in her pains, so have we been in thy sight, O Lord. We have conceived, we have born in vain, as though we should have brought forth the wind.

"Salvations were not made to the earth,

neither did the inhabitants of the earth fall."

This is the second part of the prophet's complaint, in the which he, in the person of God's people, complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared not end. This same similitude is used by our Master Jesus Christ; for when he speaketh of the troubles of his church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travailing in her child-birth. But it is to another end. For there he promiseth exceeding and permanent joy, after a sort, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long and vehement, albeit, the fruit of it was not suddenly espied. He speaketh, no doubt, of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in the which they continually travailed for deliverance, but obtained it not before the complete end of seventy years; during the which time, the earth, that is, the land of Judah, which sometimes was sanctified unto God, but was then given to be profaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceived any deliverance: for the inhabitants of the world fell not, that is the tyrants and oppressors of God's people were not taken away, but still remained, and continued blasphemers of God and his church. But because I perceive the hours to pass more swiftly than they have done at other times, I mind to contract that which resteth of this text into certain points.

The prophet first fighteth against the present despair; after he introduceth God himself calling upon his people; and, last of all, he assureth his afflicted, that God will come and require account of all the blood-thirsty tyrants of the earth.

First, fighting against the present despair, he saith, "Thy dead shall live; even my body,—or with my body,—shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs."

The prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; and by the victory of faith, he overcometh not only the common enemies, but the great and last enemy of all, to wit, death itself. For this would he say, Lord, I see nothing to thy chosen, but misery to follow misery, and one affliction to succeed another; yea,

in the end I see that death shall devour thy dearest children. But yet, O Lord, I see thy promise to be true, and thy love to remain towards thy chosen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: "For thy dead shall live, yea not only shall they live, but my very dead carcase shall arise." And so I see honour and glory to succeed this temporal shame; I see joy permanent to come after trouble, order to spring out of this terrible confusion; and, finally, I see that life shall devour death, so that death shall be destroyed and so thy servants shall have life. This, I say, is the victory of faith, when in the midst of death, through the light of God's word, the afflicted see life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietness and prosperity, can generally confess, that God is true in his promises; but bring them to the extremity, and there ceaseth the hypocrite further to trust in God than he seeth natural means whereby God useth to work: but the true faithful, when all hope of natural means faileth, then fly they to God himself, and to the truth of his promise, who is above nature, yea, whose works are not so subject to the ordinary course of nature, that when nature faileth, his power and promise fail also therewith.

Let us further observe, that the prophet here speaketh not of all dead in general, but saith, "Thy dead, O Lord, shall live;" in which words he maketh difference betwixt those that die in the Lord, and those that die in their natural corruption and in the old Adam. Die in the Lord can none, except those that live in him,—I mean those that attain to the years of discretion,—and none live in him, but those that with the apostle can say, "I live, and yet not I, but Christ Jesus that dwelleth in me; the life that I now live I have by the faith of the Son of God." Not that I mean, that the faithful have at all hours such sense of the life everlasting that they fear not the death and the troubles of this life; no, not so: for the faith of God's children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: but I mean, that such as in death and after death shall live, must communicate in this life with Jesus Christ, and must be regenerate

by the seed of life; that is, by the word of the everliving God, which whosoever despiseth, refuseth life and joy everlasting.

The prophet transferreth all the promises of God to himself, saying, "Even my dead body shall arise;" and immediately after, giveth commandment and charge to the dwellers in the dust, that is, to the dead carcasses of those that were departed,—for the spirit and soul of man dwelleth not in the dust,—that they should awake, that they should sing and rejoice; for they should arise and spring up from the earth, even as the herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not suffer that these particulars be so largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore, let us consider, that the prophet, in transferring the power and promise of God to himself, doth not vindicate to himself any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone should live and arise, and not they also; but he doth it to let them understand that he taught a doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they should have experience after his death: as if he should say, my words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day shall come that I shall be taken from you; my carcase shall be inclosed in the bosom of the earth; and therefore shall ye be led away captives to Babylon, where ye shall remain many days and years, as it were, buried in your sepulchres.

But then call to mind, that I said unto you beforehand that my body shall arise; even so shall ye rise from your graves out of Babylon, and be restored to your own country and city of Jerusalem. This, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the prophet. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the dust, is to express the power of God's word, whereby he not only giveth life where death apparently had prevailed, but also by it he calleth things that are not even as if they were. True it is that the prophet Isaiah saw not the destruction of Jerusalem, much less could he see the restitution of it, with his corporal eyes; but he leaveth this, as it were, in testament with them, that when they were in the ex-

tremitie of all bondage, they should call to mind what the prophet of God had before spoken.

And lest that his doctrine, and this promise of God made unto them by his mouth, should have been forgotten,—as we are ever prone and ready to forget God's promises, when we are pressed with any sorrow,—God raised up unto them in the midst of their calamity, his prophet Ezekiel, unto whom, among many other visions, he gave this: "The hand of the Lord first led him in a place, which was full of dry and dispersed bones." The question was demanded of the prophet, if these bones, being wondrous dry, should live. The prophet answered, the knowledge thereof appertained unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he should speak unto the dry bones, and say, "Thus saith the Lord God to these bones, Behold I shall give you breath, and you shall live; I shall give unto you sinews, flesh, and skin, and you shall live." And while the prophet spake, as he was commanded, he heard a voice, and he saw every bone join in his marrow; he saw them covered with flesh and skin, albeit, there was no spirit of life in them. He was commanded again, to speak and to say, "Thus saith the Lord God, Come, O spirit, from the four quarters, and blow in these that are slain, that they may live." And as he prophesied, the spirit of life came; they lived and stood upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this vision meant, saying, "O Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, our bones are dried, our hope is perished, we are plainly cut off; but Behold, saith the Lord, I will open your graves, I will bring you forth of them, ye shall live, and come unto the land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord."

This vision, I say, given to the prophet, and by the prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert [to] what the former prophets had spoken. It is no doubt, but they carried with them both the prophecy of Isaiah and Jeremiah, so that the prophet Ezekiel is a commentary to these words of Isaiah,

where he saith, "Thy dead, O Lord, shall live, with my body they shall arise." The prophet bringeth in this similitude of the dew, to answer unto that part of their fidelity, which can believe no further of God's promises than they are able to apprehend by natural judgment; as he would say, think ye this impossible, that God shall give life unto you, and bring you to an estate of a commonwealth again, after that ye are dead, and as it were rased from the face of the earth? But why do ye not consider what God worketh from year to year in the order of nature? sometimes ye see the face of the earth decked and beautified with herbs, flowers, grass, and fruits; again, ye see the same utterly taken away by storms and vehemency of the winter. What doth God to replenish the earth again, and to restore the beauty thereof? He sendeth down his small and soft dew, the drops whereof, in their descending, are neither great nor visible, and yet thereby are the pores and secret veins of the earth, which before, by vehemency of frost and cold, were shut up, opened again; and so doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits. Shall ye then think, that the dew of God's heavenly grace shall not be as effectual in you to whom he hath made his promise, as that it is in the herbs and fruits that from year to year bud forth and decay? If ye do so, the prophet would say, your incredulity is inexcusable, because ye do neither rightly weigh the power nor the promise of your God.

The like similitude useth the apostle Paul against such as called the resurrection in doubt, because that by natural judgment they could not apprehend that flesh once putrified and resolved, as it were, in other substance, should arise again, and return again to the same substance and nature. "O fool," saith he, "that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare corn, as it falleth of wheat or some other: but God giveth it a body as it pleaseth him, even to every seed his own body." In which words and sentence, the apostle sharply rebuketh the gross ignorance of the Corinthians, who

began to call in doubt the chief article of our faith, the resurrection of the flesh after that it was once resolved; because that natural judgment, as said he, reclaimed thereto. He reproveth, I say, their gross ignorance, because they might have seen and considered some proof and document thereof in the very order of nature: for albeit, the wheat, or other corn cast in the earth, appeareth to die or putrify, and so to be lost, yet we see that it is not perished, but that it fructifieth according to God's will and ordinance.

Now, if the power of God be so manifest in raising up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promise is made by God, what shall be his power and virtue in raising up of our bodies, seeing that thereto he is bound by the solemn promise of Jesus Christ, his eternal wisdom, and the verity itself that cannot lie! Yea, seeing that the members must once communicate with the glory of the head, how shall our bodies, which are flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones, lie still for ever in corruption, seeing that our head, Jesus Christ, is now exalted in his glory? Neither yet is this power and good will of God to be restrained unto the last and general resurrection only; but we ought to consider it in the marvellous preservation of his church, and in the raising up of the same from the very bottom of death, when by tyrants it hath been oppressed from age to age.

Now, of the former words of the prophet we have to gather this comfort, that if at any time we see the face of the church within this realm so defaced,—as I think it shall be, sooner than we look for,—when we shall see, I say, virtue to be despised, vice to be maintained, the verity of God to be impugned, lies and men's inventions holden in authority; and finally, when we shall see the true religion of our God, and the zealous observers of the same, to be trodden under the feet of such as in their heart say that there is no God,—let us then call to mind, what have been the wondrous works of our God from the beginning, that it is his proper office to bring forth light out of darkness, order out of confusion, life out of death; and finally,

that it is he that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard: and if in the day of our temptation,—which in my judgment approacheth fast,—we be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed, yet shall it be so corrected, that damnable despair oppress us not. But now let us hear how the prophet proceedeth.

“Come,” saith he, “thou my people, enter within thy chamber, shut thy door after thee, hide thyself a very little while, until the indignation pass over.”

Here the prophet bringeth in God amiably calling upon his people to come to himself, and to rest with him, until such time as the fury and sharp plagues should be executed upon the wicked and inobedient. It may appear at the first sight, that all these words of the prophet in the person of God, calling the people unto rest, are spoken in vain; for we neither find chambers nor rest more prepared for the dearest children of God,—so far as man’s judgment can discern,—than there were for the rebellious and disobedient; for such as fell not in the edge of the sword, or died not of pestilence, or by hunger, were either carried captives unto Babylon, or else departed after into Egypt, so that none of Abraham’s seed had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the land of Canaan. For the resolution hereof, we must understand, that albeit, the chambers whereunto God called his chosen are not visible, yet notwithstanding they are certain, and offer unto God’s children quiet habitation in spirit, howsoever the flesh be travailed and tormented.

The chambers are then God’s sure promises, unto the which God’s people are commanded to resort, yea, within the which they are commanded to close themselves in the time of greatest adversity. The manner of speaking is borrowed from that judgment and foresight which God hath printed in this our nature; for when that men espy great tempests appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but straightway they will draw them to their houses or holds, that they may escape the vehemency

of the same; and if they fear any enemy to pursue them, they will shut their doors, to the end that suddenly the enemy should not have entry.

After this manner God speaketh to his people; as if he should say, the tempest that shall come upon this whole nation shall be so terrible, that nothing shall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: but thou, my people, I say, that hearest my word, believest the same, and tremblest at the threatenings of my prophets, now when the world doth insolently resist, let such, I say, enter within the secret chamber of my promises, let them contain themselves quietly there, yea, let them shut the door upon them, and suffer not infidelity, the mortal enemy of my truth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them,—yea, farther to murder,—in my promise; and so shall they perceive that my indignation shall pass, and that such as depend upon me shall be saved.

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the prophet; whereof, we have first to observe, that God acknowledgeth them for his people that are in greatest affliction; yea, such as are reputed unworthy of men’s presence are yet admitted within the secret chamber of God. Let no man think that flesh and blood can suddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore most expedient it is, that we be frequently exercised in meditation of the same. Easy it is, I grant, in time of prosperity, to say and to think that God is our God, and that we are his people; but when he hath given us over into the hands of our enemies, and turned, as it were, his back unto us, then I say, still to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this assurance, that we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the Holy Spirit of God, as is the greatest victory of faith which overcometh the world; for increase whereof, we ought continually to pray.

This doctrine we shall not think strange, if we shall consider how suddenly our spirits are carried away from our God, and from believing his promise. So soon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt if ever we believed

God's promises, if God will fulfil them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us, and a multitude of such cogitations which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burst violently forth when we are oppressed with any desperate calamity. Against the which, this is the remedy, once to apprehend and still to retain God to be our God, and firmly to believe that we are his people whom he loveth and will defend, not only in affliction, but even in the midst of death itself.

Secondly, let us observe, that the judgments of our God, never were, nor yet shall be so vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been and shall be some secret habitation prepared in the sanctuary of God for some of his chosen, where they shall be preserved until the indignation pass by; and that God prepareth a time that they may glorify him again before the face of the world, that sometimes despise them: and this ought to be unto us no small comfort in these appearing dangers, to wit, that we be surely persuaded, that how vehement soever the tempest shall be, that it yet shall pass over, and some of us shall be preserved to glorify the name of our God as is aforesaid.

Two vices lurk in this our nature: the one is, that we cannot tremble at God's threatenings before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit, that we see cause most just why that his fierce wrath should burn as a devouring fire. The other is, that when calamities before pronounced fall upon us, then begin we to sink down in despair, so that we never look for any comfortable end of the same.

To correct this our mortal infirmity in time of quietness, we ought to consider what is the justice of our God, and how odious sin is. And above all other, how odious idolatry is in his presence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath severely punished it in all ages from the beginning; and in the time of our affliction we ought to consider what have been the wondrous works of our God, in preservation of his church when it hath been in uttermost extremity: for never shall we find the church

humbled under the hands of traitors, and cruelly tormented by them; but therewith we shall find God's just vengeance to fall upon the cruel persecutors, and his merciful deliverance to be shown to the afflicted: and in taking of this trial, we should not only call to mind the histories of ancient times, but also we should diligently mark what notable works God hath wrought even in this our age, as well upon the one as upon the other. We ought not to think that our God beareth less love to his church this day, than that he hath done from the beginning: for as our God in his own nature is immutable, so remaineth his love towards his elect always unchangeable; for as in Christ Jesus he hath chosen his church before the beginning of all ages, so by him will he maintain and preserve the same unto the end. Yea, he will quiet the storms, and cause the earth to open her mouth, and receive those raging floods of violent waters cast out by the dragon, to drown and carry away the woman which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, unto whom God for his own name's sake will be the perpetual protector.

This saw that notable servant of Jesus Christ, Athanasius, who,—being exiled from Alexandria by that blasphemous apostate Julian, the emperor,—said unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious banishment: "Weep not, but be of good comfort," said he, "for this little cloud will suddenly vanish." A little cloud he called both the emperor himself and his cruel tyranny; and albeit, that small appearance there was of any deliverance to the church of God, or yet of any punishment to have apprehended the proud tyrants, when the man of God pronounced these words, yet shortly after, God did give witness that these words did not proceed from flesh and blood, but from God's very Spirit. For not long after, being in warfare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand or one of his own soldiers, the writers clearly conclude not; but casting his own blood against the heaven, he said, *Vicisti tandem Galilæe*, that is, "At last thou hast overcome, thou Galilean;" so in despite he termed the Lord Jesus, and so perished

that tyrant in his own iniquity; the storm ceased, and the church of God received now comfort.

Such shall be the end of all cruel persecutors, their reign shall be short, their end miserable, and their name shall be left in execrations to God's people; and yet shall the church of God remain to God's glory after all storms. But now shortly, let us come to the last point.

"For behold," saith the prophet, "the Lord will come out of his place to visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth shall disclose her blood and shall no more hide her slain; because that the final end of the troubles of God's chosen shall not be, before that the Lord Jesus shall return to restore all things to their full perfection."

The prophet bringeth forth the eternal God, as it were from his own place and habitation, and therewith showeth the cause of his coming to be, that he might take account of all such as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he saith, "He will visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them." And lest that any should think that the wrongdoers are so many that they cannot be called to an account, he giveth unto the earth, as it were, an office and charge to bear witness against all those that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly against those that have shed innocent blood from the beginning; and saith, "That the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain men."

If tyrants of the earth, and such as delight in the shedding of blood, should be persuaded that this sentence is true, they would not so furiously come to their own destruction; for what man can be so enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God, that which might provoke his majesty to anger, yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he understood how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God?

The cause then of this blind fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an idol, and

that there is no knowledge above that beholdeth their tyranny; neither yet justice that will, nor power that can, repress their impiety; but yet the Spirit of truth doth witness the contrary, affirming, that as the eyes of the Lord are upon the just, and as his ears are ready to receive their sobbing and prayers, so is his angry visage against such as work iniquity. He hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitful and blood-thirsty man, whereof he hath given sufficient document from age to age, in preserving the one, or at least in revenging of their cause, and in punishing of the other. Where it is said, that the Lord will come from his place, and that he will visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and that the earth shall disclose her blood, we have to consider what most commonly hath been, and what shall be the condition of the church of God, to wit, that it is not only hated, mocked, and despised, but that it is exposed, as it were, in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked; so that the blood of the children of God, is spilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The understanding whereof, albeit it be unpleasant to the flesh, yet to us it is most profitable, lest that we, seeing the cruel entreatings of God's servants, begin to forsake the spouse of Jesus Christ, because that she is not so dealt withal in this unthankful world, as the just and upright dealing of God's children do deserve. But contrariwise, for mercy they receive cruelty; for doing good to many, of all the reprobate they receive evil. And this is decreed in God's eternal council, that the members may follow the trace of the head, to the end that God in his just judgment should finally condemn the wicked; for how should he punish the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquity deserved it not? How should the earth disclose our blood, if it should not be unjustly spilt? We must then commit ourselves into the hands of our God, and lay down our necks, yea, and patiently suffer our blood to be shed, that the righteous judge may require account, as most assuredly he shall, of all the blood that hath been shed, from the

blood of Abel the just, till the day that the earth shall disclose the same; I say, every one that sheddeth, or consenteth to shed the blood of God's children, shall be guilty of the whole: so that all the blood of God's children shall cry vengeance, not only in general, but also in particular, upon every one that hath shed the blood of any that unjustly suffered.

And if any think it strange, that such as live this day can be guilty of the blood that was shed in the days of the apostles, let them consider, that the verity itself pronounced, that all the blood that was shed from the days of Abel unto the days of Zechariah, should come upon that unthankful generation that heard his doctrine and refused it.

The reason is evident: for as there are two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, to wit, Jesus Christ, the prince of justice and peace, and Satan, called the prince of the world; so are they but two armies that have continued battle from the beginning, and shall fight unto the end. The quarrel is one which the army of Jesus Christ do sustain, and which the reprobate do prosecute, to wit, the eternal truth of the eternal God, and the image of Jesus Christ printed in his elect, so that whosoever in any age persecuteth any one member of Jesus Christ for his truth's sake, subscribeth as it were with his hand the persecution of all that have passed before him.

And this ought the tyrants of this age deeply to consider; for they shall be guilty not only of the blood shed by themselves, but of all, as is said, that hath been shed for the cause of Jesus Christ from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithful not be discouraged, although they be appointed as sheep to the slaughter-house; for he for whose sake they suffer shall not forget to revenge their cause. I am not ignorant that flesh and blood will think that kind of support too late; for we had rather be preserved still alive, than to have our blood revenged after our death: and truly if our felicity stood in this life, or if death temporal should bring unto us any damage, our de-

sire in that behalf were not to be disallowed or condemned: but seeing that death is common to all, and that this temporal life is nothing but misery, and that death doth fully join us with our God, and giveth unto us the profession of our inheritance, why should we think it strange to leave this world, and go to our head and sovereign Captain, Jesus Christ?

Lastly, we have to observe this manner of speaking, where the prophet saith, that "The earth shall disclose her blood:" in which words the prophet would accuse the cruelty of those that dare so unmercifully and violently force from the breasts of the earth, the dearest children of God, and cruelly cut their throats in her bosom, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankind, so that she unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood.

If such tyranny were used against any natural woman, as violently to pull her infant from her breasts, cut the throat of it in her own bosom, and compel her to receive the blood of her dear child in her own mouth, all nations would hold the fact so abominable, that the like had never been done in the course of nature. No less wickedness commit they who shed the blood of God's children upon the face of their common mother, the earth, as I said before. But be of good courage, O little and despised flock of Christ Jesus! for he that seeth your grief hath power to revenge it. He will not suffer one tear of yours to fall; but it shall be kept and reserved in his bottle, till the fulness thereof be poured down from heaven upon those that caused you to weep and mourn. This your merciful God, I say, will not suffer—your blood for ever to be covered with the earth, nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our brethren. The earth that hath been defiled with it, I say,—with the blood of God's children; for otherwise, to shed the blood of the cruel blood-shedders is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to sanctify it; the earth, I say,—shall purge herself of it, and show it before the face of God; yea, the beasts, fowls, and other creatures

whatsoever, shall be compelled to render that which they have received, be it flesh, blood, or bones that appertained to thy children, O Lord, which altogether thou shalt glorify, according to thy promise made to us in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, thy wellbeloved Son—to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Let us now humble ourselves in the presence of our God; and from the bottom of our hearts, let us desire him to assist us with the power of his Holy Spirit, that albeit for our former negligences God giveth us over into the hands of other than such as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy and that glorious name that hath been proclaimed amongst us; but that we may look through the dolorous storm of his present displeasure, and see as well what punishment he hath appointed for the cruel tyrants, as what reward he hath laid in store for such as continue in his fear to the end; that it would further please him to assist, that albeit we see his church so diminished, that it appear to be brought, as it were, to utter extermination, that we may be assured that in our God there is great power and will to increase the number of his chosen, until they be enlarged to the uttermost parts of the earth. Give us, O Lord,

hearts to visit thee in time of affliction; and albeit we see no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the assured hope of that joyful resurrection, in the which we shall possess the fruit of that for which we now labour. In the meantime, grant unto us, O Lord, to repose ourselves in the sanctuary of thy promise, that in thee we may find comfort, till that this thy great indignation, begun amongst us, may pass over, and thou thyself appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terror of thine and our enemies. Let us pray with heart and mouth.

Almighty God and merciful Father, &c. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for the terrible roaring of guns and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirsteth to depart.*

The last day of August, 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly so far as memory would serve, of those things that in public I spake on Sunday, August 19th, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time.

Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord, and at thy good pleasure put end to my misery.

JOHN KNOX.

* The castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus' sake.

BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

[From a compendium of the laws of the church of Scotland, published 1830.]

PREVIOUSLY to the legal establishment of the Protestant religion in 1560, the Book of Common Order used by the English church at Geneva was generally followed as the rule of worship and discipline by the Scots Reformers; but that being judged inadequate to the regulation of a church consisting of numerous congregations, a Book of Discipline, adapted to the state of the church, was soon after that event urged upon the parliament as a necessary accompaniment to the legal institution of the National Church. Parliament, however, was dissolved without any thing being done on this subject. But the reformed clergy persevered, and the privy council were induced to grant a commission to five ministers to frame such a standard of ecclesiastical government. When they had completed their task on 29th May, 1560, the "Book of Policy," or "First Book of Discipline," was submitted to the General

Assembly, by whom it was approved; and, though not formally ratified by the council, it was subscribed by a great portion of the members. Many of them, however, were opposed to it; and by some it was stigmatized as a "devout imagination." The First Book of Discipline, therefore, though thus sanctioned by the church, was never formally and fully approved by the civil authorities.

After many commissions and conferences, with a view to the settlement of the discipline of the church, it was finally agreed on by the General Assembly, in 1581, and registered in the acts of the kirk. The Confession of Faith, which had received the sanction of the civil government, was also declared to be the Confession of the Professors of the Reformed Doctrines of the Church of Scotland.

THE
FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE,*
OR THE
POLICY AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH;

DRAWN UP BY

MR JOHN WINRAM, MR JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, JOHN WILLOCK, MR JOHN DOUGLASS,
MR JOHN ROW, AND JOHN KNOX,

And presented to the Nobility, anno 1560, and afterwards subscribed by the Kirk and Lords.

Exod. xxv. 9.—“According to all that I show thee, both after the fashion of the tabernacle, and after the fashion of all the ornaments thereof, even so shall ye make it.”

TO THE GREAT COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND NOW ADMITTED TO THE REGIMEN, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, AND BY THE COMMON CONSENT OF THE ESTATES THEREOF, YOUR HONOURS' HUMBLE SERVITORS AND MINISTERS OF CHRIST JESUS WITHIN THE SAME, WISH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUAL INCREASE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

FROM your honours we received a charge, dated at Edinburgh, the 29th of April, in the year of our Lord 1560, requiring and commanding us, in the name of the eternal God, as we will answer in his presence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver to your wisdoms our judgments touching the reformation of religion, which heretofore in this realm, as in others, hath been utterly corrupted; upon the receipt whereof, so many of us as were in this town, did convene, and in unity of mind do offer unto your wisdoms these subsequents for common order and uniformity, to be observed in this realm concerning doctrine, administration of sacraments, election of ministers, provision for their sustentation, ecclesiastical discipline, and po-

licy of the church; most humbly requiring your honours, that as you look for participation with Christ Jesus, that neither ye admit any thing which God's plain word shall not approve, neither yet that ye shall reject such ordinances as equity, justice, and God's word do specify: for as we will not bind your wisdoms to our judgments, further than we are able to prove by God's plain scriptures; so must we most humbly crave of you, even as ye will answer in God's presence, before whom both you and we must appear to render accounts of all our facts, that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure and affection of men, which ye are not able to improve by God's written and revealed word.

* This edition of the First Book of Discipline is conformable to the edition printed *anno* 1621; the typographical errors are corrected; some words, which probably have been omitted

by the printer, are supplied from other copies, but they are printed within brackets; and a few various readings are printed on the foot margin.

CHAP. I.

THE FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

Seeing that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commanded only to be heard and followed of his sheep, we judge it necessary, that his gospel be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of this realm; and that all doctrine repugnant to the same be utterly repressed, as damnable to man's salvation.

The Explication of the First Head.

1. Lest that upon this generality ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for explication. By preaching of the gospel, we understand not only the scriptures of the New Testament, but also of the Old, to wit, the law, prophets, and histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure, than we have him now expressed in verity: and, therefore, with the apostle we affirm, that "All scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove and to exhort." In which books of Old and New Testaments we affirm, that all things necessary for the instruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and sufficiently expressed.

2. By the contrary doctrine we understand whatsoever men by laws, councils, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the express commandment of God's word, such as are the vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to several and disguised apparels, to the superstitious observation of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience' sake, prayer for the dead; and keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by man, such as are all those that the papists have invented, as the feasts,—as they term them,—of the apostles, martyrs, virgins, of christmas, circumcision, epiphany, purification, and other fond feasts of our lady: which things, because in God's scriptures they neither have commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realm; affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations

ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

CHAP. II.

THE SECOND HEAD, OF THE SACRAMENTS.

1. To Christ Jesus his holy gospel truly preached, of necessity it is, that his holy sacraments be annexed, and truly ministered, as seals and visible confirmations of the spiritual promises contained in the word: and they are two, to wit, baptism, and the holy supper of the Lord Jesus: which are then rightly ministered, when by a lawful minister the people before the administration of the same are plainly instructed and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus; when God's promises are rehearsed, the end and use of [the] sacraments preached and declared, and that in such a tongue as the people do understand; when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their *practice nothing changed besides the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practice of his holy apostles.

2. And albeit the order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader, how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered; yet for an uniformity to be kept, we have thought good to add this as superabundant.

3. In baptism we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water only,—that the word and declaration of the promises ought to precede we have said before;—wherefore, whosoever presumeth in baptism to use oil, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration, and crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Jesus of imperfection; for it was void of all such inventions devised by men. And such as would presume to alter Christ's perfect ordinance you ought severely to punish.

4. The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered, when it approacheth most near to Christ's own action; but

* Administration.

plain it is, that at that supper Christ Jesus sat with his disciples, and therefore do we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action; that bread and wine ought to be there, that thanks ought to be given, distribution of the same made, and commandment given that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is, we suppose no godly man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the papists, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of that holy sacrament, to wit, of the cup of the Lord's blood, we suppose their error to be so manifest, that it needeth no confutation; neither yet intend we to confute any thing in this our simple confession, but to offer public disputation to all that list oppugn any thing affirmed by us.

5. That the minister break the bread, and distribute the same to those that are next unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobriety, to break with other, we think it nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice [of the apostles], as we read in St Paul. During the which action we think it necessary, that some comfortable places of the scripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of Christ Jesus, and the benefit of the same; for seeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the scriptures making mention of the same, most apt to stir up our dull minds then, and at all times. Let the discretion of the ministers appoint the places to be read as they think good. What times we think most convenient for the administration of the one and of the other of these sacraments, shall be declared in the Policy of the Kirk.*

CHAP. III.

THE THIRD HEAD, TOUCHING THE ABOLISHING OF IDOLATRY.

1. As we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy sacraments

rightly ministered; so [we] cannot cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeyes, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chapels, chanteries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, others than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realm, except only palaces, mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the same. As also [we desire] that idolatry may be removed from the presence of all persons, of what estate or condition that ever they are, within this realm.

2. For let your honours assuredly be persuaded, that where idolatry is maintained or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obstinate idolaters, but also the negligent sufferers [of the same]; especially if God has armed their hands with power to suppress such abomination.

3. By idolatry we understand, the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same: and finally all honouring of God, not contained in his holy word.

CHAP. IV.

THE FOURTH HEAD, CONCERNING MINISTERS AND THEIR LAWFUL ELECTION.

1. In a church reformed or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, or yet to minister the sacraments, till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. And because that election of ministers in this cursed papistry hath altogether been abused, we think expedient to entreat it more largely.

2. It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein the space of forty days, the best reformed church, to wit, the church of the superintendent with his council, may present unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined

* See chap. xi. of this book, sect. 5.

as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and in knowledge.

3. And that this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons that are to be examined must be commanded to appear before men of soundest judgment, remaining in some principal town next adjacent unto them, as they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns, or Strathearn, to present themselves in St Andrews; those that be in Lothian, Merse, or Teviotdale, in Edinburgh; and likewise those that be in other countries must resort to the best reformed city and town, that is, to the town of the superintendent, where first in the schools, or failing thereof in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their gifts, utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting some place of scripture to be appointed by the ministry; which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the administration * of the church, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the church, and that openly and before all that list to hear, in all the chief points that now are in controversy betwixt us and the papists, anabaptists, Arians, or other such enemies to the Christian religion. In which if he be found sound, able to persuade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayer, then must he be directed to the church and congregation where he should serve, that there, in open audience of his flock, in divers public sermons, he may give confession of his faith in the article of justification, of the office of Christ Jesus, and of the number, effect, and use of the sacraments; and, finally, in the whole religion, which heretofore hath been corrupted by the papists.

4. If his doctrine be found wholesome, and able to instruct the simple, and if the church justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the church, which before was destitute, unreasonable if they refuse him whom the church did offer; and [that] they should be compelled, by the censure

* Service.

of the council and church, to receive the person appointed and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned; unless that the same church have presented a man better or as well qualified to the examination, before that this foresaid trial was taken of the person presented by the council of the whole church. As, for example, the council of the church presents to any church a man to be their minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided; in the meantime, the church is provided of another, sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers and next reformed church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people, to whom he should be appointed pastor, must be preferred to the presentation of the council or greater church, unless the person presented by the inferior church be judged unable of the regimen by the learned. For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation; but this liberty with all care must be reserved to every several church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers. But violent intrusion we call not, when the council of the church in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a sufficient man to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as before is said.

II. *What may unable any person, that he may not be admitted to the Ministry of the Church.*

5. It is to be observed that no person, noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the church by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the regimen of the church, or yet retained in ecclesiastical administration.

EXPLICATION.

6. By public infamy we understand, not the common sins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness, by fragility; if of the same, by a better and more sober conversation, he hath declared

himself verily penitent; but such capital crimes as the civil sword ought and may punish with death by the word of God. For besides that the apostle requireth the life of ministers to be so irreprehensible, that they have a good testimony from those that be without; we judge it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have public authority to preach to others life everlasting, from whom the civil magistrate may take the life temporal for a crime publicly committed; and if any object that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publicly repented [the same], and so not only his life is in assurance, but also that he may be received to the ministry of the church; we answer, that repentance doth not take away the temporal punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamy before man.

7. That the life and conversation of the person presented, or to be elected, may be the more clearly known, public edicts should be directed to all parts of this realm, or at the least to those parts where the person hath been most conversant: as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued since the years of infancy and childhood were passed. Strait commandment would be given, that if any capital crimes were committed by him, that they should be notified, as if he had committed wilful murder [or] adultery; [or] if he were a common fornicator, a thief, a drunkard, a fighter, brawler, or contentious person. These edicts ought to be notified in the chief cities, with the like charge and commandment, with declaration that such as concealed their sins known, did deceive and betray, so far as in them lay, the church which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, and did communicate with the sins of that wicked man.

III. Admission of Ministers.

8. The admission of ministers to their offices, must consist in [the] consent of the people and church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

9. We judge it expedient that the admission of ministers be in open audience,

[and] that some special minister make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, touching their manners, conversation, and life; as also touching the obedience which the church oweth to their ministers. Commandment should be given as well to the minister as to the people, both being present, to wit, that he with all careful diligence attend upon the flock of Christ Jesus, over the which he is appointed pastor: that he will walk in the presence of God so sincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied in him; and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that his life may confirm, in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word he persuaded unto others. The people should be exhorted to reverence and honour their ministers chosen, as the servants and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandments which they pronounce from God's word, even as they would obey God himself: for whosoever heareth Christ's ministers, heareth himself; and whosoever rejecteth and despiseth their ministry and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus.

10. Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the *church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.†

11. The minister elected or presented, examined, and, as said is, publicly admitted, may neither leave the flock at his pleasure, to which he hath promised his fidelity and labours; neither yet may the flock reject or change him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition, whereof we shall after speak. We mean not but that the whole church, or the most part thereof, for just considerations, may transfer a minister from one church to another; neither yet mean we, that men who now

* That church.

† See the Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. sect. 6.

serve as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed and elected to serve in other places; but once being solemnly elected and admitted, we cannot approve that they should change at their own pleasure.

12. We are not ignorant that the rarity of godly and learned men, will seem to some a just reason why that so strait and sharp examination should not be taken universally; for so it would appear, that the most part of the kirks shall have no minister at all: but let these men understand, that the lack of able men shall not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the flock of Christ Jesus; as also that amongst the Gentiles, godly and learned men were as rare as they are now, amongst us, when the apostle gave the same rule to try and examine ministers, which we now follow: and lastly, let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true minister, yea, and in some case it is worse; for those that be utterly destitute of ministers will be diligent to search for them, but those that have a vain shadow, do commonly without further care content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a minister, when in very deed they have none; for we cannot judge him a dispensator of God's mysteries, that in no wise can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungry souls; neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministered by him, in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation.

13. The chiefest remedy left to your honours and to us, in all this rarity of true ministers, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will please his mercy to thrust forth faithful workmen into this his harvest. And next, that your honours, with consent of the church, are bound by your authority to compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edify the church of God, that they bestow them where greatest necessity shall be known; for no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themselves list, but must be appointed to travel where your wisdoms and the church shall

think expedient. We cannot prescribe unto your honours certain rules how that ye shall distribute the ministers and learned men, whom God hath already sent unto you; but hereof we are assured, that it greatly hindereth the progress of Christ's gospel within this poor realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require in God's name, that by your authority which ye have of God, ye compel all men to whom God hath given any talent to persuade, by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the church to the advancement of Christ's glory, and the comfort of his troubled flock; and that ye, with the consent of the church, assign unto the chiefest workmen, not only towns to remain in, but also provinces, that by their faithful labours churches may be erected, and order established, where none are now. And if on this manner ye shall use your power and authority, chiefly seeking God's glory, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God shall bless you and your enterprises.

IV. For Readers.

14. To the churches where no ministers can be had presently, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the common prayers* and the scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection; and in process of time he that is but a reader may attain to a farther degree, and by consent of the church and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the sacraments; but not before that he be able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, beside his reading, and be admitted to the ministry, as before is said. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all godly men, and whose knowledge also might greatly help the simple [and ignorant people,] and yet they only content themselves with reading;

* That is, the prayers that were printed with the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book.

these must be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged, by some exhortation to comfort their brethren, and so they may be admitted to administration of the sacraments; but such readers as neither have had exercise nor continuance in Christ's true religion, must abstain from ministration of the sacraments, till they give declaration and witnessing of their honesty and further knowledge, that none be admitted to preach but they that are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers; and such as are preachers already, not found qualified therefore by the superintendent, [are] to be placed readers.

CHAP. V.

THE FIFTH HEAD, CONCERNING THE PROVISION FOR THE MINISTERS, AND FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RENTS AND POSSESSIONS JUSTLY APPERTAINING TO THE CHURCH.

1. Seeing that of our Master Christ Jesus, and his apostle Paul, we have, "That the workman is worthy of his reward," and that "The mouth of the labouring ox ought not be muzzled;" of necessity it is, that honest provision be made for the ministers, which we require to be such, that they have neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolency and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation, during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them. For we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godliness, and equity, that the widow and the children of him who in his life did faithfully serve in the kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should after his death be left comfortless of all provision; which provision for the wives of the ministers after their decease, is to be remitted to the discretion of the kirk.

2. Difficile [difficult] it is to appoint a several stipend to every minister, by reason that the charge and necessity of all will not be alike: for some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travel, and oft to change their dwelling place, if they shall have charge of divers kirks

among these some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than others, and some perhaps will be single men; if equal stipends should be appointed to these that in charge should be so unequal, either should the one suffer penury, or else should the other have superfluity and too much. We judge therefore that every minister have sufficient whereupon to keep a house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, as books, clothes, flesh, fish, fuel, and other things necessary, [forth] of the rents and treasury of the kirk [where he serveth,] at the discretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the person and necessity of the time. Wherein it is thought good that every minister shall have at least forty bolls meal, twenty-six bolls malt,* to find his house bread and drink; and more, so much as the discretion of the church finds necessary; besides money for buying of other provisions to his house and other necessaries, the modification whereof is referred to the judgment of the kirk, to be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the kirk. Providing always, that there be advanced to every minister sufficient provision for a quarter of a year before hand of all things.

3. But to him that travels from place to place, whom we call superintendent, who remains as it were a month or less in one place for establishing of the kirk, and for the same purpose changing to another, must [further] consideration be had. And, therefore, to such we think six chalders beer, nine chalders meal, three chalders oats,† six hundred merks money, to be eiked [added] and paired at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm, to be paid to him in manner foresaid.

4. The children of the ministers must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They must have the privileges in schools, and bursaries in colleges, that is, that they shall be sustained at learning,

* Some copies have only twenty bolls malt.

† Some copies add, for provender to his horse, and have only 500 merks of money.

if they be found apt thereto; and failing thereof they [must] be put to some handicraft, or exercised in some virtuous industry, whereby they may be profitable members of the commonwealth; and the same we require of their daughters, to wit, that they be virtuously brought up, and honestly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the kirk. And this, in God's presence, we witness, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertain to us, as that we do it for the increase of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come; [for] it is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himself and his children so to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we bear, is provoked to follow virtue when it seeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and, contrarily, then is virtue by many despised, when virtuous and godly men are without honour; and sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and following of the way of virtue, by which they might edify the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus.

5. Nothing have we spoken of the stipend of readers, because if they can do nothing but read, they neither can be called nor judged true ministers, and yet regard must be had to their labours; but so that they may be spurred forward to virtue, and not by any stipend appointed for their reading to be retained in that estate. To a reader therefore that is newly entered, forty merks, or more or less, as parishioners and readers can agree, is sufficient: provided that he teach the children of the parish, which he must do, besides the reading of the common prayers,* and books of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he begin to exhort and explain the scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till finally he come to the honour of a minister: but if he be found unable after two years, then must he be removed from that office, and discharged of

all stipend, that another may be proved as long; for this always is to be avoided, that none who is judged unable to come at any time to some reasonable knowledge, whereby he may edify the kirk, shall be perpetually sustained upon the charge of the kirk. Farther it must be avoided, that no child, nor person within age, that is, within twenty-one years of age, be admitted to the office of a reader; but readers ought to be endued with gravity and discretion, lest by their lightness the prayers or scriptures read be of less price or estimation. It is to be noted that the reader be put in the kirk by the admission of the superintendent. The other sort of readers, who have long continued in [the course of] godliness, and have some gift of exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and [who] teach the children; we think a hundred merks, or more or less at the discretion of the kirk, may be appointed; so that difference be made, as said is, betwixt them and the ministers that openly preach the word and minister the sacraments.

6. Rest yet two sorts of people to be provided for, upon that which is called the patrimony of the kirk, to wit, the poor, and teachers of the youthhead. Every several kirk must provide for the poor within itself; for fearful and horrible it is, that the poor, whom not only God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St Paul, hath so earnestly commended to our care, are universally so contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magistrate ought to [compel to work, or then] punish: but for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed, who neither can nor may travel for their sustentation, we say, that God commands his people to be careful: and therefore, for such, as also for persons of honesty fallen into decay and poverty, ought such provision to be made, that of our abundance their indigence may be relieved. How this most conveniently and most easily may be done in every city, and other

* That is, the prayers which were printed with the Psalm Book.

parts of this realm, God will show you wisdom and the means, so that your minds be godly inclined thereto. All must not be suffered to beg that gladly would so do, neither yet must beggars remain where they would, but the stout and strong beggars must be compelled to work; and every person that may not work, must be compelled to repair to the place where he or she was born, unless of long continuance they have remained in one place; and their reasonable provision must be made for [their] sustentation, as the kirk shall appoint. The order nor sums, in our judgments, cannot particularly be appointed, until such times as the poor of every city, town, and parish, be compelled to repair to the places where they were born, or of their residence, where their names and number must be taken and put in roll, and then may the wisdom of the kirk appoint stipends accordingly.

CHAP. VI.

THE HEAD OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS.

1. Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signify to your honours, such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time; as also how many superintendents we think necessary, with their bounds, office, [the manner of their] election, and [the] causes that may deserve deposition from that charge.

2. We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to several places, there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine; which should not only be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And, therefore, we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve,—for in so many provinces we have

divided the whole,—to whom charge and commandment should be given to plant and erect kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now; and by their means, your love and common care over all [the] inhabitants of this realm, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear; as also the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge, by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance shall attain to some feeling of godliness, by the which they may be provoked to search and seek farther knowledge of God, and his true religion and worshipping; whereas by the contrary, if they shall be neglected, then shall they not only grudge, but also seek the means whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry. And, therefore, nothing we desire more earnestly, than that Christ Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realm, which shall not suddenly be, unless that by you, men be appointed and compelled faithfully to travel in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.

II. *The names of the places of residence, and several Dioceses of the Superintendents.*

1. *Inprimis*, the superintendent of Orkney, whose diocese shall comprehend the isles of [Orkney and] Shetland, with Caithness and Strathnaver, his residence to be in Kirkwall.

2. The superintendent of Ross, whose diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray, with the north isles of Skye and Lewes, with the adjacents, his residence to be in the cannonry of Ross.

3. The superintendent of Argyle, whose diocese shall comprehend Argyle, Kintyre, Lorn, the South Isles, Arran, and Bute, with their adjacents, with [the country of] Lochaber, his residence to be in Argyle.

4. The superintendent of Aberdeen, whose diocese is betwixt Dee and Spey,

containing the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and of Banff, whose residence shall be in Old Aberdeen.

5. The superintendent of Brechin, whose diocese shall be the whole sheriffdoms of the Mearns and Angus, and the Brae of Mar to Dee, his residence to be in Brechin.

6. The superintendent of Fife, [whose diocese shall be Fife,] and Fotheringham to Stirling, and the whole sheriffdom of Perth, his residence to be in St Andrews.

7. The superintendent of Edinburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole sheriffdoms of Lothian, and Stirling on the south side of the water of Forth, his residence to be in Edinburgh.

8. The superintendent of Jedburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole Teviotdale, Tweeddale, Liddesdale, and thereto is added, by consent of the whole kirk,* the Merse, Lauderdale, and Weddale, with the forest of Ettrick, his residence to be in Jedburgh.

9. The superintendent of Glasgow, whose diocese shall comprehend Clydesdale, Renfrew, Monteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham, his residence to be in Glasgow.

10. The superintendent of Dumfries, whose diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, Nithsdale, Annandale, with the rest of the dales in the west, his residence to be in Dumfries.

4. Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would; but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place till their kirks be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers. Charge must be given to them that they remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must thrice every week preach at the least, and even when they

return to their principal town and residence, they must be likewise exercised in preaching and edification of the kirk; and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other kirks: but after they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they shall be compelled, unless by sickness they be retained, to re-enter in visitation, in which they shall not only preach, but also examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers; as also the order of the kirks, [and] the manners of the people. They must further consider how the poor are provided, how the youth are instructed: they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress such things as by good counsel they are able to appease. And, finally, they must note such crimes as are heinous, that by the censure of the kirk the same may be corrected.

5. If the superintendent be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, and specially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the word, and visitation of the kirks; or if he be convict of such crimes which in common ministers are damned [condemned], he must be deposed without respect of his person or office.

III. *The election of Superintendents, &c.*

6. In this present necessity, the nomination, examination, and admission of the superintendent, cannot be so strait as we require, and as afterwards it must be. For this present, therefore, we think it expedient, that either your honours, by yourselves, nominate so many as may serve the fore-written provinces; or that ye give commission to such men as ye suppose the fear of God to be in, to do the same: and the same men being called in your presence shall be by you, and such as your honours please call unto you for consultation in that case, appointed to their provinces. We think it expedient and necessary, that as well the gentlemen, as burghesses of every diocese, be made privy at this time to the election of the superintendent, as well to bring the kirk in some practice of her liberty, as that the pastor may be the better favoured of the flock

* This seems to have been done after the first division. For in some copies the Merse, Lauderdale, and Stow of Tweeddale are in the diocese of Edinburgh.

whom themselves have chosen. If your honours cannot find for this present so many able [men] as necessity requireth, then, in our judgments, more profitable it is those provinces wait till God provide better for them, than that men unable to edify and govern the kirk, so suddenly be placed in that charge; for experience hath taught us what pestilence hath been engendered in the kirk by men unable to discharge their offices. When, therefore, after three years, any superintendent shall depart, or chance to be deposed, the chief town within the province, to wit, the ministers, elders, and deacons, with the magistrate and council of the same town, shall nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the superintendents, as to two or three provinces, next adjacent, two or three of the most learned and godly ministers within the whole realm, that from amongst them one with public consent may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant: and this the chief town shall be bound to do within the space of twenty days; which being expired and no man presented, then shall three of the next adjacent provinces, with consent of their superintendents, ministers, and elders, enter in the right and privilege of the town, and shall present every one of them one or two, if they list, to the chief town, to be examined as the order requires; as also it shall be lawful for all the kirks of the diocese, to nominate within the same time such persons as they think worthy to stand in election, who all must be put in an edict.

7. After [the] nomination is made, public edicts must be sent forth, warning all men that have any exception against the persons nominate, or against any of them, to be present in the chief town at the day affixed, and place, to object what they can against the election of any of them. Thirty days we think sufficient to be assigned thereto. Thirty days, we mean, after the nomination be made.

8. Which day of the election being come, the whole ministers of the province, with three or four superintendents next adjacent or that shall be thereto nominat-

ed, shall examine, not only the learning, but also the manners, prudence, and ability to govern the kirk, of all those that are nominated; that he who shall be found most worthy, may be burdened with the charge. If the ministers of the whole province should bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care, the election should be the more free; but always the votes of them that convene should be required. The examination must be publicly made, [and] they that stand in election must publicly preach; and men must be charged in the name of God, to vote according to conscience, and not after affection: if any thing be objected against him that standeth in election, the superintendents and ministers must consider whether the objection be made of conscience or malice, and they must answer accordingly. Other ceremonies than sharp examination, approbation of the ministers and superintendents, with the public consent of the elders and people, we cannot allow.

9. The superintendent being elected, and appointed to his charge, must be subject to the censure and correction of ministers and elders, not of his chief town only, but also of the whole province over the which he is appointed overseer.

10. If his offence be known, and the ministers and elders of the town and province be negligent in correcting of him, then the next one or two superintendents, with their ministers and elders, may convene him, and the ministers and elders of his chief town, providing the same be within his own province or chief town, and accuse or correct as well the superintendent in these things that are worthy of correction, as the ministers and elders of their negligence and ungodly tolerance of his offence.

11. Whatsoever crime deserves deposition or correction of any other minister, deserveth the same in the superintendent, without exception of persons.

12. After that the kirk is established, and three years are passed, we require that no man be called to the office of a superintendent, who hath not at the least two

years given declaration of his faithful labours in the ministry of some kirk.

13. No superintendent may be transferred at the pleasure or request of any one province, no, not without the consent of the whole council of the kirk, and that for grave causes and considerations.

14. Of one thing in the end we must appointing your honours, to wit, that in the appointing of the superintendents for this present, ye disappoint not your chief towns, and where learning is exercised, of such ministers as may more profit by residence in one place, than by continual travel from place to place; for if ye so do, the youth in these places shall lack the profound interpretation of scripture, and so shall it be long before your garden send forth many plants; whereby the contrary, if one or two towns be continually exercised as they may, the commonwealth shall shortly feast of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly.

CHAP. VII.

OF SCHOOLS [AND UNIVERSITIES.]

Seeing that the office and duty of the godly magistrate is not only to purge the church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from tyranny and bondage; but also to provide at the utmost of his power how it may abide in some purity in the posterity following; we can [not] but freely communicate our judgments with your honours in this behalf.

I. *The necessity of Schools.*

1. Seeing that God hath determined that his kirk here in earth, shall be taught not by angels but by men, and seeing that men are born ignorant of God and of all godliness, and seeing also he ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them as he did the apostles and others in the primitive kirk: of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or yet desire the continuance of his benefits to the generation fol-

lowing; for as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus.

2. Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation: if it be upaland* where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed, take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechism,† as we have it now translated in the Book of the Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And further, we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also [that] provision [be made] for those that are poor, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in special those that come from landward.

3. The fruit and commodity hereof shall suddenly appear. For, first, the youth-head and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in virtue, in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniences may be avoided in which the youth commonly fall, either by overmuch liberty which they have in strange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good attendance, and [of] such necessities as their tender age requires. Secondly, the exercise of children in every kirk, shall be great instruction to the aged [and unlearned]. Last, the great schools called the universities, shall be replenished with those that shall be apt to learning; for this must be carefully provided, that no

* That is, in the country. † That is, Calvin's Catechism.

father, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasy, especially in their youth-head; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.

4. The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness, as heretofore they have done. But they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the kirk compelled to dedicate their sons, by [training them up in] good exercises, to the profit of the kirk and commonwealth, and that they must do of their own expenses, because they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained on the charge of the kirk, trial being taken whether the spirit of docility be in them found or not. If they be found apt to learning and letters, then may they not,—we mean, neither the sons of the rich, nor yet of the poor,—be permitted to reject learning, but must be charged to continue their study, so that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them: and for this purpose must discreet, grave, and learned men be appointed to visit schools for the trial of their exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit, the minister and elders, with the best learned men in every town, shall in every quarter make examination how the youth have profited.

5. A certain time must be appointed to reading and learning of the Catechism, and [a] certain [time] to the grammar and to the Latin tongue, and a certain [time] to the arts of philosophy, and the [other] tongues, and [a] certain [time] to that study in the which they intend chiefly to travail for the profit of the commonwealth; which time being expired,—we mean in every course,—the children should either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be set to some handicraft, or to some other profitable exercise; providing always, that first they have further knowledge of Christian religion, to wit, the knowledge of God's law and commandments, the use and office of the same, the chief articles of the belief, the right form to pray unto God, the number, use, and effect of the sacraments, the true knowledge of Christ Jesus,

of his offices and natures, and such other [points,] without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table; and, therefore, these principles ought and must be learned in the youthhead.

II. *The Time appointed to every Course.*

6. Two years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the Catechism, and to have some entries in the first rudiments of grammar; to the full accomplishment whereof,—we mean of the grammar,—we think other three years, or four at most, sufficient to the arts, to wit, logic, to rhetoric, and to the Greek tongue, [we allow other] four years; and the rest till the age of 24 years to be spent in the study wherein the learner would profit the church or commonwealth, be it in the laws, phisic, or divinity, which time of 24 years being spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the church or commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader in this same college or university. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things in practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years, will serve itself of true preachers, and of other officers necessary for the commonwealth.

III. *Of the Erection of Universities.*

7. The grammar school being erected, and of the tongues as we have said; next we think it necessary there be three universities in this whole realm, established in the three towns accustomed.* The first in St Andrews, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen. And in the first and principal university, viz. St Andrews, that there be three colleges: and in the first college, which is the entry of the university, there be four classes or sieges, the first to the new supposts, shall be only [of] dialectic, next only mathematics, the third of phisics only, the fourth of medicine; and in the second college two classes or sieges,

* The university of Edinburgh was not founded till the year 1582; and that in the town of Aberdeen not till sometime after.

the first of moral philosophy, the second of the laws: and in the third college, two classes or sieges, the first of the tongues, to wit, Greek and Hebrew, the second of divinity.

IV. *Of Readers, of the Degrees, and time of Study, [and of Principals and Rector, and of Bursars.]*

8. *Imprimis*, In the first college and first class shall be a reader of dialectic, who shall accomplish his course thereof in a year. In mathematics, which is the second class, shall be a reader who shall complete his course of arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and astrology in one year. In the third class shall be a reader of natural philosophy, who shall complete his course in one year. And who after these three years, by trial and examination, shall be found sufficiently instructed in the foresaid sciences, shall be laureate and graduate in philosophy. In the fourth class, shall be a reader of medicine, who shall complete his course in five years; after the study of the which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in medicine.

9. *Item*, In the second college, in the first class, one reader only in the ethics, economics, and politics, who shall complete his course in the space of one year. In the second class shall be two readers in the municipal and Roman laws, who shall complete their course in four years; after which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in the laws.

10. *Item*, In the third college, in the first class, one reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who shall complete the grammar thereof in three months, and the remanent of the year, the reader of the Hebrew shall interpret one book of Moses, [or of] the prophets, or the Psalms, so that this course and class shall continue one year: the reader of the Greek shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some places of the New Testament [and shall complete his course the same [year]]. In the second class shall be two readers in divinity, the one in the New Testament the other in the Old, who shall

complete their course in five years; after which time, who shall be found by examination sufficient, they shall be graduate in divinity.

11. *Item*, We think expedient that none be admitted to the first college, and be [made] supports of the university, unless he have from the master of the school, and minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues and testimony of his learning, docility, age, and parentage; and likewise trial be taken by certain examiners, depute by the rector and principals of the same. And if he hath been taught [the] dialectic, and be found sufficiently instructed therein, he shall incontinient the same year be promoted to the class of mathematics.

12. *Item*, That none be admitted to the class of medicine, but he that shall have his testimonial of his time well spent in dialectic, mathematics, and physics, and of his docility in the last.

13. *Item*, That none be admitted unto the class of the laws, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and of his docility in the last.

14. *Item*, That none be admitted into the class and siege of divinity, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in dialectic, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docility in the moral philosophy and the Hebrew tongue. But neither shall such as apply them[selves] to hear the laws, be compelled to hear medicine; neither such as apply them[selves] to hear divinity, be compelled to hear either medicine or yet the laws.

15. *Item*, In the second university, which is Glasgow, shall be two colleges only: in the first shall be a class of dialectic, another of mathematics, the third of physics, ordered in all sorts as St Andrews.

16. *Item*, In the second [college shall be] four classes, the first of moral philosophy, ethics, economics, and politics; the second of the municipal and Roman laws; the third of the Hebrew tongue; the fourth of divinity: which shall be ordered in all

sorts [according] to that we have written in the order of the university of St Andrews.*

17. The third university of Aberdeen shall be conform to this university of Glasgow in all sorts.

18. *Item*, We think needful that there be chosen [forth] of the body of the university to every college, a principal, [who must be a] man of learning, discretion, and diligence. He shall receive the whole rents of the college, and distribute the same according to the election of the college, and shall daily hearken the diet counts; adjoining to him[self] weekly one of the readers or regents, above whom he shall take attendance upon their diligence, as well in their reading as exercising of the youth in the matter taught; [he shall oversee] the policy, and †uphold of the place: and for punishment of crimes shall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the college. He shall be countable yearly to the superintendent, rector, and the [rest of the] principals convened, about the first of November. His election shall be in this sort, there shall be three of the most sufficient men of the university, —not principals already,—nominate by the members of the college, whose principal is departed, [and who are] sworn to follow their consciences, [then these three shall be] publicly proponed through the whole university: eight days after the which time, the superintendent himself or his special procurator, with the rector and the rest of the principals, as a chapter convened, shall confirm one of the three they think most sufficient; being before sworn to do the same with a single eye but [without] respect to fead or favour.

19. *Item*, In every college we think needful at least a steward, a cook, a gardener, and porter, who shall be subject to [the] discipline of the principal, as [are] the rest.

20. *Item*, That every university have a beadle subject to serve at all times throughout the whole university; as the rector and principal shall command.

21. *Item*, That every university have a rector chosen from year to year, as shall follow. The principals being convened with the whole regents chapterly, shall be sworn, that every man [speaking] in his [own] room, shall nominate such a one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to bear such charge and dignity; and three of them that shall be ofttest nominated, shall be put in edict publicly fifteen days before Michaelmas; and then shall on Michaelmas even convene the whole principals, regents, and supposts that are graduate, or at the least [have] studied their time in ethics, economics, and politics, and no others younger; and every one [having] first protested in God's presence to follow the sincere [en]ditement of their conscience, shall nominate [one] of the three, and he that hath most votes shall be confirmed by the superintendent and principals, and his duty with an exhortation proponed unto him, and this to be the 28th day of September; and thereafter [an oath] shall be taken [of] him for his just and godly government, and of the rest [for their] lawful submission and obedience: he shall be propined by the university at his entry with a new garment,* bearing *insignia magistratus*. [And] he shall be holden monthly to visit every college, and with his presence decore and examine the lections and exercises thereof. His assessors shall be a lawyer and a theologian, with whose advice he shall decide all questions civil betwixt the members of the university. If any without the university pursue a member thereof, or he be pursued by a member of the same, he shall assist the provost and bailies in these cases, or other judges competent, to see justice be ministered. In likewise if any of the university be criminally pursued, he shall

* There is here no mention made of medicine or Greek; but it is probable that a professor of Greek was designed both for Glasgow and Aberdeen, for the reason given in the remark on the 25th section of this chapter.

† Some copies have *buildings*.

* Some copies have, *insignia magistratus* being borne before him, he shall visit every college monthly, &c.

assist the judges competent, and see that justice be ministered.

22. *Item*, We think [it] expedient that in every college in every university, there be 24 bursars, divided equally in all the classes and sieges as is above expremit; that is, in St Andrews 72 bursars, in Glasgow 48 bursars, in Aberdeen 48, to be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the college; and to be admitted at the examination to the ministry [of the town] and chapter of principals in the university, as well in the docility of the persons offered, as of the ability of their parents to sustain themselves, and not to burden the commonwealth with them.

V. *Of the Stipends and Expenses necessary.*

23. We think expedient that the universities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the bishoprics temporality, and of the kirks collegiate, so far as their ordinary charges shall require; and therefore, that it would please your honours, by advice of your honourable council and vote of parliament, to do the same. And to the effect the same may be shortly expedited, we have recollected the sums we think necessary for the same.

24. *Inprimis*, For the ordinary stipend of the dialectician reader, the mathematician, physician, and moral philosopher, we think sufficient a hundred pounds for every one of them.

Item, For the stipend of every reader, in medicine and laws, a hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pennies.

Item, To every reader in Hebrew, Greek, and divinity, 200 pounds.

Item, To every principal of a college, 200 pounds.

Item, To every steward [for his fee] 16 pounds.

Item, To every gardener, to every cook, and porter, to each one of them ten merks.

Item, To the board of every bursar without the class of theology, 20 pounds.

Item, [To every bursar] in the classes of theology, which will be only 12 persons in St Andrews, 24 pounds.

25. [The] sum of [the] yearly and ordi-

nary expenses in the university of St Andrews, extendeth to 3,796 pounds.

[The] sum of [the] yearly and ordinary expenses of Glasgow [extends to] 2,922 pounds. [The sum of] Aberdeen to 2,922 pounds.*

[The] sum of the ordinary charges of the whole is 9,640 pounds.

26. *Item*, The beadle's stipend shall be of every entrant and suppost of the university two shillings, of every one graduate in philosophy three shillings, of every one graduate in medicine or laws four shillings, in theology five shillings; all bursars being excepted.

27. *Item*, We have thought good for building and upholding of the places,† a general collect be made; and that every earl's son, at his entry to the university, shall give 40 shillings, and likewise at every graduation 40 shillings. *Item*, each lord's son, likewise, at such times, 30 shillings, each freeholding baron's son 20 shillings, every feuar and substantial gentleman's son 1 merk. *Item*, every substantial husband and burges's son at each time 10 shillings. *Item*, every one of the rest, not excepting the bursars, 5 shillings, at each time. And that this be gathered in a common box, put in keeping to the principal of the theologians, every principal having a key thereof, to be [opened, and the money] counted each year once, with the interest of principals to be laid in the same, upon the 15th day of November, in presence of the superintendent, rector, and whole principals; and with their whole consent, or at least the most part of them reserved or employed only upon the building and upholding of the places, and repairing of the same, as necessity shall require. And therefore, the rector with his assistant shall be holden to visit the places each year once incontinent after he be promoted upon the last of October, or thereby.

* The ordinary expenses of Glasgow or Aberdeen extend only to 2,722 pounds and one merk, so that probably it was designed that these two universities should have had each of them a professor of Greek, whose salary was to have been 200 pounds.

† Fabric.

VI. *Of the Privileges of the University.*

28. Seeing we desire that innocency should defend us rather than privilege, we think that each person of the university should answer before the provost and bailiffs of the town where the university is, for all crimes whereof they are accused, only that the rector be assessor to the [magistrates] in the said actions. In civil matters if the question be betwixt members of the university on each side, making their residence and exercise therein for the time, in that case the party called shall not be holden to answer but only before the rector and his assessors heretofore exprimed: in all other cases of civil pursuit, the general rule of the law [is] to be observed, *actor sequatur forum rei*.

29. The rector and all inferior members of the university must be exempted from all taxations, impost, [and] charges of war; or any other charge that may onerate or abstract him or them from the care of his office, such as tutory, curatory, or any such like that are established, or hereafter shall be established in our commonwealth; to the effect, that without trouble, they may wait on the upbringing of the youth in learning, and bestow their time only in that most necessary exercise.

30. All other things touching the books to be read in each class, and all such like particular affairs, we refer to the discretion of the masters, principals, and regents, with their well-advised counsel; not doubting but if God shall grant quietness, and give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to amass for them, which without wisdom are more able to be their ruin and confusion, than [their] help and comfort. And as this is most true, so we leave it with the rest of the commodities to be weighed by your honours' wisdom, and set forwards by your authority to the most high advancement of this commonwealth committed to your charge.

CHAP. VIII.

THE SIXTH HEAD, OF THE RENTS AND PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

1 These two sorts of men, that is to say, ministers [of the word] and the poor together with the schools, when order shall be taken thereanent, must be sustained upon the * charges of the kirk; and therefore, provision must be made how, and by whom such sums must be lifted. But before we enter in this head, we must crave of your honours, in the name of the Eternal God and of his Son Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground, who by their cruel beasts the papists have before been opprest, that their life to them hath been dolorous and bitter: if ye will have God author and approver of this reformation, ye must not follow their footsteps, but ye must have compassion of your brethren, appointing them to pay reasonable tiends, that they may find some benefit of Christ Jesus now preached unto them.

2. With the grief of our hearts we hear, that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the papists, requiring of them [the tiends and] whatsoever they before paid to the kirk, so that the papistical tyranny shall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so do: [for neither shall we,] if we permit cruelty to be used, neither shall ye, who by your authority ought to gainstand such oppression, nor yet they that use the same, escape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the kirk to be restored to her [right and] liberty; that by her restitution, the poor, who heretofore, by the cruel papists have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation, that their tiends and other

* Rents.

exactions be clean discharged, and no more taken in times coming. The uppermost cloth, corpse-present, clerk-mail, the pasche-offering, tiend-ale, and all handlings up-land,* can neither be required nor received of good conscience.

3. Neither do we judge it to proceed of justice, that any man should possess the tiends of another, but we think it a most reasonable thing that every man have the use of his own tiends, provided that he answer to the deacons and treasurers of the kirk, of that which [of] justice shall be appointed to him. We require the deacons and treasurers rather to receive the rents, than the ministers themselves; because that of the tiends must not only the minister be sustained, but also the poor and schools. And, therefore, we think it expedient that common treasurers, viz. the deacons, be appointed from year to year, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the kirk, and that commandment be given that none be permitted either to receive or yet to intromit with any thing appertaining to the sustentation of the persons foresaid, but such as by common consent of the kirk are thereto appointed.

4. If any think this prejudicial to the tacks and assedations of them that now possess the tiends, let them understand that their unjust possession is no possession before God; for they of whom they received their title, and presupposed right or warrant, were thieves and murderers, and had no power so to alienate the patrimony and common good of the kirk. And yet we are not so extreme but that we wish just recompense to be made to such as have disbursed sums of money to the unjust possessors, so that it hath not been done of late days in prejudice of the kirk; but such as are found and known to be done of plain collusion, in no ways ought to be maintained by you: and for that purpose we think it most expedient, that whosoever have assedation of tiends [of] any kirk [in part or in whole], be openly warned to produce their assedation and assur-

ance, that cognition being taken, the just tacksmen may have the just and reasonable recompense for the years that are to run, the profit of the years past being considered and deduced; and the unjust and surmised may be served accordingly, so that the kirk in the end may receive her liberty and freedom, and that only for the relief of the poor.

5. Your honours may easily understand that we speak not now for ourselves, but in favour of the labourers defrauded and oppressed by the priests, and by their confederate pensioners; for while that the priest's pensioner his idle belly is delicately fed, the poor, to whom the portion of that appertains, was pined with hunger, and moreover the true labourer was compelled to pay that which he ought not: for the labourer is neither debtor to the dumb dog called the bishop, neither yet to his hired pensioner, but is debtor only to the kirk; and the kirk is bound to sustain and nourish of her charges, the persons before mentioned, to wit, the ministers of the word, the poor, and the teachers of the youth.

6. But now to return to the former head. The sums able to sustain the forenamed persons, and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policy within the kirk, must be lifted of the tenths, to wit, the tenth sheaf [of all sorts of corn], hay, hemp, [and] lint; [tenth] fish, tenth calf, tenth lamb, tenth wool, tenth foal, tenth cheese. And because that we know that the tenth reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity; we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents both in burgh and land pertaining to the priests, chanteries, colleges, chapellanries, and the friaries of all orders, to the sisters of the seenes, and such others [of that sort], be retained still in the use of the kirk or kirks within the towns and parishes where they were doted. Furthermore to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the superintendents, the whole revenue of the temporality of the bishops, deans, and archdeacons' lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral kirks whatsoever.

* Exactions in the country.

And further [we think that] merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must make some provision in their cities, towns, and dwelling places, for to support the need of the kirk.

7. To the ministers, and failing thereof the readers, must be restored their manses and glebes; for else they cannot serve [nor attend] their flocks at all times, as their duty is. If any glebe exceed six acres of ground, the rest shall remain in the hands of the possessors, till [further] order be taken therein.

8. The receivers and collectors of these rents and duties, must be deacons or treasurers appointed from year to year in every kirk, and by the common consent and free election of the kirk, the deacons must distribute no part of that which is collected, but by command of the ministers and elders; and they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the kirk hath before determined, to wit, the deacons shall of the first part pay the sums, either quarterly, or from half year to half year, to the ministers which the kirk hath appointed. The same they shall do to the schoolmasters, readers, and hospital if any be, receiving always an acquittance for their discharge.

9. If any extraordinary sums are to be delivered, then must the ministers, elders, and deacons, consult whether the deliverance of such sums doth stand with the common utility of the kirk or not, and if they do universally condescend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, then because they be in credit and office for the year, they may do as best seems: but if there be any controversy amongst themselves, the whole kirk must be made privy, and after that the matter be proponed, and the reasons [heard], the judgment of the kirk with the minister's consent shall prevail.

10. The deacons shall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the ministers and elders of that which they received, as often as the policy shall appoint; and the elders when they are changed, which must be every year, must clear their count

before such auditors as the kirk shall appoint; and both the deacons and elders being changed, shall deliver to them that shall be new elected all sums of money, corns, and other profits, resting in their hands: the tickets whereof must be delivered to the superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great council of the kirk, that as well the abundance as the indigence of every kirk may be evidently known, that a reasonable equality may be had throughout this whole realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter. For the free and yearly election of deacons and elders,* shall suffer none to usurp a perpetual domination over the kirk; the knowledge of the rental shall suffer them to receive no more than whereof they shall be bound to make accounts; the deliverance of money to the new officers shall not suffer private men [to] use in their private business, that which appertains to the public affairs of the kirk.

CHAP. IX.

THE SEVENTH HEAD, OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

1. As that no commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good laws and sharp execution of the same; so neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the same without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproving and correcting of the faults, which the civil sword either doth neglect, or [may] not punish: blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital, worthy of death, ought not properly to fall under [the] censure of the kirk; because all such open transgressors of God's laws ought to be taken away by the civil sword. But drunkenness, excess, be it in apparel or be it in eating and drinking, fornication, oppressing of the poor by exactions, deceit in buying and selling by wrong mete and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do properly appertain

* See the Second Book of Discipline, chap. vi. sect. 2. and chap. viii. sect. 2.

to the kirk of God to punish them as God's word commands.

2. But because this accursed papistry hath brought in such confusion into the world, that neither was virtue rightly praised, neither yet vice severely punished; the kirk of God is compelled to draw the sword which of God she hath received, against such open and manifest contemners, cursing and excommunicating all such, as well those whom the civil sword ought to punish as the other, from all participation with her in prayers and sacraments, till open repentance appear manifestly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave, so being once pronounced against any person, of what estate or condition that ever they be, it must be kept with all severity; for laws made and not kept engender contempt of virtue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sin: and therefore, this order we think expedient to be observed before, and after excommunication.

3. First, if the offence be secret or known to few men, and rather stands in suspicion than in manifest probation, the offender ought to be privately admonished to abstain from all appearance of evil, which if he promise to do, and declare himself sober, honest, and one that fears God and fears to offend his brethren, then may the secret admonition suffice for his correction. But if he either contemn the admonition or after promise made to show himself no more circumspect than he was before, then must the minister admonish him, to whom if he be found inobedient, they must proceed according to the rule of Christ, as after shall be declared.

4. If the crime be public, and such as is heinous, as fornication, drunkenness, fighting, common swearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called in presence of the minister, elders, and deacons, where his sin and trespass ought to be declared and aggregated, so that his conscience may feel how far he hath offended God, and what slander he hath raised in the kirk; if signs of unfeigned repentance appear in him, and if he require to be admitted to public repentance, the minister may ap-

point unto him a day when the whole kirk convenes together, that in presence of all he may testify his repentance which before he professed: which if he accept, and with reverence confess his sin, earnestly desiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in their society, notwithstanding the former offence: then the kirk may and ought to receive him as a penitent, for the kirk ought to be no more severe than God declares himself to be, who witnesses, that "In whatsoever hour a sinner unfeignedly repents, and turns from his wicked way, that he will not remember one of his iniquities;" and therefore ought the kirk diligently to advert that it excommunicate not those whom God absolves.

5. If the offender called before the ministry be found stubborn, hard-hearted, or in whom no sign of repentance appears, then must he be demitted with an exhortation to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands; assuring him that if they find in him no other tokens of amendment of life, that they will be compelled to seek a further remedy: if he within a certain space show his repentance to the ministry, they may present him to the kirk, as before is said.

6. If he continue not in his repentance, then must the kirk be advertised that such crimes are committed amongst them, which by the ministry hath been reprehended, and the persons provoked to repent; whereof because no signs appear unto them, they could not but signify unto the kirk the crimes, but not the person, requiring them earnestly to call to God to move and touch the heart of the offender, so that suddenly and earnestly he may repent.

7. If the person malign, the next day of public assembly, the crime and the person must be both notified unto the kirk, and their judgments must be required, if that such crimes ought to be suffered unpunished among them: request also should be made to the most discreet and nearest friend of the offender to travail with him to bring him to [the] knowledge of himself, and of his dangerous estate; with a commandment given to all men to call to

God for the conversion of the unpenitent. If a solemn and special prayer were drawn for that purpose, the thing would be more gravely done.*

8. The third Sunday, the minister ought to require, if the unpenitent have declared any signs of repentance to one of the ministry; and if he have, then may the minister appoint him to be examined by the whole ministry; either then instantly, or another day affixed to the consistory: and if repentance appear, as well for his crime, as for his long contempt, then he may be presented to the kirk, and make his confession to be accepted as before is said: but if no man signify his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated, and by the mouth of the minister, and consent of the ministry, and commandment of the kirk, must such a contemner be pronounced excommunicate from God, and from all society of the kirk.

9. After which sentence may no person,—his wife and family only excepted,—have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling, yea, in saluting or talking with him; except that it be at commandment or license of the ministry for his conversion: that he, by such means confounded, seeing himself abhorred of the godly and faithful, may have occasion to repent, and so be saved. The sentence of excommunication must be published universally throughout the realm, lest that any man should pretend ignorance.

10. His children begotten and born after that sentence and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptism till either they be of age to require the same, or else that the mother or some of his special friends, members of the kirk, offer and present the child, abhorring and condemning the iniquity and obstinate contempt of the impenitent. If any man should think it severe that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father; let him understand that the sacraments appertain to the faithful and their seed; but such as

stubbornly contemn all godly admonition, and obstinately remain in their iniquity, cannot be accounted amongst the faithful.

II. *The Order for Public Offenders.*

We have spoken nothing of them that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, manslayers, adulterers; for such as we have said, the civil sword ought to punish to dead: but in case they be permitted to live, then must the kirk, as is before said, draw the sword which of God she hath received, holding them as accursed, even in their very fact. The offender being first called, and [the] order of the kirk used against him, in the same manner as the persons for their obstinate impenitency are publicly excommunicate. So that the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of excommunication, and the murderer or adulterer stand in one case, as concerning the judgment of the kirk; that is, neither of both may be received in the fellowship of the kirk to prayers or sacraments,—but to hearing the word they may,—till first they offer themselves to the ministry, humbly requiring the ministers and elders to pray to God for them, and also to be intercessors to the kirk, that they may be admitted to public repentance, and to the fruition of the benefits of Christ Jesus, distributed to the members of his body.

12. If this request be humbly made, then may not the ministers refuse to signify the same unto the kirk, the next day of public preaching the minister giving exhortation to the kirk to pray to God to perform the work which he appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender, unfeigned repentance of his grievous crime and offence, [with a sense] and feeling of his great mercy, by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thereafter one day ought publicly to be assigned unto him to give open profession of his offence and contempt, and so to make public satisfaction to the kirk of God: which day the offender must appear in presence of the whole kirk, with his own mouth condemning his own impiety, publicly confessing the same; desiring of God his mercy and grace, and [of] his congregation that it would please them to receive him in their society, as

* See the Order of Excommunication, and of Public Repentance, chap. ii.

before is said. The minister must examine him diligently whether he finds a hatred and displeasure of his sin, as well of his contempt as of his crime: which if he confess, he must travail with him, to see what hope he hath of God's mercies.

13. If he find him [humbly disposed, and] reasonably instructed in the knowledge of Christ Jesus, and the virtue of his death; then may the minister comfort him with God's infallible promises, and demand of the kirk if they be content to receive that creature of God, whom Satan before had drawn in his nets, into the society of their body, seeing that he [hath] declared himself penitent: which if the kirk grant, as they cannot justly deny the same, then ought the minister in public prayer commend him to God, [and] confess the sin of that offender before the whole kirk, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus' sake. Which prayer being ended, the minister ought to exhort the kirk to receive that penitent brother into their favours, as they require God to receive themselves when they offend; and in sign of their consent, the elders and chief men of the kirk shall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two in the name of the rest shall kiss and embrace him with reverence and gravity as a member of Christ Jesus.

14. Which being done, the minister shall exhort the received, that he take diligent heed in times coming, that Satan trap him not in such crimes, admonishing him that he * will not cease to tempt and try by all means possible to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God and to the ordinance of Jesus Christ. The exhortation being ended, the minister ought to give public thanks unto God for the conversion of their brother, and for all benefits which we receive of Christ Jesus, praying for the increase and continuance of the same.

15. If the penitent, after he hath offered himself unto the ministry, or to the kirk, be found ignorant of the principal points

of our religion, and chiefly in the articles of justification and of the offices of Christ Jesus, then ought he to be exactly instructed before he be received. For a mocking of God it is to receive them to repentance, who know not wherein standeth their remedy, when they repent their sin.

III. *Persons subject to Discipline.*

16. To discipline must all the estates within this realm be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the kirk: and because the eye and mouth of the kirk ought to be most single and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the minister ought to be diligently tried, whereof we shall speak after that we have spoken of the election of elders and deacons, who must assist the minister in all public affairs of the kirk.

CHAP. X.

THE EIGHTH HEAD, TOUCHING THE ELECTION [AND OFFICE] OF ELDERS AND DEACONS; [AND THE CENSURE OF MINISTERS, ELDERS, AND DEACONS].

1. Men of best knowledge in God's word, and cleanest life, men faithful and of most honest conversation that can be found in the kirk, must be nominate to be in election, and their names must be publicly read to the whole kirk by the minister, giving them advertisement, that from amongst them must be chosen elders and deacons; if any of these nominate be noted with public infamy, he ought to be repelled; for it is not seemly that the servant of corruption should have authority to judge in the kirk of God. If any man know others of better qualities within the kirk than these that be nominate, let them be put in election [with them], that the kirk may have the choice.

2. If the kirk be of smaller number than that seniors and deacons can be chosen from amongst them, then may they well be joined to the next adjacent kirks. For the plurality of kirks without ministers and order, shall rather hurt than edify.

3. The election of elders and deacons

* How that enemy will not, &c.

ought to be made every year once, which we judge to be most convenient on the first day of August; lest of long continuance of such officers, men presume upon the liberty of the kirk: [and yet] it hurteth not that one be received in office more years than one, so that he be appointed yearly [thereto] by common and free election;* provided always that the deacons and treasurers be not compelled to receive the [same] office again for the space of three years. How the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely, every several kirk may take such order as best seems [to] them.

4. The elders being elected, must be admonished of their office, which is to assist the ministers in all public affairs of the kirk; to wit, in determining and judging causes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in having respect to the manners and conversation of all men within their charge. For by the gravity of the seniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious, must be corrected and bridled.

5. Yea, the seniors ought [also] to take heed to the life, manners, diligence, and study of their ministers. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him; and if he be worthy of deposition, they with consent of the kirk and superintendent may depose him, so that his crime deserve so. If a minister be light of conversation, by his elders and deacons he ought to be admonished: if he be negligent in study, or one that vaikes † not upon his charge or flock, or one that propones not faithful doctrine, he deserves sharper admonition and correction; to the which if he be found stubborn and inobedient, then may the seniors of the kirk complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravity are, to whose admonition if he be found inobedient, he ought to be discharged of his

ministry, till his repentance appear, and a place be vacant for him.

6. If any minister be deprehended in any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, [murder], manslaughter, perjury, teaching of heresy, or any other deserving death, or that may be a note of perpetual infamy, he ought to be deposed for ever. By heresy we mean pernicious doctrine plainly taught, and * openly defended, against the foundations and principles of our faith; and such a crime we judge to deserve perpetual deposition from the ministry: for most dangerous we know it to be to commit the flock to a man infected with the pestilence of heresy.

7. Some crimes deserve deposition for a time, and while the person give declaration of greater gravity and honesty: as if a minister be deprehended drinking, brawling, or fighting; an open slanderer or infamer of his neighbours, factious, and a sower of discord, he must be commanded to cease from his ministry, till he declare some sign of repentance, upon the which the kirk shall abide him the space of twenty days or further, as the kirk shall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election.

8. Every inferior kirk shall by one of their seniors and one of their deacons, once in the year, notify unto the ministers of the superintendent's kirk, the life, manners, study, and diligence of their ministers, to the end the discretion of some may correct the levity of others.

9. Not only must the life and manners of ministers come under censure and judgment of the kirk, but also of their wives, children, and family: judgment must be taken that he neither live riotously, neither yet avariciously; yea, respect must be had how they spend the stipend appointed to their living: if a reasonable stipend be appointed and they live avariciously, they must be admonished to live as they receive; for as excess and superfluity is not tolerable in a minister, so is avarice and the careful solicitude of money utterly to be

* See the Second Book of Discipline, chap vi. sect. 2. and chap. viii. sect. 2.

† Waiteth.

* Obstinate.

condemned in Christ's servants, and especially in them that are fed upon the charge of the kirk: we judge it unseemly and intolerable, that ministers should be boarded in common ale-houses or in taverns.

10. Neither must a minister be permitted to frequent and commonly haunt the court, unless it be for a time, when he is either sent by the kirk, or called for by the authority for his counsel and judgment in civil affairs.* Neither yet must he be one of the council,† be he judged never so apt for the purpose; but either must he cease from the ministry,—which at his own pleasure he may not do,—or else from bearing charge in civil affairs, unless it be to assist the parliament if he be called.

11. The office of deacons, as before is said, is to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the kirk, to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministers and kirk shall be appointed; they may also assist in judgment with the minister and elders, and may be admitted to read in assembly if they be required, and be able thereto.

12. The elders and deacons with their wives and household, should be under the same censure that is prescribed for the ministers: for they must be careful over their office, and seeing they are judges over others' manners, their own conversation ought to be irreprehensible: they must be sober, lovers and maintainers of concord and peace [amongst their neighbours]; and finally they ought to be examples of godliness to others. And if the contrary thereof appear, they must be admonished thereof by the ministers, or some of their brethren of the ministry, if the fault be secret: and if the fault be open and known, they must be rebuked before the ministry, and the same order kept against the senior and deacon, that before is described against the minister.

13. We think it not necessary that any public stipend shall be appointed, either to the elders, or yet to the deacons, because their travail continues but for a year; and also because that they are not so occupied with

the affairs of the kirk, but that reasonably they may attend upon their domestical business.

CHAP. XI.

THE NINTH HEAD, CONCERNING THE POLICY OF THE KIRK.

1. Policy we call an exercise of the kirk in such things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, or else inflame the learned to greater fervency, or to retain the kirk in good order; and thereof there are two sorts, the one utterly necessary, as that the word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, common prayers publicly made, that the children and rude persons be instructed in the chief points of religion; and that offences be corrected and punished; these things are so necessary, that without the same there is no face of a visible kirk. The other is profitable but not merely necessary, [as] that psalms should be sung, that certain places of the scriptures be read when there is no sermon; that this day or that, or how many [days] in the week the kirk should assemble; of these and such others we cannot see how a certain order can be established: for in some kirks the psalms may conveniently be sung, in others perchance they cannot; some kirks [may] convene every day, some twice, some thrice in the week [and] some perchance but once: in this and such like must every particular kirk by their consent appoint their own policy.

2. [Yet] in great towns we think expedient that every day there be either sermon or common prayers, with some exercise of reading of scriptures. What day the public sermon is, we can neither require nor greatly approve that the common prayers be publicly used: lest that we should either foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers as they come to the mass; or else give them occasion, that they think them no prayers, which he made before and after sermons.

3. In every notable town, we require that one day beside the Sunday, be appointed to the sermon, which during the

* In any matter.

† Of the council in civil affairs.

time of sermon and prayers must be kept free from all exercise of labour, as well of the master as of the servant; in smaller towns as we have said, the common consent of the kirk must put order: but the Sunday must straitly be kept both before and afternoon in all towns. Before noon must the word be preached, and sacraments ministered, as also marriage solemnized if occasion offer: afternoon must the young children be publicly examined in their catechism in the audience of the people, [in doing] whereof the minister must take great diligence, as well to cause the people understand the questions proponed as [the] answers, and the doctrine that may be collected thereof; the order [to be kept in teaching the catechism], and how much [of it] is appointed for every Sunday, is already distinguished in [the catechism printed with] the Book of our Common Order, which catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the kirk. And afternoon may baptism be ministered, when occasion is offered of great travail before noon: it is also to be observed, that prayers be afternoon upon Sunday, where there is neither preaching nor catechism.

4. It appertains to the policy of the kirk to appoint the times when the sacraments shall be ministered. Baptism may be ministered whensoever the word is preached; but we think it more expedient, that it be ministered upon Sunday, or upon the day of prayers, only after the sermon: partly to remove this gross error by the which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without baptism; and partly to make the people have greater reverence to the administration of the sacraments than they have, for we see the people begin already to wax weary by reason of the frequent repetition of those promises.

5. Four times in the year we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord's table, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstitions of time* may be avoided so far as may be: for your honours

are not ignorant how superstitiously the people run to that action at pasche, even as if the time gave virtue to the sacrament; and how the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them, but at that time only. We think therefore most expedient, that the first Sunday of March be appointed for one time [to that service]; the first Sunday of June for another; the first Sunday of September for the third; the first Sunday of December for the fourth. We do not deny but any several kirk for reasonable causes may change the time, and may minister oftener, but we study to repress superstition. All ministers must be admonished to be more careful to instruct the ignorant than ready to serve their appetite, and to use sharp examination rather than indulgence, in admitting to these great mysteries such as are ignorant of the use and virtue of the same: and therefore we think that the administration of the table ought never to be without examination passing before, and specially of them whose knowledge is suspect; we think that none are to be admitted to this mystery who cannot formally say the Lord's prayer, the articles of the belief, nor declare the sum of the law, [and understandeth not the use and virtue of this holy sacrament].

6. Further we think it a thing most expedient and necessary, that every kirk have the Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to convene and hear the plain reading and interpretation of the scripture, as the kirk shall appoint; [for] by frequent reading, this gross ignorance, which in this cursed papistry hath overflowed all, may partly be removed. We think it most expedient that the scripture be read in order, that is, that some one book of the Old or New Testament be begun and orderly read to the end; and the same we judge of preaching, where the minister for the most part remains in one place: for this skipping and divagation from place to place of scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edify the kirk, as the continual following of one text.

* Superstitious observation of times.

7. Every master of household must be commanded either to instruct, or cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principles of the Christian religion, without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus: for such as are so dull and so ignorant, that they can neither try themselves, nor yet know the dignity and mystery of that action, cannot eat and drink of that table worthily. And therefore, of necessity we judge, that every year at the least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders of the knowledge of every person within the kirk; to wit, that every master and mistress of household come themselves and their family, so many as are come to maturity before the minister and the elders, and give confession of their faith: if they understand not, or cannot rehearse the commandments of God's law, know not how to pray, neither wherein their righteousness stands or consists, they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table: and if they stubbornly contemn, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilful ignorance, the discipline of the kirk must proceed against them to excommunication, and then must that matter be referred to the civil magistrate; for seeing that the just lives by his own faith, and Christ Jesus justifies by knowledge of himself, insufferable we judge it that men be permitted to live as members of the kirk [of God], and yet [to] continue in ignorance.

8. Moreover, men, women, [and] children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in psalms, that when the kirk doth convene, and sing, they may be the more able together with common hearts and voices to praise God.

9. In private houses we think expedient, that the most grave and discreet person use the common prayers at morn and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others: for seeing that we behold and see the hand of God now presently striking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of his judgments, or provocation of his anger more to be kindled against us, if we be not moved to repentance of our

former unthankfulness, and to earnest invocation of his name, whose only power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly convert unto him, remove from us those terrible plagues which now for our iniquities hang over our heads. "Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted."

CHAP. XII.

FOR PROPHESYING, OR INTERPRETING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

1. To the end that the kirk of God may have a trial of men's knowledge, judgments, graces, and utterances; as also, such that have somewhat profited in God's word, may from time to time grow in more full perfection to serve the kirk, as necessity shall require: it is most expedient that in every town, where schools and repair of learned men are, there be [a time] in one certain day every week appointed to that exercise which St Paul calls prophesying; the order whereof is expressed by him in these words, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge; but if any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the former keep silence: [for] ye may one by one all prophesy, that all may learn, and all may receive consolation. And the spirits," that is, the judgments, "of the prophets, are subject to the prophets."* By which words of the apostle, it is evident that in the church of Corinth, when they did assemble for that purpose, some place of scripture was read, upon the which, one first gave his judgment to the instruction and consolation of the auditors; after whom did another either confirm what the former had said, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct or explain more properly where the whole verity was not revealed to the former; and in case things were hid from the one and from the other, liberty was given for a third to speak his judgment to the edification of the church; above which number of three, as appears they passed not, for avoiding of confusion.

* 1 Cor. xiv. 29—32.

2. This exercise is a thing most necessary for the kirk of God this day in Scotland; for thereby, as said is, shall the kirk have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their body; the simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study and to proceed in knowledge, [and] the [whole] kirk shall be edified; for this exercise must be patent to such as list to hear and learn, and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge to the comfort and consolation of the kirk.

3. But lest of this profitable exercise there arise debate and strife, curious, peregrine, and unprofitable questions are to be avoided. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to charity, or that stands in plain contradiction with any other manifest place of scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter in this exercise, may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher,—yea, although he be a minister appointed,—but he must bind himself to his text, that he enter not in digression or in explaining common-places: he may use no invective in that exercise, unless it be of sobriety in confuting heresies: in exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place; following the sequel and dependence of the text, and observing such notes as may instruct and edify the auditor: for avoiding of contention, neither may the interpreter, nor any in the assembly, move any question in open audience, whereto himself is not able [presently] to give resolution without reasoning with another, but every man ought to speak his own judgment to the edification of the kirk.

4. If any be noted with curiosity or bringing in of strange doctrines, he must be admonished by the moderator, ministers, and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended. The whole ministers, [with] a number of them that are of the assembly, ought to convene together, where examination should be had, how the persons that did interpret, did handle

and convey* the matter; they themselves being removed till every man hath given his censure: after the which the persons being called [in], the faults, if any notable be found, are noted, and the persons gently admonished. In that assembly are all questions and doubts, if any arise, resolved without contention.

5. The ministers of the parish kirks in landwart, adjacent to every chief town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation, within six miles, must concur and assist those that prophesy [teach] within the towns; to the end that they themselves may either learn, or others may learn by them. And, moreover, men in whom are supposed to be any gifts which might edify the church if they were well employed, must be charged by the ministers and elders to join themselves with the session and company of interpreters, to the end that the kirk may judge whether they are able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the kirk in the vocation of [the] ministry or not: and if any are found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them, provided that the civil magistrate concur with the judgment and election of the kirk; for no man may be permitted as best pleaseth him to live within the kirk of God, but every man must be constrained by fraternal admonition and correction, to bestow his labours, when of the kirk he is required, to the edification of others.

6. What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise, what books of scripture shall be most profitable to read, we refer to the judgment of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wisdom of the ministers and elders.

CHAP. XIII.

OF MARRIAGE.

Because that marriage, the blessed ordinance of God, in this cursed papistry hath partly been contemned; and partly hath

* Entreat.

been so infirmed, that the parties conjoined could never be assured in conscience, if the bishops and prelates list to dissolve the same; we have thought good to show our judgments how such confusion in times coming may be avoided.

2. And first public inhibition must be made, that no person under the power or obedience of others; such as sons and daughters, and those that be under curators, neither men nor women, contract marriage privately and without [the] knowledge of their parents, tutors, or curators, under whose power they are for the time: which if they do, the censure and discipline of the kirk [ought] to proceed against them. If any son or daughter, or other [under subjection], have their hearts touched with the desire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to their parents that they open unto them their affection, asking their counsel and assistance, how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If the father, [nearest] friend, or master,* gainstand their request, and have no other cause than the common sort of men have; to wit, lack of goods, and because they are not so high-born as they require; yet must not the parties whose hearts are touched make any covenant till further declaration be made unto the kirk of God [or civil magistrate]: and, therefore, after that they have opened their minds to their parents or such others as have charge over them, they must declare it to the ministry also, or to the civil magistrate, requiring them to travail with their parents for their consent, which to do they are bound. And if they, to wit, the ministry or magistrate, find no cause that is just, why the marriage required may not be fulfilled, then after sufficient admonition to the father, friend, master, or superior, that none of them resist the work of God, the ministry or magistrate may enter in the place of parents, and by consenting to their just requests may admit them to marriage: for the work of God ought not to be hindered by the cor-

rupt affections of wordly men; the work of God we call, when two hearts, without filthiness before committed, are so joined, and both require and are content to live together in that holy band of matrimony.

3. If any commit fornication with that woman he requires in marriage, they do both lose this foresaid benefit as well of the kirk as of the magistrate; for neither of both ought to be intercessors or advocates for filthy fornicators. But the father, or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgin is deflowered, hath power by the law of God to compel the man that did that injury to marry his daughter: and if the father will not accept him by reason of his offence, then may he require the dowry of his daughter; which if the offender be not able to pay, then ought the civil magistrate to punish his body by some other punishment. And because whoredom, fornication, [and] adultery, are sines most common in this realm; we require of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, that severe punishment, according as God hath commanded, be executed against such wicked contemners: for we doubt not but such enormities and crimes openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the apostle speaketh, not only upon the offenders, but upon such places where without punishment they are committed.

4. But to return to our former purpose: marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that have no election for lack of understanding; and, therefore, we affirm that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age, to wit, the man within fourteen years, and the woman twelve years at least; which if it have been, and they have kept themselves always separate, we cannot judge them to [be bound to] adhere as man and wife, by reason of that promise, which in God's presence was no promise at all; but if in years † of judgment they have embraced the one the other, then by reason ‡ of that last consent, they have ratified that which others have promitted for them in their

* Or curator.

† After years.

‡ Virtue.

youthhead [and are to be held as married persons].

5. In a reformed kirk, marriage ought not to be secretly used, but in open face and public audience of the kirk; and for avoiding of dangers, expedient it is that the banns be publicly proclaimed three [several] Sundays, unless the persons are so known that no suspicion of danger may arise, and then may the time be shortened at the discretion of the ministry; but no ways can we admit marriage to be used secretly, how honourable soever the persons be, [and therefore] the Sunday before noon we think most expedient for marriage, and [that it ought to] be used no day else without the consent of the whole ministry.

6. Marriage once lawfully contracted, may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, as our master Christ Jesus doth witness, unless adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved in presence of the civil magistrate, the innocent, if they so require, ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to suffer death as God hath commanded. If the civil sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the kirk be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent party to be at freedom, be they never so honourable before the world: [nottheless] if the life be spared, as it ought not to be to the offenders, and if fruits of repentance of long time appear in them, and if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the kirk, we judge they may be received to the participation of the sacraments, and other benefits of the kirk, for we would not that the kirk should hold them: excommunicate whom God absolved, that is, the penitent.

7. If any demand, whether that the offender, after reconciliation with the kirk, may not marry again? we answer, that if they cannot live continently, and if the necessity be such as that they fear further offence of God, we cannot forbid them to use the remedy ordained of God. If the party offended, may be reconciled to the

offender, then we judge that on noways it shall be lawful to the offender to marry any other, except the party that before hath been offended; and the solemnization of the latter marriage must be in the open face of the kirk likeas the former, but without proclamation of banns. This we do offer as the best counsel that God giveth unto us in so doubtsome a case; but the most perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God his honour and glory, that ye would prefer his express commandment to your own corrupt judgments, especially in punishing of these crimes, which he commandeth to be punished with death: for so should ye declare yourselves God's true obedient officers, and your commonwealth should be rid of innumerable troubles. We mean not, that sins committed in our former blindness, which are almost buried in oblivion, shall be called again to examination and judgment; but we require that the law may be now and hereafter so established and execute, that this ungodly impunity of sin have no place within this realm: for in the fear of God we signify unto your honours, that whosoever persuades you, that ye may pardon where God commandeth death, deceives your souls, and provokes you to offend God's majesty.

CHAP. XIV.

OF BURIAL.

1. Burial in all ages hath been holden in estimation, to signify that the same body which was committed to the earth should not utterly perish, but should rise again [in the last day]; and the same we would have kept within this realm, provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion and for advantage sake * may be avoided, [such] as singing of mass, placebo, and dirge, and all other prayers over or for the dead, which are not only superstitious

* Advantage and gain.

and vain, but also are idolatry, and do repugn to the plain scriptures of God. For plain it is, that every one that dieth, departeth either in the faith of Christ Jesus, or departeth in incredulity: plain it is, that they that depart in the true faith of Christ Jesus, rest from their labours, and from death do go to life everlasting, as by our Master and his apostles we are taught; but whosoever departeth in unbelief or incredulity, shall never see life, but the wrath of God abides upon him: and so we say that prayers for the dead are not only superstitious and vain, but do expressly repugn to the manifest scriptures and verity thereof.

2. For avoiding of all inconveniences we judge it best, that neither singing nor reading be at [the] burial: for albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious think that singing and reading of the living may profit the dead. And, therefore, we think it most expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial with some honest company of the kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety, as those that are present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death.

3. We are not ignorant that some require a sermon at the burial, or else some place of scripture to be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewise they must die: but let these men understand, that the sermons which are daily made, serve for that use, which if men despise, the funeral sermons shall rather nourish superstition and a false opinion, as before is said, than that they shall bring such persons to a godly consideration of their own estate. Attour, either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in funeral sermons, or else they shall have respect of persons preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor and despised departeth; and this with safe

conscience cannot the minister do: for seeing that before God there is no respect of persons, and that their ministry appertaineth to all alike, whatsoever they do to the rich, in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge.

4. In respect of divers inconveniences, we think it not seemly that the kirk appointed for preaching and ministration of the sacraments shall be made a place of burial, but that some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, be appointed for that use, which place ought to be walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only.

CHAP. XV.

FOR REPARATION OF THE KIRKS.

1. Lest that the word of God, and ministration of the sacraments, by unseemliness of the place, come in contempt, of necessity it is, that the kirk and place where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired with doors, windows, thatch, and with such preparation within, as appertaineth as well to the majesty of [the word of] God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all other [affairs], which may not redound to their private commodity; strait charge and commandment must be given, that within a certain day the reparation must be begun, and within another day to be affixed by your honours, that it may be finished: penalties and sums of money must be enjoined, and without pardon taken from the contemners.

2. The reparation would be according to the ability and number of kirks. Every kirk must have doors, close windows of glass, thatch [or slate] able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptizing, and tables* for ministration of the Lord's supper. In greater kirks, and where the congregation is great in number, must reparation be

* A table.

made within the kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expenses are to be lifted partly of the people, and partly of the tiends, at the consideration of the ministry.

CHAP. XVI.

FOR PUNISHMENT OF THOSE THAT PROFANE THE SACRAMENTS, AND CONTEMN THE WORD OF GOD, AND DARE PRESUME TO MINISTER THEM, NOT BEING THERETO LAWFULLY CALLED.

1. As Satan hath never ceased from the beginning to draw mankind into one of two extremities, to wit, that men should either be so ravished with gazing upon the visible creatures, that forgetting the cause wherefore they are ordained, they attribute unto them a virtue and power which God hath not granted unto them; or else that men should so contemn and despise God's blessed ordinances and holy institutions, as if that neither in the right use of them there were any profit, neither yet in their profanation there were any danger: as this way, we say, Satan hath blinded the most part of mankind from the beginning; so doubt we not, but that he will strive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have seen, and presently do see the experience of the one and of the other, what was the opinion of the most part of men, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, during the darkness of superstition, is not unknown, how it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, borne in procession, and finally worshipped and honoured as Christ Jesus himself; and so long as Satan might then retain men in that damnable idolatry, he was quiet as one that possessed his kingdom of darkness peaceably. But since that it hath pleased the mercy of God to reveal unto the unthankful world the light of his word, the right use and administration of his sacraments, he assays man upon the contrary part: for where not long ago men stood in such admiration of that idol the mass, that none durst have presumed to have said the mass, but the shaven sort, the beast's marked-men; some dare now be so bold

as without all vocation, to minister, as they suppose, the true sacraments in open assemblies; and some idiots,—yet more wickedly and impudently,—dare counterfeit in their house that which the true ministers do in the open congregations, they presume, we say, to do it in houses without reverence, without word preached, and without minister. This contempt proceeds, no doubt, from the malice and craft of that serpent who first deceived man, of purpose to deface the glory of Christ's evangel, and to bring his blessed sacraments in a perpetual contempt: and further, your honours may clearly see how stubbornly and proudly the most part despise the evangel of Christ Jesus offered unto you, whom unless that sharply and stoutly ye resist, we mean as well the manifest despiser, as the profaner of the sacraments, ye shall find them pernicious enemies ere it be long; and therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, we require of your honours that without delay, strait laws be made against the one and the other.

2. We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shall be required of such, but this we fear not to affirm, that the one and the other deserve death: for he who doth falsify the seal, subscription, or coin of a king is judged worthy of death; what shall we think of him who plainly doth falsify the seals of Christ Jesus, [who is the] prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced that a balk should be taken from the house of that man, and he himself hanged upon it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the material temple [in Jerusalem]; what shall we say of those, that contemptuously blaspheme God, and manifestly hinder the [spiritual] temple of God, which is the souls and bodies of the elect, to be purged by the true preaching of Christ Jesus [and right administration of the sacraments,] from the superstition and damnable idolatry in which they have been long plunged and holden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare yourselves careless over the true religion, God will not suffer your negligence unpunished: and therefore, more

earnestly we require that strait laws may be made against the stubborn contemners of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to minister his sacraments, not orderly called to that office, lest while that there be none found to gainstand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled against the whole.

3. The papistical priests have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation: and therefore, to them must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have made in the time of blindness, [not to presume upon the like hereafter, as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy ministry], it is neither the clipping of their crowns, the greasing* of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs called the bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that make [true] ministers of Christ Jesus. But the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the heart to seek [to enter in the holy calling for] Christ's glory and the profit of his kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and public admission as before is said, make men lawful ministers of the word and sacraments. We speak of the ordinary vocation [in kirks reformed]; and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himself and by his only power, raiseth up to the ministry such as best pleaseth his wisdom.

THE CONCLUSION.

1. Thus have we in these few heads offered unto your honours our judgments, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things which heretofore have altogether been abused in this cursed papistry. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appear strange unto you at the first sight: but if your wisdoms deeply consider, that we must answer not only unto man, but also before the throne of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, for the counsel which we give in

this so grave a matter; your honours shall easily consider, that more assured it is to us to fall in the displeasure of all men in the earth, than to offend the majesty of God, whose justice cannot suffer flatterers and deceitful counsellors unpunished.

2. That we require the kirk to be set at such liberty, that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to sustain the tyranny which heretofore hath been by violence maintained, we know we shall offend many: but if we should keep silence hereof, we are most assured to offend the just and righteous God, who by the mouth of his apostle hath pronounced this sentence, "He that laboureth not, let him not eat." If we in this behalf, or in any other, require or ask any other thing, than by God's express commandment, [or] by equity and good conscience ye are bound to grant, let it be noted and after repudiate: but if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your honours take heed, how ye gainstand the charge of him whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape.

3. If blind affection rather lead you to have respect to the sustentation of those your carnal friends, who tyrannously have empired above the flock of Christ Jesus, than that the zeal of Christ Jesus his glory provoke and move you to set his oppressed kirk at freedom and liberty; we fear your sharp and sudden punishments, and that the glory and honour of this enterprise [shall] be reserved unto others: and yet shall this our judgment abide to the generations following for a monument and witness, how lovingly God called you and this nation to repentance, what counsellors God sent unto you, and how ye have used the same. If obediently ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but he shall hear you in your greatest necessity: but if, following your own corrupt judgments, ye contemn his voice and vocation, we are assured that your former iniquity, and present ingratitude, shall together crave great punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his most just judgments, when, after many offences and long blindness, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

* Crossing.

4. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence, and so bow the same to his obedience, that ye may prefer his revealed will to your own affections: and so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may punish vice and maintain virtue within this realm, to the praise and glory of his Holy Name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation and the good example of the posterity following. Amen.

From Edinburgh, the 20th of May, 1560,
by your honours' most humble servitors.

ACT OF SECRET COUNSEL, 17th OF JANUARY,
ANNO 1560.*

WE who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above-mentioned from the beginning of this book, think the same good and conform to God's word in all points; conform to the notes and additions hereto eiked; and promise to set the same forward, to the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and benefited men, who else have adjoined themselves to us, brook the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes; the sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of the word, and ministering of the sacraments.

James, duke of Chatelherault, ancestor to the duke of Hamilton.

James Hamilton, earl of Arran, eldest son to the duke of Chatelherault.

Archibald Argyle, ancestor to the duke of Argyle.

James Stewart, lord James Stewart, then prior of St Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray, known by the title of the Good Regent.

Roths, Andrew earl of Roths.

Marshall, the earl of Marshall.

John of Monteith, earl of Monteith.

Morton, James Douglas earl of Morton.

Glencairn, the earl of Glencairn.

Boyd, lord Boyd, ancestor to the earl of Kilmarnock.

William lord Hay, lord Yester, ancestor to the marquis of Tweeddale.

Alexander Campbell.

M. Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway.

Ochiltree, Stewart lord Ochiltree, now extinct.

Sanquhar, lord Sanquhar, ancestor to the earl of Dumfries.

St Johns, Sir James Sandylands of Calder, lord St Johns, ancestor to the lord Torphichen.

William of Culross.

Drumlanrig, ancestor to the duke of Queensberry.

Lord Lindsay, John lord Lindsay, ancestor to the earl of Crawford.

Master of Lindsay, Patrick, eldest son to the lord Lindsay.

Bargannie younger, Kennedy laird of Bargannie.

Lochinvar, ancestor to the viscount of Kenmuir.

Garleiss, ancestor to the earl of Galloway. Cunninghamhead.

James Haliburton.

John Lockhart of Bar.

John Shaw of Haly.

Scott of Haning.

James Maxwell, master of Maxwell, ancestor to the earl of Nithsdale.

George Fenton of that Ilk.

Andrew Ker of Fadownside.

Andrew Hamilton of Lethane.

Dean of Murray. This is probably the same with Alexander Campbell above.

The duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Marshall, Monteith, and Morton, the lord Lindsay, and the laird of Garleiss, are not in the edition printed 1621. But Knox, Spottiswood, and Calderwood, number them amongst the subscribers to this Book of Discipline. The master of Lindsay is added from Knox and Calderwood.

* 1561. The year did not begin at that time till the 25th of March.

A SHORT SUM OF THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE
FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF MINISTERS AND
READERS IN THEIR OFFICE.

I. *Doctrine*.—The word of God only, which is the New and Old Testament, shall be taught in every kirk within this realm, and all contrary doctrine to the same shall be impugned and utterly suppressed.

We affirm that to be contrarious doctrine to the word, that man has invented and imposed upon the consciences of men by laws, counsels, and constitutions, without the express command of God's word.

Of this kind are vows of chastity, disguised apparel, superstitious observation of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience' sake, prayer for the dead, calling upon saints, with such other inventions of men. In this rank are holidays invented by men, such as Christmas, circumcision, epiphany, purification, and other fond feasts of our lady: with the feasts of the apostles, martyrs, and virgins, with others which we judge utterly to be abolished forth of this realm, because they have no assurance in God's word. All maintainers of such abominations should be punished with the civil sword.

The word is sufficient for our salvation, and therefore all things needful for us are contained in it. The scriptures shall be read in private houses for removing of this gross ignorance.

II. *Sacraments*.—The sacraments of necessity are joined with the word, which are two only, baptism and the table of the Lord. The preaching of the word must precede the ministration of the sacraments. In the due administration of the sacraments all things should be done according to the word, nothing being added, nor yet diminished. The sacraments should be ministered after the order of the church of Geneva. All ceremonies and rites invented by men should be abolished, and the simple word followed in all points.

The ministration of the sacraments in no ways should be given him in whose mouth God has not put the word of exhortation. In the ministration of the table some comfortable places may be read of the scriptures.

III. *Idolatry*.—All kind of idolatry and monuments of idolatry, should be abolished, such as places dedicate to idolatry and relics. Idolatry is all kind of worshipping of God not contained in the word, as the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and all other such things invented by man.

IV. *The Ministry*.—No man should enter in the ministry without a lawful vocation. The lawful vocation standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by them both. The extraordinary vocation has another consideration, seeing it is wrought only by God inwardly in men's hearts.

No minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk without their consent; but if any kirk be negligent to elect, then the superintendent with his counsel should provide a qualified man within forty days.

Neither for rarity of men, necessity of teaching, nor for any corruption of time, should unable persons be admitted to the ministry. Better it is to have the room vacant, than to have unqualified persons, to the slander of the ministry and the hurt of the kirk. In the rarity of qualified men, we should call unto the Lord, that he of his goodness would send forth true labourers to his harvest: the kirk and faithful magistrate should compel such as have the gifts, to take the office of teaching upon them.

We should consider first, whether God has given the gifts to him whom we would choose: for God calls no man to the ministry, whom he arms not with necessary gifts.

Persons noted with infamy, or unable to edify the kirk by wholesome doctrine, or of a corrupt judgment, should not be admitted nor yet retained in the ministry; the prince's pardon or reconciliation with the kirk takes not away the infamy before men: therefore public edicts should be set forth in all places where the person is known, and strait charge given to all men to reveal if they know any capital crime committed by him, or if he be slanderous in his life.

Persons proponed by the kirk shall be

examined publicly by the superintendent and brethren, in the principal kirk of the diocese or province. They shall give public declaration of their gifts, by the interpretation of some places of scripture. They shall be examined openly in all the principal points that now are in controversy. When they are approved by the judgment of the brethren, they should make sundry sermons before their congregations before they are admitted.

In their admission, the office and duty of ministers and people should be declared by some godly and learned minister. And so publicly before the people should they be placed in their kirk, and joined to their flock at the desire of the same: other ceremonies except fasting with prayer, such as laying on of hands, we judge not necessary in the institution of ministry.

Ministers so placed, may not for their own pleasure leave their own kirks; nor yet their kirks refuse them, without some weighty causes tried and known: but the General Assembly for good causes may remove ministers from place to place without the consent of the particular kirks.

Such as are preachers already placed and not found qualified after this form of trial, shall be made readers; and as for no sort of men shall this rigour of examination be omitted.

V. *Readers.*—Readers are but for a time, till, through reading of the scriptures, they may come to further knowledge and exercise of the kirk in exhorting and explaining of the scriptures. No reader shall be admitted within twenty-one years of age, and unless there be a hope that by reading he shall shortly come to exhorting. Readers found unable, after two years' exercise, for the ministry, should be removed, and others as long put in their room.

No reader shall attempt to minister the sacraments, until he be able to exhort and persuade by wholesome doctrine. Readers a landwart shall teach the youth of the parishes.

Ministers and readers shall begin over some book of the Old or New Testament, and continue upon it unto the end; and

not to hip from place to place as the papists did.

VI. *Provision for Ministers.*—The minister's stipend should be moderated, that neither they have occasion to be careful for the world, nor yet wanton or insolent anywise. Their wives and children should be sustained not only in their time, but also after their death.

VII. *Elders and Deacons.*—Men of the best knowledge, judgment, and conversation, should be chosen for elders and deacons. Their election shall be yearly, where it may be conveniently observed. How the votes and suffrages may be best received with every man's freedom in voting, we leave to the judgment of every particular kirk. They shall be publicly admitted, and admonished of their office, and also the people of their duty to them, at their first admission.

Their office is to assist the ministers in their execution of discipline in all great and weighty matters. The elders shall watch upon all men's manners, religion, and conversation, that are within their charge; correct all licentious livers, or else accuse them before the session.

They should take heed to the doctrine, diligence, and behaviour of their minister and his household; and, if need be, admonish and correct them accordingly.

It is indecent for ministers to be boarded in an ale-house or tavern, or to haunt much the court, or to be occupied in counsel of civil affairs.

The office of deacons is to gather and distribute the alms of the poor according to the direction of session. The deacons should assist the assembly in judgment, and may read publicly if need requires.

Elders and deacons being judges of other men's manners, must with their household live godly, and be subject to the censure of the kirk.

It is not necessary to appoint a public stipend for elders and deacons, seeing they are changed yearly, and may wait upon their own vocation with the charge of the kirk.

VIII. *Superintendents.*—The necessity, nomination, examination, and institution

of superintendents are at large contained in the Book of Discipline: and in many things do agree with the examination and admission of ministers. Principal towns shall not be spoiled of their ministers to be appointed superintendents. Superintendents once admitted shall not be changed without great causes and considerations.

Superintendents shall have their own special kirks beside the common charge of others. They shall not remain in one place until their kirks be provided of ministers or readers. They shall not remain above twenty days in one place in their visitation till they pass through their bounds. They shall preach themselves thrice in the week at the least. When they come home again to their own kirk, they must be occupied in preaching and edifying of the kirk: they shall not remain at their chief kirk above three or four months, but shall pass again to their visitation.

In their visitation they shall not only preach; but also examine the doctrine, life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, readers, elders, and deacons. They shall consider the order of the kirk, the manners of the people, how the poor are provided, how the youth are instructed, how the discipline and policy of the kirk are kept, how heinous and horrible crimes are corrected. They shall admonish, and dress things out of order, with their counsel as they may best.

Superintendents are subject to the censure and correction not only of the synodal convention, but also of their own kirk and other within their jurisdiction. Whatsoever crime deserves correction or deposition in any other minister, the same deserves the like in the superintendent.

Their stipend would be considered and augmented above other ministers, by reason of their great charges and travel.

IX. *Discipline.*—As no commonwealth can be governed without execution of good laws, no more can the kirk be retained in purity without discipline. Discipline standeth in the correction of these things that are contrary to God's law, for the edifying of the kirk. All estates with-

in the realm are subject to the discipline of the kirk, as well rulers and preachers as the common people.

In secret and private faults the order prescribed by our Master should be observed, whereof we need not to write at length, seeing it is largely declared in the Book of Excommunication.*

Before the sentence proceed, labour should be taken with the guilty by his friends, and public prayer made for his conversion unto God. When all is done, the minister should ask if any man will assure the kirk of his obedience, and if any man promise, then the sentence shall stay for that time. If after public proclaiming of their names they promise obedience, that should be declared to the kirk who heard their former rebellion.

The sentence being once pronounced, no member of the kirk should have company with them under pain of excommunication, except such persons as are exempted by the law. Their children should not be received to baptism in their name, but by some member of the kirk who shall promise for the children, and detest the parents' impiety.

Committers of horrible crimes worthy of death, if the civil sword spare them they should be holden as dead to us, and cursed in their facts.

If God move their hearts to repentance, the kirk cannot deny them conciliation, their repentance being tried and found true. Some of the elders should receive such persons publicly in the kirk in token of reconciliation.

X. *Marriage.*—Persons under care of others shall not marry without their consent lawfully required. When the parents and others are hard and stubborn, then the kirk and magistrates should enter into the parents' room, and discern upon the equity of the cause without affection: the kirk and magistrate shall not suit for them that commit fornication before they suit the kirk.

* The Book of Excommunication was written in the 1567: so this Summary was not written till some time after.

Promises of children within age are null, except they be ratified after they come to age.

Bond of marriage should be proclaimed upon three several Sundays, to take away all excuse of impediment.

Committers of adultery should not be overseen by the kirk, albeit the civil sword oversee them, but should be esteemed as dead and excommunicate in their wicked fact. If such offenders desire earnestly to be reconciled to the kirk, we dare not refuse them, nor excommunicate them whom God has brought to repentance.

The party that is proven to be innocent should be admitted to marriage again. As for the party offending, all doubt of marriage would be removed if the civil sword would strike according to God's word.

XI. *Policy*.—Policy is an exercise of the kirk serving for instruction of the ignorant, inflaming of the learned to greater service, and for retaining of the kirk of God in good order.

Of the parts of policy some are necessary, and some not necessary absolutely. Necessary is the true preaching of the word, the right ministration of the sacraments, the common-prayers, the instruction of the youth, the support of the poor, and the punishment of vice: but singing of psalms, certain days of the conventions in the week, thrice or twice preaching on week days, certain places of scripture to be read when there is no sermon, with such things, are not necessary.

In towns we require every day either sermon or public prayers with some reading of scriptures. Public prayers are not needful in the days of preaching, lest thereby we should nourish the people in superstition, causing them understand that the public prayers succeed to the papistical mass. In every notable town we require that at the least once in the week, beside the Sunday, the whole people convene to the preaching.

The Sunday must be kept straitly in all towns, both before noon and after for hearing of the word. At afternoon upon the Sunday, the Catechism shall be taught, the children

examined, and the baptism ministered. Public prayers shall be used upon the Sunday as well afternoon as before, when sermons cannot be had.

It appertains to the policy of every particular kirk to appoint the time when the sacraments shall be ministered.

XII. *Baptism*.—Baptism may be ministered whensoever the word is preached, but we think it most expedient, that it be ministered upon Sunday, or upon the day of common prayers: thus we take away that error of the papists concerning the estate of the infants departing without baptism. We bring the ministration of baptism to the presence of the people, to be kept in greater reverence, and to put every one in remembrance of the promises of baptism, in the which now many wax faint and cold.

XIII. *The Table*.—The table of the Lord shall be ministered four times in the year, and out of the times of superstition. We judge the first Sunday of March, June, September, and December, to be meetest: But this we leave to the judgment of the particular kirks.

Let all ministers be more diligent to instruct the ignorant, and to suppress superstition, than to serve the vain appetites of men. The ministration of the table should never be without sharp examination going before; chiefly of them whose life, ignorance, or religion is suspected. Who cannot say the Lord's prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and declare the sum of the law should not be admitted. Whoso will stubbornly remain ignorant of the principal points of our salvation should be excommunicate, with their parents and masters that keep them in that ignorance: every master of household should be commanded either to instruct his children and servants, or cause them to be instructed; and if they will not, the kirk should proceed against them.

It is very needful that public examination of every person be made at the least once in the year, by the ministers and elders.

Every master and mistress of household should come with their household and

family, to give confession of their faith, and answer to the principal points of our religion.

We think it very expedient that prayers be had daily in privy houses at morn and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others; and this to be done by the most grave and discreet person of the house.

XIV. *The Exercise.*—In towns where learned men are, the exercise of the scriptures should be weekly. In this exercise three only shall speak, to the opening of the text and edifying of the people. This exercise shall be upon some places of scripture, and openly, that all that will may hear and speak their judgment to the edifying of the kirk. In this kind of exercise the text is only opened, without any digressing or exhortation, following the file and dependence of the text, confuting all errors as occasion shall be given. No man should move a question the which himself is not able to solve.

The exercise being ended, the ministers and elders present should convene apart and correct the things that have been done or spoken without order, and not to the edifying of the kirk. In this public exercise all affectation and vain curiosity must be above all things eschewed, lest for edifying we should slander the kirk of God.

Ministers within six miles about, should come in willingly, and also readers that would profit should come both to teach others and to learn: other learned men to whom God has given the gift of interpretation, should be charged to join themselves.

XIV. *Schools.*—Because schools are the seed of the ministry, diligent care should be taken over them that they be ordered in religion and conversation according to the word. Every town should have one schoolmaster, and a landwart the minister or reader should teach the children that come to them: men should be compelled by the kirk and magistrates to send their children to the schools: poor men's children should be helped.

XVI. *Universities.*—The universities should be erected in this realm St Andrews Glasgow, and Aberdeen: their order

of proceeding, provision, and degrees, with their readers and officers, or at length declared in the Book of Discipline; how many colleges, how many classes in every college, and what should be taught in every class is there expressed.

A contribution shall be made at the entry of the students for the upholding of the place: and a sufficient stipend is ordained for every member of the university according to their degree.

XVII. *Rents of the Kirk.*—The whole rents of the kirk abused in papistry, shall be referred again to the kirk, that thereby the ministry, schools, and the poor may be maintained within this realm according to their first institution.

Every man should be suffered to lead and use his own tithes, and no man should lead another man's tithes. The uppermost cloth, the corpse-present, the clerk-mail, the pasche-offering, tithe ale, and whole other such things, should be discharged.

The deacons should take up the whole rents of the kirk, disposing them to the ministry, the schools and poor within their bounds according to the appointment of the kirk.

All friaries, nunneries, chanteries, chapellanries, annualrents, and all things doted to the hospitality, shall be reduced to the help of the kirk. Merchants and craftsmen in burgh, should contribute to the support of the kirk.

XVIII. *Burial.*—We desire that burial be so honourably handled, that the hope of our resurrection may be nourished; and all kind of superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever thing proceedeth of the false opinion may be avoided.

At the burial, neither singing of psalms nor reading shall be used, lest the people should be nourished thereby in that old superstition of praying for the dead: but this we remit to the judgment of the particular kirks with advice of the ministers. All superstition being removed, ministers shall not be burdened with funeral sermons, seeing that daily sermons are sufficient enough for ministering of the living. Burial should be without the kirk in a

fine air, and place walled and kept honourably.

XIX. *Repairing of Kirks.*—The kirk does crave most earnestly the lords their assistance for hasty preparing of all parish kirks, where the people should convene for the hearing of the word and receiving of the sacraments: this reparation should not only be in the walls and fabric, but also in all things needful within, for the people and decency of the place appointed for God's service.

XX. *Punishment of Profaners of the Sacraments.*—We desire strait laws to be made for punishment of them that abuse the sacraments, as well the ministers as readers. The holy sacraments are abused

when the minister is not lawfully called, or when they are given to open injurers of the truth or to profane livers; or when they are ministered in a privy place without the word preached. The examples of scriptures do plainly declare that the abusers of the sacraments, and contemners of the word, are worthy of death.

This our judgment for reformation of the kirk shall bear witness, both before God and man, what we have craved of the nobility, and how they have obeyed our leaving admonitions.

Thus far out of the Book of Discipline, which was subscribed by the kirk and lords.*

* This Book of Discipline makes a large addition to the volume; but I esteem it very valuable, as giving a more perfect view of the moral state and character of the church of Scotland at the time, than is to be seen in the preceding history, or any history whatever. It is evidently, in a great measure, if not entirely, the production of Knox's pen; and that he intended it for insertion in his history will be seen by my note at the end of the third book. It had the sanction of the General Assembly; but was never enacted by parliament, so as to become legally obligatory. The second Book of

Discipline must be familiar to most Scots presbyterians, being bound up with the Westminster Confession. It is in many respects an improvement on the first, and has the merit of being much condensed. But there are several things in the first, which might have been profitably retained in the second. The latter was established by law in 1592, and confirmed in 1690 by the Revolution parliament. It had been sworn to in the National Covenant; and it remains the law of the church to this day.—*Ed.*

AN ORATION

IN FAVOUR OF

ALL THOSE OF THE CONGREGATION,

EXHORTING THEM

TO ESPY HOW WONDERFULLY THEY ARE ABUSED BY THEIR DECEITFUL PREACHERS,

SET FORTH

BY MR QUENTIN KENNEDY,

COMMENDATOR OF CROSSRAGUELL, THE YEAR OF GOD 1561.

“ATTENDITE A FALSIS PROPHETIS QUI VENIENT AD VOS IN VESTIMENTIS OVIVM, INTRINSECUS
AUTEM SUNT LUPI RAPACES.”—Matth. vii.

EVERY reader of Knox's life has heard of the famous disputation which he had in Maybole, with the Abbot of Crossraguell, though few have seen an authentic report of it. There is in the Auchinleck library, a copy in black letter, which was published by Knox himself in 1563. The proprietor, Sir Alexander Boswell, favoured the public by publishing a fac-simile edition of it in 1812, of which I have obtained a copy, and I think it will make a very acceptable addition to this volume. It is regarded as a curiosity by the learned antiquarian; but would be read with difficulty by persons not acquainted with the character and the meaning of the obsolete words. I shall give it verbatim as I have done the history, in modern orthography, with a translation of such words as require it. The Abbot in the year 1561, delivered an ora-

tion in defence of the mass, in which he made an attack on Knox by name, as a heretic and a seducer of souls to their everlasting perdition. Kennedy was a man of great talent and learning for the times. No doubt he made the best defence of the doctrine of his church against the reformers, that could be made. It is interesting to see how a man of talent, educated in the darkness of popery, and still living in that darkness, could argue from scripture, as he professes to do. I shall therefore insert the oration here, as, after perusing it, the reader is better prepared for the disputation. This curious relic is preserved in manuscript in the same library; and Sir Alexander published a black letter edition of it along with the other, to which he prefixed an advertisement as follows:—*Ed.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE religious controversies of the sixteenth century may in our days merit little regard, and therefore probably may excite little interest. To the few, however, who wish to investigate the progress of the Reformation, facts or circumstances unknown or forgotten may be valuable, as affording materials for forming a more comprehensive appreciation of the state of society, and the comparative powers and advantages of the conflicting parties. With this view, and for the satisfaction of the curious, the disputation betwixt John Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguell has been lately reprinted; and it is safer and more equitable to measure the Abbot's weakness and insufficiency from his own words, than from the partial statements of the partizans of his opponents.

Far be it from me to attempt to depreciate the merits of those who accomplished the overthrow of what, in common with a multitude, I deem blind superstition, and who left us the secure inheritance of a purer religion, which independent of its more vital interests, has operated so happily on our civil improvement: but while we do justice to the Reformers, let us treat with due liberality those of another persuasion, who, in defiance of popular violence, conscientiously stood forward in defence of their faith. Let us not assail popish bigots in a spirit of bigotry, or disgrace a cause which owes its strength to reason, truth, and free discussion, by intemperance, misrepresentation, and scurrility. The abbot of Crossraguell appears to have been one who spoke and wrote from his heart, and whose life, by the statement of friend and foe,

bore testimony to the sincerity of his professions. Rigid in his own conduct, and severe in his rebuke of others, in his Oration he attributes in a great measure the success of the enemies of the church of Rome, to the unfitness of those appointed by the magistrates to *feed the flocks*,—a confession which was honourable to him who acknowledged and reprobated this dereliction of duty.

Quentin Kennedy, abbot or commendator of Crossraguell, was the second son of Gilbert earl of Cassillis, and Isabel daughter of Archibald earl of Argyle. He is described as a man of great piety and austerity of manners, and of considerable learning. From such of his writing as are still extant, and from the titles of those ascribed to him by Dempster and Conæus, it is evident that he was a zealous and forward defender of the church of Rome, so much so, that he seems to have escaped vengeance only through the power and influence of his nephew the earl of Cassillis.

The disputation with John Knox, the bold, rude,* but indefatigable reformer, gives no mean proof of the abbot's skill and scholastic acquirements, who for three days defended his cause, though in homely language compared with the more refined style of his opponent, against the declamatory eloquence and keen arguments of so shrewd and able an antagonist. This *tridial* and nugatory conflict, left, as might be expected, a doubtful claim to victory in the eyes of their respective partizans. Conæus exults, and tells us, "Et Quintinius Kennedus, Cassilii Comitris frater, non genere quam virtute illustrior, totos tres dies cum

* Boswell takes for granted that Knox was a "rude," as well as a bold man. In this style torious and high churchmen had always been accustomed to speak of him, and Sir Alexander seems implicitly to have adopted their language.

He could scarcely have seen M'Crie's life of Knox, in which the reformer's character is presented in its true light, for it was first published in 1812, and Boswell wrote the above in May that year.—*Ed.*

eodem apostata, in magna hominum concione de religione disputata, victum tandem arena cedere coegit.* And Lesley, bishop of Ross, while he notices the disputation, extols the abbot, and adds, "Quare Knoxius, ut quam contraxerat disputando ignorantiae maculam, scribendo dilueret, disputationem illam suis commentis, nugis, mendaciis interspersam typis excudendam curat. Nam veritatem disputando cum non poterat infringere, eam si cum vitiiis [conviciis?] et dieteriis obscuret, egregie doctequae se calvinizare putat."† Knox, on his part, triumphantly published the disputation, with an introductory address which he terms a prologue, no less remarkable for force and genius, than coarse jesting on a grave subject,‡ even bordering on

indecenty. Yet seemingly not quite satisfied that the prologue and disputation might suffice, he assailed the abbot in marginal attacks, sometimes intemperate, and in no instance creditable to him who availed himself of such an opportunity of taking advantage of his antagonist. It may be remarked, that Knox's style in that tract, published under his own eye, seems perfectly different from that of the history ascribed to him, and is unquestionably superior. If it be admitted, that the style and language of the history have been altered by others, all confidence in the fidelity of that publication must be destroyed.§

Kennedy seems to have been well versed in the fathers, the oracular authorities of the church of Rome, a cart-load of whose

* "Quintin Kennedy, brother of the earl of Cassils, not more illustrious for high birth than for virtue, for three days held a disputation concerning religion with the same apostate, in the presence of a large company, when he (the apostate Knox) being defeated, had to leave the field." It has always been the practice of papists, in such cases, to claim the victory. We shall see how it was in the sequel.—*Ed.*

† "Wherefore Knox, as he had by his previous disputation, incurred the blame of ignorance, he takes care to publish it interspersed with his own comments, for when he was not able by argument to prevail against the truth, he made bold, in an excellent and learned manner, to obscure it by his crimes, his brawlings and jests."—*Ed.*

‡ Sir Alexander is here unreasonably fastidious. In the then state of society, language was in common use, that would not be tolerated now in polite circles. Fair ladies who wore crowns, spoke and wrote in terms that a well educated country girl, in the present day, would be ashamed of. The following is a specimen of Knox's "coarse jesting on a grave subject." Speaking of the wafer which papists worship, he says, "The fine substance of that god is neither wood, gold, nor silver, but water and meal made in the manner of a dramock." Then, in comparison of gods of wood, &c. he says, "According to their matter whereof they are made, they will remain without corruption many years. But within one year that god will putrefy, and then must be burnt. They can abide the vehemency of the wind, frost, rain, or snow. But the wind will blow that god into the sea, the rain or the snow will make it dagh (dough) again: yea, which is most of all to be feared, that god is a prey (if he be not well kept) to rats and mice; for they will desire no better dinner than white round gods enow. But O then what becometh of Christ's natural body? By miracle, it flies to heaven again, if the papists teach truly, for how soon soever the mouse takes hold, so soon

flieth Christ away, and letteth her gnaw the bread. A bold and puissant mouse, but a feeble and miserable god? Yet would I ask a question, Whether hath the priest or the mouse greater power? By his words it is made a god, by her teeth it ceaseth to be a god. Let them advise and then answer." This is the very worst of his "coarse jesting," in the piece referred to; but who does not see that it derives all its coarseness from the subject, which so far from being "grave," is absurd and impious. The language must appear shockingly profane to a papist, who worships a god that a mouse can eat, as the mockery of Elijah must have done to the priests of Baal, when he told them their god was asleep or from home. Those who worship the true God have no more reason to be offended with the language of the reformer than with that of the prophet.—*Ed.*

§ This does not apply to the Glasgow MS. edition, from which the present one is taken, but to those which have been hitherto in common use. It does not appear to me that there is much difference between the style of the history and the debate, farther than what might be expected from the more animating nature of the subject. In the heat of an argument a man will both speak and write in a higher tone, than when narrating plain historical facts. Yet there are passages in the history, of great animation and pathos; such as the description of the battle of the bishops in the churchyard of Glasgow, p. 50, and the discomfiture of young St Giles in Edinburgh, p. 89; to which may be added, his eloquent defences before the queen in Holyroodhouse. Boswell pays a high compliment to Knox, in the fourth paragraph, where he says, the Abbot "defended his cause in *homely language*, compared with the more refined style of his opponent." The Abbot belonged to an ancient and noble family, and should have had all the refinement of his age, while Knox belonged to a race of meaner men; yet he somehow acquired the faculty of writing the English language with a purity and force, above any other man in the kingdom,

writings he is accused of having brought down to Ayr, to overwhelm Willock in disputation, who it is said, had also an intimate acquaintance with their writings, and, the abbot alleges, quoted them falsely in support of his opinions. But this cart-load of authorities was brought in vain: Willock, having waited till ten o'clock in the morning, did not think it expedient to wait longer; and the abbot, on his arrival, not finding him at the place appointed for the disputation, had recourse to the singular expedient of taking a protest by the hands of a notary public—that the *reasoning* failed on Willock's part,—which was read at the market-cross.

Of the tracts which Kennedy is said to have published, and of which we have a list in Dempster and Mackenzie, I have hitherto seen that only which is entitled *Ane Compendius Tractive*, &c. of which there is a copy in the advocates' library, and another in the possession of bishop Cameron, now of Edinburgh. Ames mentions George Hay's *Confutation of the Abbot of Crosraguell's Mass*, &c. but takes no notice of the abbot's work; and I have not been able to learn that there is any where preserved a printed copy of it. A MS. of the work is said to be now in the library of the marquis of Stafford; and there is, in the Auchinleck library, a MS. of "*A Dialogue on the Mess between master Quentin Kennedy and his brother James*:" but, whether this be the tract alluded to is doubtful. A copy of Hay's *Confutation*, is now, I believe, in the possession of Richard Heber, Esq. Whether the *Oration* which is now offered to the public was ever before printed, is not

ascertained. Dempster talks of "*Oratio pro obedientia supremis potestatibus*," and "*Quærimonia super Knoxii fraude et impietate*." Something of all this may be found in the *Oration* and its *Epistle*. But it appears to be a general attack on the Reformers, and an open challenge to polemical controversy.

Quentin Kennedy, according to Douglas and Crawford, died in 1564, and was canonized as a saint. His canonization is a mere fable. I have no doubt that the industrious genealogist confounded the abbot with St Kinedus Eremita, whom Dempster connects with the family of Cassillis, although he flourished in the seventh century, and the surname of Kennedy was not assumed till the thirteenth. Keith notices him as the *last* abbot of Crossraguell. He must mean the last ecclesiastical abbot; for he was succeeded by Allan Stuart, who was *roasted*, the method of torture chosen by the earl of Casillis, for the base purpose of extorting a surrender of the revenues of the abbacy; but this Allan was more probably a layman.

The indignation which the abbot expresses in the *Oration* at the "confusion and wrackment," the barbarous destruction of those venerable piles reared by the piety of our forefathers, must be read by many with melancholy sympathy. For had not headlong zealots identified religion with architecture, gothic arches and fretted aisles with the mass and idolatry, "then had not the antiquities and monuments of this realm been shamefully destroyed."*
A. B.

Auchinleck, May 1st, 1812.

for at least a hundred and fifty years. There was indeed a great falling off in the style of Scots writers, after him; so that had any one attempted to palm on the world, a history in his name, he could not have come up to the

standard of his style, and the imposture would have been detected.—*Ed.*

* The clamour against Knox on this account was much exaggerated, and in some cases quite unfounded.—*Ed.*

AN EPISTLE

TO THE

NOBILITY AND PRINCIPALS

OF THE CONGREGATION.

HAVING consideration of the great fervour, zeal, and desire that your LL. [lordships] mean to have toward the true understanding and forth-setting of God's word, I have shown good will,—as it has pleased God to give me grace,—according to my judgment, to open and make patent a way whereby just trial in some part may be had of the same: and that by an oration set forth in your favours, contrary the railing, reasoning, and doctrine of those who are reckoned to be chief ministers and preachers to the congregation; so that I by accusation of their wicked and ungodly doctrine, thraving [twisting] the scripture of Almighty God by [beside] the godly meaning of the same: and they by the contrary defending their doctrine and doings, your pretence toward the just trial of the true understanding of God's word may come to some pass; not doubting but it is your LL. will and mind that the truth be tried after the manner, rather nor that Christian men shall be compelled in their conscience, but [without] other measure or reason to gainstand the

same. If your LL. or any others will find fault that I dare be so bold to impugn or accuse your preachers and ministers, because it is thought odious that any man should take the place or personage upon him to be an accuser, truly, and ye will be so good as diligently to mark and consider this our godly pretence, ye shall perceive that we do rather clothe ourself with [assume] the personage of a defender of the truth nor accuser of the verity, by reason, accusation, and inveighing against all false and ungodly doctrine, may properly be called just defence of the verity; wherefore, God willing, for bud [bribe] nor boast, while that my tongue may stir, I intend not to desist; praying the good Lord to illuminate your hearts and ours, with his spirit of verity, in such a manner as this our godly pretence may be profitable to your LL. and all others, and acceptable to Almighty God, who of his infinite mercy and grace might give you and me, and all Christian men, everlasting life. Amen.

AN ORATION

IN FAVOUR OF ALL THOSE OF THE CONGREGATION, EXHORTING THEM TO ESPY HOW
WONDERFULLY THEY ARE ABUSED BY THEIR DECEITFUL PREACHERS,

SET FORTH

BY MASTER QUENTIN KENNEDY,

COMMENDATOR OF CROSSRAGUELL, THE YEAR OF GOD 1561.

MOVED and constrained, not only by natural affection, through tenderness of blood, which is betwixt me and diverse noblemen of the congregation, but rather compelled in my conscience, I have thought expedient to bestow and apply the talent and grace which God has given me,—if there be any,—in such manner as may be to the glory of God, true setting forth of his word to those which are abused with false, wicked, and ungodly doctrine; specially in this most dangerous time, whereunto all heresies appear to be assembled and gathered together, as an arrayed host, to invade, oppress, and utterly downthrow the true faith and religion of Christian men, so dearly coft [bought] with the precious blood and death of Jesus Christ our Saviour: and to the effect that we may, by God's grace and favour, fulfil this our godly pretence and purpose, shortly will we call to remembrance a notable syllogism, or argument, set forth by a famous preacher, called John Knox, in his sermon against the mass, in manner as after follows.

All worshipping, honouring, or service invented by the brain of man in the religion of God, without his own express commandment, is idolatry: the mass is invented by the brain of man, without any commandment of God, therefore it is idolatry.

Have patience, beloved brethren in Jesus Christ, and suffer me to decypher and declare this disguised syllogism, and, God willing, I shall make you clearly understand if the same be godly, properly, and learnedly applied for confirmation of his purpose, to prove the mass idolatry. As

to the first part of his syllogism, where he does affirm all worshipping of God invented by the brain of man without express command of God to be idolatry, it is as false as God's word is true; for why did not Abel, Abraham, Noah, and diverse others of the old fathers, invent means and ways to the worshipping of God without express command of God, and was acceptable to the Lord God, as the Old Testament teaches us? Did not Cornelius the centurion in likewise invent means and ways to the worshipping of God, without express command of God, which was acceptable to God, as the New Testament plainly teaches us? Thus may we clearly perceive that this wicked syllogism above rehearsed is express against the scripture of Almighty God, both Old Testament and New. Secondly, to prove his false and wicked syllogism, improperly calls he to remembrance the scripture of Almighty God, where mention is made how king Saul made sacrifice unto God of his own brain, and was not acceptable to the Lord God.—Mark this place of the scripture, and it shall be easily perceived that it is always improperly applied; for why? his syllogism makes mention of the worshipping of God invented by the brain of man, without express command of God; and this place of scripture testifies plainly of the worshipping of God invented by the

* So, it seems, Abel, and the patriarchs found out for themselves the way of worshipping God by sacrifice; which is the same as to say, they found out the way of salvation, without God having revealed it to them!! The case of Cornelius is no better.—*Ed.*

brain of man, expressly contrary to the command of God. And so may we clearly understand that this first part of his syllogism differs far from the testimony of scripture, adduced by him for confirmation of the same; because there is a great difference betwixt the worshipping of God invented by man, without express command of God, and the worshipping of God invented by man, expressly contrary to the command of God; the one may never stand with the scripture; the other agrees with the scripture, both Old Testament and New, as I have already declared. Thirdly, it is to be marked how this testimony of scripture, where mention is made how king Saul made sacrifice unto God, is improperly applied to prove the mass idolatry, because Saul committed no idolatry, albeit he worshipped God contrary to his command; for why idolatry is to ascribe God's glory to any other nor to God himself, or to worship any other as God; which Saul did not, because he made his sacrifice and oblation to the living God, wherethrough he committed no idolatry: wherefore it is manifest, that this testimony of scripture is improperly applied for probation of idolatry. And to be assured of the same, ye shall mark the words of Samuel the prophet, speaking unto Saul: "Thou art become a fool," says Samuel, "that hast not observed the precepts of the Lord, which he has commanded thee." Mark how Samuel found fault with Saul, because that Saul brake the commandment of God, and not that he committed idolatry, for all breaking of the commandment of God is not idolatry, but all idolatry is breaking of the commandment; which difference this subtle reasoner—appearingly—has not diligently made; and albeit the scripture does affirm that stubbornness is as the wickedness of idolatry, notwithstanding stubbornness is not idolatry. Likewise the scripture does call disobedience as is the sin of witchcraft, yet disobedience is not witchcraft. Thus may we perceive, how men unlearned are oftentimes deceived by the scriptures falsely applied. Now do I appeal the conscience of all those of the congregation to be equal

judges, and discern if this syllogism above rehearsed be godly, properly, and learnedly applied, for confirmation of Knox's wicked opinion against the blessed sacrifice of the mass. For Christ's sake take heed how miserably ye are deceived by the deceitful doctrine of your devout doctor, of whom some of you have intolerable vain persuasion, thinking him to have the Spirit of God, as had Peter or Paul. Did ever Peter or Paul stir up sedition amongst the people of God by false application of scriptures, as your doctor has done, likeas I have already manifestly and abundantly proven? Did ever Peter or Paul stir up disobedience by injurious and blasphemous crying out, but shame, with open chafts [jaws], against the magistrates,—and that undeserved,—as did your pestilent preacher in plain pulpit cry out, but [without] measure or mercy, in contrary our most noble and godly princess, affirming her grace—and that falsely and wickedly—to be nursed and upbrought in idolatry, persuading to all men rather to shed their blood, nor they should suffer the mass to be stirred up again? Lord God, what Christian man's heart, yea, or what loving subject, may with patience hear this intolerable, bloody, blasphemation, fury, and wodness [madness]? Does not the scripture plainly forbid us to blaspheme the magistrates? Have pity, have pity for Christ's sake, have pity and commiseration of your own souls, and be not abused on this manner, with your deceitful wind-fallen preacher,* not knowing wherefrom he comes nor by what order.

Now will we call to remembrance another testimony of scripture, improperly applied, whereby Knox, and divers others factious preachers to the congregation, have stirred up sedition amongst the members of Jesus Christ, which is a familiar fault to him, and all deplored heretics, which ever have been since the faith first began. It is written in the scripture of Almighty God, how the Lord commanded to destroy the idolaters, and all places whereinto their

* That is, one fallen from the clouds.

idols were had in reverence, and honoured as the living God, wherewith has Knox and divers others, malheureux [unhappy or miserable] preachers to the congregation, stirred up with zeal but [without] knowledge, to wreck a great part of the policy of this realm: wherefore, in favour of the congregation, we shall show good will, according to our understanding, to make them clearly to consider, how improperly, falsely, and wickedly, are these places of scripture gathered, and applied to persuade this wicked pretence and opinion. Truth it is, the Lord commanded to destroy the idolaters, and all places whereinto their idols were had in reverence, and honoured as the living God, and that justly, by reason they biggit [built] their temples, and all other places of prayer, to the intent that their idols should be worshipped thereunto as the living God. By the contrary, I am more than assured, there was never Christian men which ever built a temple or kirk, or any other places of prayers, but to the intent that the living God should be duly worshipped thereinto: wherefore, it were the duty of all Christian men, to whom it appertains to take order in matters concerning religion, in case there were abusio[n], to correct the abusio[n] conform to the practice of the evangel, and not to make plain destruction disorderly, as men do in those days. Did not our Saviour correct the abusio[n], which he found in the temple dedicate to the honour of God, without destruction of the same? whereby we are manifestly instructed, that all temples and places, built by Christian men, to the honour of God,—in case they were abused,—are to be corrected, and not utterly destroyed, as places built by the idolaters to idols. Thus may we clearly perceive what abomination and wickedness, what fury and madness, oftentimes proceed of thrawn [perverse] interpretation, and improper application of the scriptures of Almighty God. If Knox, or any other, will affirm, that the temples and kirks of Christian men are to be destroyed as houses of idolatry, because the mass is said and honoured in them, which he calls idolatry, it is as false as God is true; for why?

the mass was instituted by Jesus Christ our Saviour, in his last supper, as God willing, we shall make the congregation and all others clearly to understand, by our little work, which is all ready to be set forth concerning the sacrifice of the mass. If it had pleased God, in due time to have stirred up the hearts of those of the congregation, diligently to have espied and marked how this testimony of scripture, and divers others, are perversely applied by their seditious preachers, contrary to the godly meaning of the same, then had not the policy of this realm been put to utter confusion and wrakment [destruction], as it is, and that not without great calamity, misery, and hurt of the commonwealth. Then had not the antiquities and monuments of this realm been shamefully destroyed, which in all other realms are highly prized and regarded, by all men of godly learning and judgment. Then had not so many poor men died miserably under dykos through hunger, cold, and poverty, for lack of charity, which is waxed cold through the iniquity of these pestilent preachers. Then had not honest men been banished from their living, in contrary to all good reason, kindness, and conscience. Then had not such fremmitness [alienations] been amongst Christian men, amongst whom God and nature require more tenderness, favour, and heartliness. Then had not such suspicion been amongst the nobility of this realm, every one looking daily for others' wrackment and mischief. Then had not been such intolerable disobedience in contrary to all magistrates both spiritual and temporal, which of all sins most horribly stirs up the ire and wrath of Almighty God, as the scripture plainly teaches us, conform to the words of the Apostle, saying, "He that resists unto the higher power, resists unto God, and works his own damnation." I will not be so bold, because it is God's private, to aggrege [aggravate] the incredible and wonderful mistemperance of the air, which continually has been in this realm since this devil's dangerous dance first began. Alas! alas! with sorrowful heart, weeping, and tears, I am constrained to desist from further aggravation of this

miserable purpose: for if I had all the eloquence that ever had Cicero or Demosthenes, I am not able to describe the hundredth part of the same. Notwithstanding, if I were of worthiness to give counsel, to those to whom it appertains to take order toward the great disorder which has been, and is stirred up daily in this realm,—by Knox and other factious preachers,—I would wish that they should show their clemency, mercy, and gentleness, to the subjects thereof, as may stand with the commonweal of the same, because the fault, principally, in times bypast, was in the magistrates, which did not provide such sufficient preachers and pastors as were able to have done their debt and deour [duty] to the flock of Jesus Christ committed to their cure, whereof but [without] doubt has proceeded chiefly a great part of the disorder: for it is oftentimes seen, because the higher powers and magistrates do not provide sufficient pastors and preachers, which are able to give sufficient instruction to the subjects first to do their debt and duty to Almighty God, thereafter to the magistrates, God permits and suffers his subjects to rebel, and be disobedient to the laws and commandments, not only of the higher powers but also to the commandments of Almighty God, taking the place of authority disorderly upon themselves, which is one of the chief punishments permitted by God to come upon the magistrates for their negligence. The example is so familiar, that we mister not [are not careful] to take pains not to be curious in cersing [exposing] of the same, praying God this fault be mended in time coming by the magistrates present; for I dare boldly say, unto the time that sufficient preachers and pastors be stirred up to feed the flock of Jesus Christ, shall never hereby be suppressed, nor disorder flemit [extinguished] out of the kirk of God.

To testify the favour and great good will that I bare to the congregation, I will make them to consider how incredibly and wonderfully they are circumvented, abused, and deceived, and that not without great danger to their souls, by their mischeant [mischievous] ministers, in ministration of

their communion. And for the more perfect understanding of the same, I will call to remembrance the sayings of which are written to the reader, in their book called the Form of Prayers, as after follows, viz. "As for the words of the Lord's supper, we rehearse them not because they should change the substance of the bread and wine, or that the repetition thereof, with the intent of the sacrificer, should make the sacrament, as the papists falsely believe." Lord God, what devilish disdain is this! which constrains them to alter the ordinance of Jesus Christ our Saviour, toward the ministration of his sacrament! Did not our Saviour command his Apostles to do as he did, saying, "Do this in remembrance of me?" Did not our Saviour consecrate the bread and wine by these words, saying, "This is my body?" why then will your wicked ministers be so blinded, through disdain, that they will not consecrate the bread and wine, rehearsing these words, "This is my body," as Christ did? Dare ye be bold to say, that Christ consecrated not the bread and wine by these words, and that this term consecrate is lately invented by the papists? I will call to remembrance the ancient godly writer Chrysostome, to bear witnessing betwixt you and me, toward the use and understanding of this profound mystery, speaking on this manner: "It is not man that makes our Lord's body and blood of the bread and wine set forth upon the table to be consecrated, but it is Christ who was crucified for us. The words are pronounced of the priest, and the bread and wine are consecrated by God's words and grace: he said, This is my body. The bread and wine which are set forth are consecrated by this word." Hitherto Chrysostome. Mark how this godly doctor and bishop xj.^c lvij [eleven hundred and fifty-seven] years bypast testifies, that the bread and wine are consecrated by the words of the last supper. And ye think no shame falsely to affirm these words to be lately invented by the papists. Ambrose, a godly doctor, approved by the kirk of God xj.^c lxxvj [1176] years bypast, writes on this manner: "Before that it be consecrate it is bread,

but after that Christ's words be come thereto, it is Christ's body." Cyprian, who was murdered for the faith of Jesus Christ xii. c. iiii. xvj [1296] years bypast, writes on this manner: "This bread, which the Lord gave to his disciples, being changed not as toward the outward forms, but as concerning nature, is made flesh by the almighty power of the word." Mark what pre-eminence, force, and effect, this godly martyr reckons to be in the words of the last supper, which are so slenderly looked on by these new evangelists. Attour, does not Luther, who was a patron of all perverse-ness against the papists, affirm the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament of the altar? and that by the force and effect of the words of the last supper, "This is my body," duly pronounced by the minister. Likewise Melancthon, speaking on this manner: "It is great fool-hardness to set forth any other doctrine concerning the understanding of this profound mystery of the supper of the Lord, nor such as has been approved by the kirk of old, affirming that it was ever the doctrine of the kirk, the real presence of the precious body and blood of our Saviour to be in this sacrament;" and to prove the same he calls to remembrance the ancient fathers of the kirk, such as Cyril, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Theophylact, and divers others. Thus may ye perceive what force and effect is reckoned to be in the words of the last supper, "This is my body," by those who in these days are plain enemies to the pope, and all papists. Truly, the bread and wine being ministered and received after this manner, by the which words of the last supper, "This is my body," are tint [lost] in the telling, may well be called and thought a simple sign indeed, or else nothing but as other common bread and wine, whereby a Christian man is as much refreshed in his soul as a thirsty man in his body, going by a tavern beholding the sign of the same. Wherefore it is to be considered, that there are some signs which only signify, and are bare signs indeed, as is the sign of the tavern. There are some signs called effectual signs, which not only do signify, but also are the same thing

which they do signify, as bread in a baker's booth window signifies bread to be sold, and is bread, the self wherewith men are corporally refreshed: so the blessed sacrament of the altar is not only a sign of the Lord's body, but also the Lord's body is really contained therein, wherewith our souls and bodies are refreshed, comforted, and supported by grace, by the which we may come to the eternal glory, conform to the words of our Saviour, saying, "He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood has everlasting life." Who likes to see farther in this purpose, let him read our little work concerning the real presence of [our Lord's] body in the sacrament of the altar. Now will we briefly collect the effect and substance of our oration, contained in three heads. In the first head is abundantly and sufficiently confuted Knox's disguised syllogism, which is his fundament whereupon he gathers and bigs all his fury, mockery, and despite against the mass, which being subverted, as it is indeed by scriptures properly applied, the rest, by reason, bigged upon this ruinous fundament, goes to the ground. In the second head is made manifest what calamity, misery, and hurt, has the commonwealth of this realm daily sustained and suffered by Knox and other factious preachers to the congregation, thraving [twisting] the scripture of Almighty God by [besides] the godly meaning of the same, to be shield and buckler to their lusts and heresies. Into the third, we testify our affection and great good will to all those of the congregation, specially such as are unlearned, giving them clearly to understand, how Knox, that mischievous minister, and the rest, play the juggler in ministration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, contrary to the ordinance and institution of Jesus Christ our Saviour, according to the doctrine and interpretation of all men of godly learning and good life, which is one of the chief sacraments whereby Jesus Christ our Saviour has appointed for salvation of man, the fruit of his death and passion, to be daily renewed and applied. And thus we conclude, not doubting but the [congrega]tion, specially those [of learning and sober] judgment, will take

this [our godly doctrine to heart] or at the least suspend their [opinion] and judgment, until the time their ministers and preachers make sufficient answer and confutation to this our oration. Wherefore, with all my heart exhorts, prays, and but mercy appeals their pestilent preachers, puffed up with vain glory, which reckon themselves of greater knowledge nor Christ's whole kirk, coming but [without] authority, subverting, suborning, and circumventing the simple people, cersing [sceking] their prey like the devil's wretches, barking boldly like bards,* against the blessed sacrament of the altar, the sacrifice of the mass, and all other godly ordinance of Jesus Christ and his kirk, to praise their wits and inginis [genius], and to stretch all their

pens in me contrary, making the congregation and all others to understand, if I do properly, truly, and godly, or not, inveigh against their devilish doctrine and doings. Failing thereof, recant, for shame, recant ye famous preachers, and come in obedience to the kirk of God, which ye have stubbornly misknown this long time bypast, and that not without great danger to your own souls and many others, therefore recant, in time, recant, as ye love your salvation, and cry God mercy: to whom with the Son and Holy Ghost, be praise, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

"Progenies viperarum fugite a ventura ira, nam securis ad radicem arboris posita est, penitentiam agite.—Matth. iii."

* In an insolent and petulant manner. "The bard was a person of great consequence with the chieftain, whose warlike deeds he celebrated and transmitted to succeeding generations.

This order of men being admitted to such familiarity in great houses would retain their petulant manners, even after their consequence was gone."—*Jamieson*.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE
COPY OF THE REASONING

WHICH WAS BETWIXT

THE ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUELL AND JOHN KNOX,

IN MAYBOLE,

CONCERNING THE MASS,

IN THE YEAR OF GOD, A THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED THREE SCORE AND TWO YEARS.

APOCALYPSE XXII.

“FOR I PROTEST UNTO EVERY MAN THAT HEARETH THE WORDS OF THE PROPHECY OF THIS BOOK,
IF ANY MAN SHALL ADD UNTO THESE THINGS, GOD SHALL ADD UNTO HIM THE PLAGUES THAT
ARE WRITTEN IN THIS BOOK.”

REASONING

WHICH WAS BETWIXT THE

ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUELL AND JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX UNTO THE READER WISHETH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE, FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUS JUDGMENT.

AFTER that the prophet Isaiah, in great vehemence, had rebuked the vanity of idols and idolaters, as in the fortieth and forty-first chapters of his prophecy doth appear, at last he bursteth forth in these words:— Let them bring forth their gods, saith he, that they may show unto us things that are to come, or let them declare unto us things that have been done before, &c. Show things that are to come, that we may understand you to be gods, let you do either good or evil that we may declare it. By which words the prophet doth, as it were, in mockage, provoke idolaters and the idols to produce for themselves some evident testimonies by the which we might be assured that in them was power, and that their religion had approbation of God. Which, when they could not do, he is bold to pronounce this sentence: Behold you are of nothing, and your making is of nothing—abomination hath chosen you. In which words the prophet condemneth both the idols and the idolaters; the idols, because they can declare nothing to prove any power or virtue to be in them why they should be worshipped as gods; and the idolaters, because from God's mouth they could bring no assurance of their adulterated and usurped religion. If this reasoning of the prophet had sufficient strength in his age to show the vanity of the idols, and the fanatic foolishness of such as worshipped them, then may the godly this day most assuredly conclude against the great idol presented by the papists to be worshipped in their mass, and against the patrons of the

same, that it and they are vain, foolish, odious, and abominable before God. It, because it hath more makers than ever had the idols amongst the Gentiles; and yet hath no greater power than they had; albeit it hath been worshipped as God himself; and they, because they worshipped their own imagination, and the workmanship of their own hands, without any assurance of God or of his word. If any think that I speak more liberally than I am able to prove, let him consider what makers the idols of the Gentiles had, and what makers the god of bread hath, and then let the power of both be compared, and let me be rebuked if I speak not the truth. The prophet in description of their vanities, maketh these degrees. "The earth bringeth forth the tree, it groweth by moisture and natural wackness [humidity], it is cut down by the hand of the hewer. A part thereof is burnt, a part spent in uses necessary to man, another part chosen to be made an idol. This is formed to the likeness of man or woman, and then set up and worshipped as a god." All these, and some more, shall we find to assist and concur in the making of this great god of bread. The wheat is sown and nourished in the earth; rain, dew, and heat bring it to maturity; the reaper or shearer cutteth it down, the cart or sledge, drawn by horse or some other beast, draweth it to the barn, or to the barnyard; the tasker or the foot of the ox treadeth it out; the fan delivereth it from the chaff; the miller and the millstones by the help of wind or water, make

it to be meal; the smith maketh the irons that give to that god his length and breadth, likeness and form; the fine substance of that god is neither wood, gold, nor silver, but water and meal made in manner of a dramock; and then must the workmen take good heed to their hand; for, if the fire be too hot, that god's skin must be burnt; if the irons be evil dight, his face will be blacked; if in making the roundness, the ring be broken, then must another of his fellows receive that honour to be made a god; and the crazed or cracked miserable cake, that once was in hope to be made a god, must be given to a baby to play him withal. And yet is not all the danger past; for, if there be not an anointed priest to play his part aright, all the former artificers have lost their labour, for without him that god cannot he made: yea, if he have not intention to consecrate, the fashioned god remaineth bread, and so the blind people commit idolatry.

These are the artificers and workmen that travail in making of this god: I think as many in number as the prophet reciteth to have travailed in making of the idols; and if the power of both shall be compared, I think they shall be found in all things equal, except that the God of bread is subject unto more dangers than were the idols of the Gentiles. Men made them; men make it. They were deaf and dumb; they cannot speak, hear, nor see. Briefly, in infirmity they wholly agree, except that, as I have said, the poor god of bread is most miserable of all other idols; for, according to their matter, whereof they are made, they will remain without corruption many years. But within one year that god will putrefy, and then he must be burnt; they can abide the vehemency of the wind, frost, rain or snow; but the wind will blow that god to the sea, the rain or the snow will make it dagh [dough] again; yea, which is most of all to be feared, that god is a prey—if he be not well kept—to rats and mice; for they will desire no better dinner than white round gods enow. But O then, what becometh of Christ's natural body? By miracle it flies to the heaven again, if the papists teach truly; for how soon soever the

mouse takes hold, so soon flieth Christ away and letteth her gnaw the bread. A bold and puissant mouse, but a feeble and miserable god. Yet, would I ask a question: whether hath the priest or the mouse greater power? By his words it is made a god; by her teeth it ceaseth to be a god: let them advise, and then answer. If any think that I ought not to mock that which the world so long hath holden, and great princes yet hold in so great veneration, I answer, that not only I, but also all godly, ought not only to mock, but also to curse and detest whatsoever is not God, and yet usurpeth the name, power, and honour of God; and also, that we ought both to mock, gainsay, and abhor all religion obruded to the people without assurance of God and his word, having neither respect to antiquity, to multitude, to authority nor estimation of them that maintain the same. The idols of the Gentiles were more ancient than is the idol in the mass. Their worshippers, maintainers, and patrons were more in multitude, greater in authority, and more excellent before the world than ever was any that bowed to that idol. And yet feared not the prophet Isaiah to mock and jest them, yea, sharply to rebuke them in these words: "They are dung [driven] backward with shame; they shall be ashamed whosoever trusteth in a graven image, and that say to the molten image, ye are our gods." All the makers of graven images are vain, their pleasing things shall not profit them; for they themselves are witnesses to their idols, that they neither see, nor understand any thing, and therefore they shall be ashamed. "Who then," saith he, "shall forge a god, or a molten image that profiteth nothing? behold all those that are of the fellowship thereof shall be confounded, for the workmen themselves are men; let them all be gathered together and stand up, yet they shall fear and be confounded together." And when he hath fully painted forth their vanity, he concludeth: "They have not understanding, for God hath shut up their eyes that they cannot see, and hearts that they cannot understand; none considereth in his heart, I have burnt half of it, even in the fire, and have baked bread also upon

the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it, and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination, shall I bow to the stock of a tree?" &c. Thus, I say, we see how that the prophet doth triumph against the idolaters, in mocking of their madness, and painting forth of their vanity. Who then can justly be offended against me or any other, albeit, by all means possible, we let the blind world see the vanity of that idol, considering that by it hath the glory of God been more obscured than ever it was by any idol in the earth; for to none was ever absolutely given the name, nature, power, and honour of God but to that idol alone. If any think that the scriptures of God give unto them patrocine [authority], either to believe Christ's natural body to be there, after the words of consecration, as they call them; either yet to believe that Christ Jesus, in his last supper, did offer unto God his Father his body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, he is miserably deceived; for the scripture maketh no mention of conversion or transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, but witnesseth that bread remaineth bread, yea, even when the faithful receive the same, as the apostle affirmeth in these words: "The bread that we break, is it not the communion of Christ's body? the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? we many are one bread, and one body, because we are all partaker of one bread." And after he sayeth: "As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye show the Lord's death till he come. Let, therefore, a man try himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup," &c. By these words we may clearly understand what judgment the apostle had of the substance of that sacrament, even in the very action of the same; and as touching that foolish opinion, that Christ Jesus did offer his body unto God his Father, under the forms of bread and wine, &c.—which the papists make the ground of their mass—what suffrage that ever it hath by man, of God nor of his word it hath none. The scripture doth witness that God the Father gave his Son unto the world, that the world might

be saved by him, and that Jesus Christ did offer himself once unto God, for the destruction of sin, and for to take away the sins of many; but that ever he did offer himself under the forms of bread and wine, as the papists allege, the Holy Ghost doth no where make mention; and, therefore, the faithful not only may reject it as the dream and invention of man, but also are bound to abhor and detest it as a doctrine brought in by Satan, to deceive such as delight not in the verity of God, to whose mouth and voice are the faithful only bound. Mr Quentin, that great patron of the mass, in this subsequent conference, adduces for the probation of his affirmative, "Christ Jesus did offer," said he, "unto God his Father, in his last supper, his body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine," &c. For the probation hereof, I say he adduces the fact of Melchisedec that brought forth bread and wine, &c. But how soon he is ashamed thereof, and how unable he is to prove that which he allegeth to be most easy to be proven, the diligent reader may espy. For perceiving himself unable ever to prove that either Christ Jesus, or yet Melchisedec, did make any such oblation, as he and the fond papists do imagine, he runneth straight to his fortress and shameless shift. "O," sayeth M. Quentin, "I have hurt my own cause, I was carried away with zeal, &c. It appertained not unto me to prove any thing, but to defend my articles as they are written." If M. Q. and his collaterals will resolve me a doubt, then will I give my judgment whether he ought to prove, or to defend only. My doubt is this, whether are M. Quentin's articles necessary to be believed to salvation, or are they such as without danger of damnation we may doubt of them? If we may doubt of them and not offend God, then assuredly I think that M. Quentin may hold them for truth, till that the falsehood of them be manifestly declared. But if they be such as we are bound to believe as a truth of God, and a doctrine necessary to salvation, then is M. Quentin bound to show to us that God hath pronounced them, and not man; which if he be not able to do, and that in plain and expressed words, then

must we reject them as deceivable and false, according as we be taught by our master, Christ Jesus, saying, "My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not hear." If M. Q. will not be reputed a false prophet, and one that teacheth lies in the name of God, and so expose himself to God's hot displeasure, he may propone no doctrine to the church of God, the assurance whereof he bringeth not from the mouth of God. If M. Q. were brawling in the schools, or bragging of knowledge amongst the philosophers, I would patiently abide that he should affirm as many paradoxes as pleaseth him; but in the church of God to affirm that God hath spoken, when God

hath not spoken, or done that which he is not able to prove by his plain word that he hath done; so to do, I say, is altogether intolerable; and, therefore, let M. Q. search the scriptures for the probation of his affirmative, or else I will cry as loud as I can, that he hath lost his cause, and is convicted a manifest liar, in that he hath affirmed Jesus to have done that which no scripture doth witness that he hath done. Let all men, therefore, that will not follow lies, detest the mass, till that it find a ground within the book of God, as I am assured it never shall; and that shall the reader more easily perceive by this conference that followeth. Read, and then judge.

THE

ABBOT'S FIRST LETTER.

M. QUENTIN.

JOHN KNOX, I am informed that you are come into this country to seek disputation, and in special to make impugnation to certain articles which were pronounced and rehearsed by me to my flock, in Kirkoswald, on Sunday last was, truly I will not refuse disputation with you, but most earnestly and affectionately covet the same, so it may be to the glory of God, and trial of the truth, like as I have, the rest of the ministers, which have been here, and could have none. Wherefore, if it please you this day eight days, in any house of Maybole you please, provided always there be no convocation passing twelve, sixteen, or twenty on either side, which is a sufficient number to bear witness betwixt us, I shall enter into reasoning with you, and, God willing, shall defend the said articles by the manifest word of God, and all good reason, as they are written, and in special the article concerning the mass. You shall be sure you shall receive no injuries of me, nor none that me pertains, nor no kind of molestation in word nor work, but familiar, formal,

and gentle reasoning; and think not that this is done for drifting of time, but by reason I am phibeit [prohibit] and forbidden by my lord of Cassilis, in name and behalf of the council, to enter into reasoning with you or any other, till his returning into the country, whose command I have promised to obey; notwithstanding and [if] he come not betwixt and the said day, I shall discharge my promise to him with diligence, wherthrough you, and all others, may see how desirous I am that the truth come to a trial, but [without] drifting of time. Also you may be sure that I am very desirous to have my lord of Cassilis, as my chief and brother's son, and others my brethren and friends, of whom I have charge, to be auditors, wherthrough, if it please God, they might have profit of our reasoning; and if you please to accept this condition, send me your promise under your hand write, and I shall send you the foresaid articles to advise on, till this day eight days; and in the meantime you may provide to be auditors such as you please, conforming to the number above rehearsed, and I the like. And if

you will nowise enter into reasoning without convocation of strangers, the whole world may see it is but perturbation, tumultuation, and cummer [trouble or inconvenience] that you seek, under the pretence of the true setting forth of God's word and glory; and this I certify you, I will not enter into disputation with you, if you come with convocation, for I will nowise be the instrument of discord; and as it is not necessary you come with convocation of strangers, by reason you have my lord of Cassilis' promise, which is sufficient warrant

to you, and all the rest within Carrick; and in the meantime, you please to receive a confutation of your syllogism which I have sent to you with the laird of Caprinton, elder, and if you defend the same well, you are more able to make impugnation to mine. Of these heads I require your answer in write, with this bearer, with diligence, wherethrough I may send away to my lord of Cassilis, as said is. And so fare you well. Of Crossraguell, this Sunday the 6th of September.

CROSSRAGUELL.

THE ANSWER TO

THE ABBOT OF CROSRAGUELL'S FIRST LETTER.

JOHN KNOX.

THE truth is, that the cause of my coming into these parts was not of purpose to seek disputation, but simply to propone unto the people Jesus Christ crucified, to be the only Saviour of the world; and to teach, farther, what are the fruits that God requireth of the members of his dear Son, &c. But hearing that you had in open audience proclaimed blasphemous articles, making promise to give further declaration of certain of them this last Sunday, likewise in open assembly, I could not but of conscience, offer myself to be your adversary in that case. And thus far for the cause of my coming yesterday to Kirkoswald.

That you have required disputation of the ministers, of whom some are yet present, and could have none, I hardly believe it; the contrary being assured to me by divers of honest report. That you offer unto me familiar, formal, and gentle reasoning, with my whole heart I accept the condition; for assuredly, my lord, so I style you by reason of blood, and not of office, chiding and brawling I utterly abhor, but that you require it to be secret, I neither see just cause why that you should require it, neither yet good reason why that I

should grant it. If you fear tumult, as you pretend, that is more to be feared where many of evil mind have a few quiet and peaceable men in their danger, than where a just multitude may gainstand violence, if it be offered. Of my lord of Cassilis' promise, I nothing doubt as touching my own person; for I stand in the protection of the Almighty, to whom I render heartily thanks when his mercy and power boweth the hearts of men to assist the cause of the just. But I wonder with what conscience you can require private conference of those articles that you have publicly proponed. You have infected the ears of the simple. You have wounded the hearts of the godly, and you have spoken blasphemy in open audience. Let your own conscience now be judge, if we be bound to answer you in the audience of twenty or forty, of whom the one half are already persuaded in the truth, and the other perchance so addicted to your error, that they will not be content that light be called light, and darkness, darkness. If you be a pastor, as you brag [boast] yourself to be, you ought to have respect to your whole flock, yea, to the instruction of all those that are offended at your blasphemies. But now to grant unto

you more than reason, I am content of the greatest number appointed by you, provided first, that the place be St John's church in Ayr, which is a place more convenient than any house in Maybole. Secondly, that noters and scribes be appointed, faithfully to take and commit to register, in open audience, both your reasons and mine, that so we may as well avoid confusion and vain repetition in speaking, as foreclose the diversity of rumours which may arise by reason of oblivion, what hath been spoken by either party. The day by you required I cannot keep, by reason of my former promise made to the master of Maxwell, and

unto the churches of Nithsdale and Galloway; but if you will send unto me your articles before the 15th of this instant, I shall appoint the day, which, by the grace of God, I shall not fail. If you send your articles to the bailies of Ayr, it shall be sufficient discharge for you. And thus craving your answer, I heartily desire God, if his good pleasure be, so to mollify your heart, that you may prefer his eternal truth, contained and expressed in his holy word, to your own preconceived opinion. From Ayr, this 7th of September, 1562. In haste.

"Yours to command in all godliness,
"JOHN KNOX."

THE

ABBOT'S SECOND LETTER;

WHEREUNTO ANSWER IS MADE BRIEFLY TO EVERY HEAD OF THE SAME.

M. QUENTIN.—John Knox, I received your writing this Monday the 7th of September, and considered the heads thereof. And, first, where you say your coming into this country was not to seek disputation, but simply to propone unto the people Jesus Christ crucified, to be the only Saviour of the world. Praise be to God, that was no newing* in this country, or [before] you were born.

JOHN KNOX.—I greatly doubt if ever Christ Jesus was truly preached by a papistical prelate or monk.

M. QUENTIN.—Secondly, where you allege that I proclaimed in open audience blasphemous articles—he is an evil judge that condemns ere he knows—then had been time to you to have called them blasphemous when you had seen them, read them, and sufficiently confuted them.

JOHN KNOX.—I had heard them; and, therefore, I feared not to pronounce them such as they are.

M. QUENTIN.—Thirdly, Where you allege that I promised declaration of the said articles on Sunday last, was my promise was, as my hand write will testify, to do the same, provided always there had been no convocation of strangers, wherethrough tumultuation and cummer might follow; and so was I exonerated of my promise, in that you came there convoyed with five or six score of strangers.

JOHN KNOX.—I lay the night before in Maybole, accompanied with fewer than twenty.

M. QUENTIN.—Apparently more like to seek perturbation and cummer, than the glory of God. As I was inhibited by my lord of Cassilis to [till] his return into the country, as I wrote to you of before, for avoiding of cummers. Ferdie [fourthly], If I required disputation of John Willock, and also of Mr George Hay, if they had ought to say to any works set forth by me, I report me to the auditory; and also, if they refused or not, to the time they had advised with the council and the brethren.

JOHN KNOX.—Mr George Hay offered

* This word is still used in Ayrshire for any thing new.—*Ed.*

unto you disputation, but you fled the barras.*

M. QUENTIN.—Where you say you cannot perceive wherefore I should desire secret disputation, truly it is not secret that is in the presence of forty persons. Where you say you doubt not of my lord of Cassilis' promise, as touching your own person, truly, apparently you refer also little to his promise, as you may, considering you come convoyed with such a number of strangers, as is above rehearsed. Where you say you stand in the protection of the Almighty, so do all good Christian men as you; but, apparently, you put as little in God's hands as you may, that go accompanied in every place wheresomever you go with such multitude. Whether it be for devotion, or protection, or rather tumultuation, God knows, for I know not.

JOHN KNOX.—You do well to suspend judgment.

M. QUENTIN.—Where you wonder with what conscience I can require private conference, truly I have many good reasons moving me; first, to avoid tumultuation, perturbation, and cummer.

JOHN KNOX.—Your reasons are as stark [strong] to yourself, as you think them.

M. QUENTIN.—Secondly, That we may have a reasonable number that may bear witness of both our parties, but [without] clamour or tumultuation. Thirdly, I am certain if we come to the just trial of the truth, their man [must] be conference of many books, which cannot be done commodiously in public audience. Attour [besides], it will be more handsome and easy for me, nor ministers, not [not to have] such crying out, as if it were in open audience; for if the victory consist in clamour, or crying out, I will quit you the cause, but [without] farther play, and yet, praise be to God, I may whisper in such manner as I will be heard sufficiently in the largest house in all Carrick.

JOHN KNOX.—The larger house the better for the auditor and me.

M. QUENTIN.—Where you say I have infected the ears of the simple, I have wounded the hearts of the godly, and I have spoken blasphemously in open audience, I marvel how you forget yourself, chiding and railing in this manner.

JOHN KNOX.—The speaking of the truth is chiding unto you.

M. QUENTIN.—Considering you said a little before, you did abhor all chiding and railing; but nature passes nurture with you.

JOHN KNOX.—I will neither interchange nature nor nurture with you, for all the profits of Crossraguell.

M. QUENTIN.—Wherefore I must bear with your babbling and barking, as do princes hear powers [perhaps, poor or inferior] magistrates, and many hundreds better nor I. Where you esteem me as a bragging pastor, saying, that I ought to have respect to my whole flock, it is question to me if it be the will of my flock to make open disputation in profound mysteries concerning the Christian religion; but yet will I not refuse, if any man will make impugnation, but [without] convocation of strangers, or tumultuation. I have heard of public disputation in schools, but not before a vulgar and rude multitude of people.

JOHN KNOX.—You are not then so well seen in the ancient writers as you brag.

M. QUENTIN.—Where you desire me to come to dispute in St John's church of Ayr, you may be sure I will not dispute with you there, for many good reasons, which to write were over prolix: but if you please to convene according to my first writing, I shall be ready at all times, upon eight days warning, and shall send you the articles eight days before to advise with. And so fare you well.—Of Crossraguell, with diligence, the same day and date.

CROSSRAGUELL.

JOHN KNOX.—This letter was none otherwise answered for that time, but by appointing unto him the place, according to his own desire, albeit that no reason could have required that of me.

* "Barras"—bounds, or lists for combatants—

"We pingyle not for spede na course to ryn,
Bot we debat suld this *barras* within,
With wappinnis kene, and with our birnist brands,"
DOUGLAS' VIRGIL, 445. 25.

THE

EARL OF CASSILIS' LETTER.

AFTER hearty commendation, forasmuch as I understand there is a disputation appointed betwixt you and the abbot of Crossraguell, in Maybole, the 28th of this instant, to the which I am not willing that any of mine make disputation with you, except it come of your occasion, for I cannot understand that any erudition shall proceed to the auditors of the same, but rather contradiction and tumult, the which I would should not be for your part, like as I am willing to cause the abbot of Crossraguell to

desist. As to whatsoever that will proffer themselves to preach the true word, conform to the consuetude of the realm, may do the same without impediment, as I wrote to you of before, in any of my rooms. And desire you to write an answer of this writing, and God keep you. Of St John's chapel, the 23d of September, 1562.

By your good friend,
CASSILIS.

THE ANSWER TO

MY LORD OF CASSILIS' WRITING.

JOHN KNOX.

AFTER hearty commendation of my service unto your lordship, your lordship's letter, dated at St John's chapel, the 23d of this instant, received I in Ochiltree, the 25th of the same. As touching the disputation appointed, the occasion did proceed of the abbot, who, in open audience of the people, did propone certain articles, whereof the most part contain deceivable doctrine, which notwithstanding he promised not only to explain, but also to maintain against any that would impugn the same. Whereof I being advertised, and so near in the country, could do no less than offer myself adversary to that doctrine, which I am assured shall be certain condemnation to all those that without repentance depart this life infected with the same. And upon that motive I repaired to Kirkcswald; where, because the abbot compared not, I preached, and after the sermon, a servant of the abbot's presented unto me a letter, containing in effect, that as he had required disputation of the other

ministers, so did he of me, and did appoint unto me that day eight days in Maybole. My answer was, that to dispute I was heartily content, but because I had appointed the master of Maxwell to be in Dumfries that same day, I desired the day to be prolonged to my returning from Nithsdale. In the meantime, by letters passed betwixt us, the 28th of this instant is appointed, which day, by the grace of God, I mind to keep. Neither yet in my judgment is there any just fear of tumult, for the persons that shall convene with me will promise and keep all quietness, and of your lordship I nothing doubt but you will take such order with your friends, that by them there shall no occasion of trouble be offered; and albeit that the erudition shall not perchance be such as the godly would desire, yet I doubt not, both the verity and the falsehood shall appear in their own colours, albeit not to all, yet to such as either have ears to hear the truth plainly spoken, or eyes to discern darkness from

light. And, therefore, I would most humbly require of your lordship rather to provoke and encourage your friend to the said disputation, than in any manner to stay him; for if your lordship does consider, that while that he openly preaches one thing, and we another, that the hearts of the people are distracted, yea, and inflamed one against another, your lordship should rather fear tumult and trouble to ensue thereof, than of mutual conference in the audience of peaceable and quiet men. The number is not great that is admitted to hear, and

therefore trouble is less to be feared. Please your lordship to understand, that the verity ought to be to us more dear than our own lives, and therefore we may not leave the maintenance of the same for fear of that whereof the issue is in the hands of God, to whose protection I most heartily commit your lordship. Of Ochiltree, in haste, the same hour your lordship's letter was received. 1562.

Your lordship's to command
in all godliness,

JOHN KNOX,

THE

ABBOT'S THIRD LETTER,

ANSWERED BY MOUTH.

M. QUENTIN.

JOHN KNOX, I perceive the policy used by you and others to make my own aye* my party. The last time you came into this country, I was persuaded by my lord of Cassilis not to rencounter you, or else, truly, you should not have passed unrencountered as you did, but you shall be assured I shall keep day and place in Maybole, according to my writing, and [if] I have my life, and my feet loose, notwithstanding any writing that is coming to me from my lord of Cassilis, therefore keep tryste, and excuse you not upon my lord of Cassilis' writ-

ing, notwithstanding that I know it is purchased by your policy to put me to shame, and yourself to advancement, which shall not lie in your power; therefore I assure you, in case I should do the same with the hazard of my life, do you the like, without excuse. And so fare you well. Of Crossraguell, this 24th of September, 1562. Attour, that there be no convocation, but conform to your writing, or else thre* score at the most, of the which twenty to be auditors on either side.

CROSSRAGUELL.

* Probably this should be twe for two, otherwise there are twenty to be admitted who belong to neither side.—*Ed.*

* Perhaps eam, relative, or nephew, as Lord Cassilis was.—*Ed.*

THE

ABBOT'S FOURTH LETTER.

M. QUENTIN.

JOHN KNOX and bailies of Ayr, this present is to advertise you that I received writing

and credit with this gentleman from my lord of Cassilis, certifying to me that he will keep day appointed for our disputa-

tion; therefore keep your promise, and pretend no joukrie [shuffling or evasion] by my lord of Cassilis' writing. And thus fare you well. Of Crossraguell, the 25th of September, 1562.

CROSSRAGUELL.

THE ANSWER TO

THE ABBOT'S FOURTH LETTER.

JOHN KNOX.—To neither of these did I answer, otherwise than by appointing the day, and promising to keep the same. For I can patiently suffer wanton men to speak wantonly, considering that I had sufficiently answered my lord of Cassilis in that behalf.

Some other letters are omitted, because they were of less importance. Follow the conditions :

The day, hour, conditions, and number agreed upon for the conference betwixt Mr Quentin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguell, and John Knox, minister at Edinburgh.

The day is the 28th of September, 1562. The place the provost's place of Maybole. The hour to convene is at eight hours before noon, the day foresaid. The number for every part shall be forty persons, besides their scribes and learned men, with so many more as the house may goodly hold,

by the sight of my lord of Cassilis. And hereupon, both the said abbot and John Knox are wholly and fully agreed. In witness whereof they have subscribed these presents with their hands. At Maybole, the 27th of September, 1562.

CROSSRAGUELL.

JOHN KNOX.

The number received within the house foresaid, and so many besides as pleased my lord and his friends, John Knox addressed him to make public prayer, whereat the abbot was sore offended at the first, but while the said John would in nowise be stayed, he and his gave audience; which being ended, the abbot said, "By my faith, it is well said." And so after that he had spoken certain words, he commanded one of his scribes to read openly his protestation as followeth.

HERE FOLLOWS

THE COPY OF THE REASONING

WHICH WAS BETWIXT THE

COMMENDATOR OF CROSSRAGUELL AND JOHN KNOX,

IN MAYBOLE,

CONCERNING THE MASS,

IN THE YEAR OF GOD 1562.

M. QUENTIN.

PERCEIVING the great perturbation, controversy, and debate which is stirred up lately in all Christian realms for the cause of religion, honourable auditors, and also being remembered [reminded] of the terrible sentence contained in scriptures toward all negligent pastors in this dangerous time, I was constrained in conscience, notwithstanding my great inability, as it pleased God to support my imperfections, to give instruction to all those committed to my cure within my kirk of Kirkoswald, how they should be able to be enarmed against all wicked and deceitful preachers, which go about not knowing wherefrom they come, nor by what order. And to the effect that our dearly-beloved flock might have been the more able to have been war with [opposed to] all false, wicked, and ungodly doctrine. Among other godly lessons contained in my exhortation, I inserted certain catholic articles, having their warrant of the scriptures of Almighty God, according to the doctrine of the holy catholic church, and burdened my conscience, in the presence of God, the said articles to be godly, necessary, and expedient to be believed by all good Christian men. John Knox, upon Sunday the 8th day of September, came unto the said church of Kirkoswald, being certified that I might not be present, and, as I was informed, to make impugnation to my said articles, wherethrough I wrote to him, certifying that I would affirm the said articles, and, in special, the article

concerning the mass, against him, or who-soever pleases to make impugnation there-to, upon eight days' warning, the place being in any house of Maybole, the number twenty on either side, without any further convocation.

Shortly, we being agreed by writing of the day, hour, and place, which was the 28th day of this instant September, I am come, conform to my writing, to affirm the said articles as they are written, beginning at the article concerning the mass. Protesting always, that I come not to dispute any of my articles as matters of faith and religion disputable, considering there is order taken already by the church of God, as I would say, by the general councils, duly convened, which represent the universal church of Almighty God, to whom it appertains, to take order whensoever question rises for matters concerning faith and religion; but, according to the doctrine of St Peter, and also St Paul, to render my debt and duty to all that inquire there for: and after that manner to abide gentle and formal reasoning of all that please, as may stand to the glory of God, and the instruction of the auditor. And to the effect fore-said, that we may come to formal reasoning, as toward the article concerning the mass, I will ground me upon the scriptures of Almighty God to be my warrant, conform to my first confirmation, which was gathered upon the priesthood and oblation of Melchisedec; and was presented you in February, and as yet has got no answer,

notwithstanding that it was of sober quantity, sixteen or twenty lines. Wherefore, please you to receive this same confirmation, yet as of before, for to be the beginning of our formal reasoning concerning the article of the mass, in manner as after follows:—The Psalmist, and also the apostle St Paul, affirm our Saviour to be a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec, who made oblation and sacrifice of bread and wine unto God, as the scripture plainly teacheth us. Now will I reason on this manner.

Read all the Evangel who pleases, he shall find no place of the Evangel where our Saviour uses the priesthood of Melchisedec, declaring himself to be a priest after the order of Melchisedec, but in the last

supper, where he made oblation of his precious body and blood under the form of bread and wine, prefigured by the oblation of Melchisedec. Then are we compelled to affirm that our Saviour made oblation of his body and blood in the last supper, or else he was not a priest according to the order of Melchisedec, which is express against the scripture.

JOHN KNOX.—John Knox protested that he might have the copy of this former writing given in by my lord in write, to answer thereto more fully, and at greater leisure; which was delivered unto him.

QUENTIN.—And in like manner, my lord protested that he might have place to reply if he thought good.

THE ANSWER OF

JOHN KNOX TO THE ABBOT'S ORATION.

GIVEN IN BY THE ABBOT BEFORE DISPUTATION, IN WRITE.

JOHN KNOX.

WHENSOEVER it pleaseth God of his great mercy to show the light, and to blow the trumpet of his true word unto the blind and unthankful world, after darkness and long silence, it hath the strength to move and waken, not only the chosen, but also the reprobate; but in divers manners: for the one it wakeneth from ignorance, error, superstition, vanity, and horrible corruption, to walk before their God in knowledge, verity, true serving of his majesty, and in purity of life. But the other it wakeneth from their former sloth, and yet to their further condemnation; for such as in the time of darkness did live as men without God, at the sound of the trumpet, calling them to repentance, add and join to their former corruption blasphemy against God, and against his eternal verity. For perceiving that the light discovereth their turpitude, and that the trumpet will not suffer them to sleep, as that they did

before, without open reproach, they shame not to call light darkness, and darkness light; good evil, and evil good. And to bring that to pass, to wit, that the light shine no more, doth the whole band of such as oppose themselves to the verity of God so earnestly travail, that sluggards and effeminate men become active and strong soldiers to the devil. The examples hereof are in scripture so common, that they need no long rehearsal. For what was the estate of the false prophets and priests in the days of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micaiah, and the rest of the true prophets of God.

What care, I say, they which by ordinary succession ought to have taught the people of God, took over their charges, the complaints and attestations of the true prophets used against them do witness; in the which they call them dumb dogs, blind watchmen, such as regarded nothing but ambition, riotous cheer, and lusts of the

flesh, pastors that feed not the flock, but feed themselves. Finally, they term them men, from the most to the least, given to avarice, apostates that had left God, his laws, statutes, and ordinances, and had laid themselves down to sleep in the midst of corruption, out of the which they could not be wakened.

But yet how vigilant and active they were to resist the true prophets, and the doctrine offered by them, the scripture doth likewise testify. For then was Isaiah, and such as adhered to his doctrine, held as monsters in the eyes of the proud priests and of the multitude. Then was Jeremiah accused of treason, cast into prison, and condemned to death. Then was Micaiah openly struck upon the mouth; and, briefly, then did none of the true prophets of God escape the hatred and cruel persecution of those that claimed the title and authority to rule in the church. The same may be seen in the days of Jesus Christ; for how negligent and careless was the whole Levitical order (a few excepted), these words of our Master, Jesus Christ, do witness: "Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye steak [shut] the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves do not enter; and such as would enter, ye suffer not." But when the trumpet began to blow in the mouth of John the Baptist; and when Jesus Christ began to preach, and to make more disciples than John did; when John called them a progeny of vipers, and Jesus Christ did term them blind guides, how careful was the whole rabble then, is easy to be espied. For then were ambassadors sent to John to know by what authority he made such innovation among the people, and in the religion of God. Then was Christ Jesus tempted with sharp and subtle questions. Then was he accused for breaking of the traditions of the ancients. Then was he called Beelzebub; and in the end he was procured to be hanged betwixt two thieves. And by whose diligence was all this brought to pass? Was it not by them who before had abused the law, blinded the people, deceived the simple, and under the title and name of God, had set up the devil and all abomination to reign over

men. For in place of God's true worshiping, they had erected a market, and filthy merchandize, in the temple of God. The ejection whereof did so enrage those dumb dogs, that with a bay they began to bark against Jesus Christ, and his most wholesome doctrine: and that, because the zeal of that great god their belly, did altogether consume and eat them up. These things we know to be most true; and therefore we ought not to wonder albeit the true word of God retain its own nature, and that the self same thing chance now in our days that heretofore hath been fully performed. As for myself, I nothing doubt but the great perturbation, controversy, and debate, lately stirred up in all Christian realms for cause of religion, is the cause that my lord abbot hath been of late days troubled with unaccustomed labourers. For if the superstition, idolatry, pride, vain glory, ambition, unjust possessions, superfluous rents [revenues], and filthy living, used and maintained heretofore by such as claim the name and authority of the church, had not been openly rebuked, and a part thereof, in despite of Satan, suppressed, it may be thought that my lord, in this his impotent age, could have contented himself with the selfsame ease and quietness that in his younger age and better ability he enjoyed. But now the trumpet soundeth condemnation to all negligent pastors, and thereof is my lord afraid; and, therefore, to discharge his conscience he will take the pains to instruct his flock, and to warn them to beware of false teachers. I will interpret all to the best part. If my lord's eye be single, his work is good; but if the light that appeareth to be in him, and in his sect, be nothing but darkness, how great shall the darkness be! My lord is a clerk, and needeth no interpreter of such places of scripture. Yet for the simple, I say, that rightly to teach the flock of Jesus Christ, requireth right institution in Christ's own doctrine; for else a zeal without knowledge is nothing but the cause of further blindness. Yea, if the blind lead the blind, the ignorant idolater take upon him to teach the ignorant people of long time brought up in idolatry: neither

of both can escape condemnation, so long as they follow that train. And, therefore, it will nothing unburden my lord's conscience albeit that after his negligence and long silence he begin to cry to such as he terms his flock, beware of false prophets; for it may be that himself be one of that number; yea, perchance, the falsest that they have heard this hundred years. For if he be a false prophet that teacheth men to follow strange gods; that prophesies a lie in the name of the Lord, and speaketh to the people the divination and deceit of his own heart; that causeth the people to err, and leave the old paths, and to walk in the path of the way that is not trodden; that constantly say to them that have provoked God to anger: the Lord hath spoken it; ye shall have peace; and to all that walk after the lusts of their own hearts there shall no evil chance unto you, &c. If, finally, they be false prophets that be avaricious, and study for advantage, that sew pillows under the arm-holes of wicked men, and lay sinners asleep, and promise life to them to whom they ought not to promise it. If these be false prophets, I say, as the scripture affirmeth them to be, then standeth my lord abbot in a wondrous perplexity, and such as believe him in no less danger. For God hath never pronounced such articles as my lord calleth wholesome doctrine, the chief of them, to wit, the mass, purgatory, praying to saints, erecting of images and such other, have no assurance of God's word, but are the mere dreams, statutes, and inventions of men, as their particular examination, if my lord pleaseth to abide the trial, will more plainly witness; and, therefore, it is no sufficient assurance to the conscience of the auditory that my lord burden his conscience in the presence of God that his articles be godly, necessary, and expedient to be believed. For so have ever the false prophets done when they and their doctrine were impugned. Did not the prophets and priests of Baal affirm their doctrine and religion to be godly against the prophet Elijah? They did not only burden their conscience, but also offered themselves to suffer trial, God himself being judge, before the king, and

before the whole people. The self-same thing did the false prophets against Micaiah and Jeremiah; and, therefore, yet again, I say, my lord's conscience, if a blind zeal be worthy of the name of conscience, will neither save himself nor others, because it is not grounded upon God's revealed will nor promise. If my lord thinketh that the holy catholic church is sufficient assurance for his conscience, let him understand that the same buckler had the false prophets against Jeremiah, for they cried, The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord; but as he with one stroke did burst their buckler asunder, saying, Put not your trust in lying words: so say we, that how catholic, that is universal, that ever their church hath been, holy are they never able to prove it, neither in life, making of laws, nor in soundness of doctrine, as in my answer, given by mouth, I have more plainly shown. It pleaseth my lord to term us wicked and deceitful preachers, who go about not knowing wherefrom we came, nor by what order. And, further, he feareth not to pronounce our doctrine false, wicked and ungodly, for of us, and our doctrine, it is plain that my lord meant, and meaneth.

I answer, that as by God's word we accuse the whole mass of man's nature, of corruption and wickedness, so do we not flatter ourselves, but willingly confess ourselves so subject to corruption and natural wickedness, that the good that we would do, we do it not, but the evil that we hate, that we do; yea, we do not deny but that in our lives and outward conversation there be many things both worthy of reformation and reprehension. But yet, if our lives shall be compared with the lives of them that accuse us, be it in general, or be it in particular, we doubt not to be justified, both before God and man. For how many ministers this day within Scotland is my lord abbot, joining with him the whole rabble of the horned bishops, able to convict to be adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, bloodshedders, oppressors of the poor widow, fatherless, or stranger; or, yet, that do idly live upon the sweat of other men's

brows. And how many of them, from the highest to the lowest, are able to abide an assize of the forenamed crimes. And yet shall we be called by them wicked and deceitful preachers, even as if the strongest and most common harlot that ever was known in the bordell [brothel], should slander and revile an honest and pudick [chaste] matron. But in somewhat must the sons resemble their father.

The devil, as that he is a perpetual enemy to truth, and to an honest life, so is he a liar and accuser of our brethren; and, therefore, albeit such as serve him in idolatry, and all filthiness of life, spue out against us their venom and lies, with testimony of a good conscience, we refer vengeance to Him to whom it appertaineth; neither yet would we have once opened our mouths for the defence of our own innocency, for God be praised, even before the world it will utter itself, were it not that in slandering our lives they go about to deface the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, whereof it hath pleased his mercy to make us ministers: and in that case let them be assured, that the lies, which without shame and assurance they cause to vomit out against us, with shame and double confusion they shall justly receive again in their own bosoms. If my lord abbot allege that he accuseth not our lives and external conversation, but our doctrine, which he terms false, wicked, and ungodly, we answer, that as that doth more grieve us nor the slandering of our lives, so doubt we nothing but that he that made his favourable pmes [promise] to Jerusalem in these words: "All instrument that is prepared against thee shall not prosper, and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment, thou shalt rightly convict and condemn of impiety." We doubt not, I say, but the same God will in this our age confound the tongues that oppose themselves to his eternal verity, which is the ground and assurance of our doctrine. And, therefore, we nothing fear to say that my lord in the end shall speed no better, if he continue in that his irreverent railing, than such as heretofore have blasphemed Jesus Christ and his eternal verity, to the which, albeit for the present

they will not be subject, and that, because our persons and presence, whom God maketh ministers of the same, are contemptible and despised; yet in the end they shall feel that in rebelling against our admonitions, they were rebellious to the mouth of God, and in defacing us, they have despised the eternal Son of God, who of his mercy hath sent us to rebuke their impiety, and to reduce to knowledge, and unto the true pastor again, such as through blind ignorance have followed the inventions and dreams of men, and have sought justice, remission of sins, and reconciliation with God, by other means than by Jesus Christ, and by true faith in his blood. But of this point I know my lord most doubts, to wit, whether God hath sent us or not? For my lord says we go about not knowing wherefrom we come, nor by what order; we answer, that in our consciences we know, and he himself will bear us record, that we are not sent by that Roman antichrist, whom he calleth pope, nor yet from his carnal cardinals, nor dumb-horned bishops: and thereof we rejoice, being assured that as we are not sent by Christ's manifest enemy in the earth, so are we sent by Jesus Christ himself, and that by such order as God hath ever kept from the beginning when public corruption entered into the church by sloth, and impiety of such as of duty ought to have fed the flock, and to have retained the people under obedience of God, as well in religion, as in life and manners. The order of God, I say, hath been in such public corruptions, to raise up simple and obscure men, in the beginning of their vocation, unknown to the world, to rebuke the manifest defection of the people from God, to convict the pastors of their former negligence, sloth and idolatry, and to pronounce them unworthy of their offices. For so was Elijah sent in the days of Ahab; Jeremiah in the time of corruption under Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah; Amos under Jeroboam, and the rest of the prophets, every one in their own time; and after the same order hath God raised up in these our days such men as my lord and his faction term heretics, schismatics, Zuinglians, Lutherans, Oeco-

lampadians, and Calvinists, to prove the pope to be an antichrist, his whole glory in the earth to be altogether repugnant to the condition of Christ's true ministers; the mass to be idolatry, and a bastard service of God; yea, more corrupted than ever was the sacrifice in the days of the prophets, when yet they affirmed them to be abominable before God; purgatory to be nothing but a pickpurse; the defence of man's free will to do good and avoid evil, to be the damned heresy of Pelagius; the forbidding of marriage to any estate of men or women to be the doctrine of devils; and the forbidding of meat, for conscience sake, to proceed of the same fountain; the erecting images in churches, and in public places of assemblies, to be against the expressed commandment of God; prayer for the dead, and unto saints, to be work done without faith, and therefore to be sin. Briefly, God hath raised up men in these our days so to discover the turpitude and filthiness of that Babylonian harlot, that her very golden cup, in the which her fornication was hid before, is become abominable to all such as trust for the life everlasting. And they have, further, set so vehement a fire in the very ground of her glory, that is, in her usurped authority, that she and it are both like to burn to their uttermost confusion. My lord and his companions fear no such threatenings; they are but railing knaves that despitefully speak against their holy mother the church. I have already said that the prophets in their days were even so rewarded of those that had the same title and dignity that now our adversaries claim, and yet did they not escape the plagues pronounced; and in the same confidence stand we, rejoicing further, that howsoever they repine, storm and rage, yet they that are of God hear us, know the voice of Jesus Christ speaking in us his weak instruments, and do fly from that horrible harlot, and from her filthiness, which is to us a sufficient assurance that God hath sent us for the comfort of his chosen. But my lord perchance requireth miracles to prove our lawful vocation; for so doth Vincet, procurator for the papists. To both I answer, that a truth by itself, without mi-

racles, hath sufficient strength to prove the lawful vocation of the teachers thereof, but miracles, destitute of truth, have efficacy to deceive, but never to bring to God. But this, by the grace of God, shall be more fully entreated in the answer to Vincet's questions thereupon. And yet one word must I say before I make end to my lord, and unto the rest of the pope's creatures, and it is this: if they will study to keep themselves in credit and estimation, let them never call our vocation in doubt, for we incontinent will object to them, that from the most to the least, there is none amongst them lawfully called to serve within the church of God, but all commit simony, all are heretics, all receive the spirit of lies, and the leprosy of Gehazi. And, finally, being accused in their first ordination, they neither can give grace nor benediction to the people of God; and thus, by their own law, I offer myself to prove as evidently as my lords bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of that sect, are able to prove themselves called to ecclesiastical function, as they term it, by their father's bulls, and confirmation of the pope. I wonder not a little that my lord should allege that I was certified that he might not be present at Kirkoswald the day that first I offered myself to resist his vain and blasphemous articles. I am able to prove that by his promise he had bound himself oftener than once to be present; and, also, that by famous gentlemen, that same Sunday, in the morning he was required either to come and teach according to his promise, and so to suffer his doctrine, in audience of such as he named his own flock, to be tried, or else to come and hear doctrine, and with sobriety and gentleness to oppose at his pleasure. These two heads, I say, I am able to prove; but that I was certified that he could not be present, &c. I think it shall be as hard to prove, as to prove that Melchisedec made sacrifice of bread and wine unto God. But my lord shall have liberty of me to allege in such cases what pleaseth him, so long as his allegation shall not pre-judge the verity, nor give patrocynie [authority] to a lie in matters of religion. It is not of great importance whether I was

certified or not that my lord could not be present, as he allegeth. I presented myself at the day appointed, and that is some argument that I greatly feared not my lord's presence. The letters that have passed betwixt us, together with some answers that I differed, (perhaps deferred,) shall be put in register before the disputation, that men may see the whole proceedings of both parties. And this much by writ to my lord's first oration given in, in writ.

Now followeth my answer to the rest, given at that same instant by mouth.

JOHN KNOX ANSWERETH BY MOUTH.

BECAUSE I perceive, both in your protestation and article, that you dispute not upon these matters as disputable, but as of things already concluded by the kirk, general councils, and doctors, I must say somewhat in the beginning how far I will admit of any of the forenamed. And of the kirk, first, I say, that I acknowledge it to be the spouse of Christ Jesus, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets; so that into all doctrine it heareth the voice of the spouse only, and a stranger it will not hear, according to the words of our master Christ Jesus. "My sheep hear my voice," &c.; and, therefore, if that any multitude under the title of the kirk, will obtrude unto us any doctrine necessary to be believed to our salvation, and bringeth not for the same the express word of Jesus Christ or his apostles, &c. men must pardon me although I acknowledge it not to be the kirk of God for the reason foresaid. And unto the general councils I answer the same, to wit, that such as hath been gathered duly, and in the name of God, for extirpation of heresies, with my whole heart I do reverence, provided always that the doctrine that they propone to be believed have the approbation of the plain word of God, or else with that ancient I must say, that more credit is to be given to a man, bringing for him the testimony of God's scriptures, than to a general council, affirming any doctrine without the same. And as concerning the authority of the doctors, for whom I praise my God, as that I do for all them whom he maketh profitable instruments in his kirk, I

think my lord will bind me no straiter than he hath desired to be bound himself, that is, that men be not received as God; and, therefore, with Augustine I consent, that whatsoever the doctors propone, and plainly confirm the same by the evident testimony of the scriptures, I am heartily content to receive the same; but else, that it be lawful to me with Jerome to say, whatsoever is affirmed without the authority of God's scriptures, with the same facility it may be rejected as it is affirmed. And these three admitted, so forth I enter into disputation.

M. QUENTIN.—There are divers heads wherewith I am offended, willing that the purpose we come for may go shortly to pass; therefore, presently I will omit, and as the occasion shall serve of the doctors, councils, and aught else, which are not expressly contained in the scriptures; and thus quickly go to the purpose.

JOHN KNOX.—You are not ignorant, my lord, that in every disputation the ground ought so to be laid, that the matter disputable, or the question, either come under a perfect definition, or else under a sufficient description: and, especially, when the question is, *De voce simplici*, as is *Missa*. If it please your lordship to define the mass, or yet sufficiently to describe it, I will take occasion of that which I think wrong; and if not, then must I explain my mind what mass it is that I intend to impugn, and have called idolatry; not the blessed institution of the Lord Jesus, which he hath commanded to be used in his kirk to his gaincoming, but that which is crept in into the kirk visible, without all approbation of the word of God. And this mass, I say, hath a name, a form and action, an opinion conceived of it, and an actor of the same. And unto the whole four, I say, that neither the name, the form and action, nor the opinion, nor actor, have their assurance of God's plain word.

M. QUENTIN.—As to the definition or description that I gave the last year, I will abide by it this year, for I am not come in use of *est* and *non est*. And as to the mass that he will impugn, or any man's mass, yea, and if it were the pope's own mass, I will maintain nothing but Jesus Christ's

mass, conform to my article as it is written, and definition contained in my book, which he has taken on hand to impugn.

JOHN KNOX.—As I can conceive, my lord's answer containeth three heads: the first is, a relation to his book as containing the definition of the mass. The second a declaration of his lordship's constancy. And the third, an affirmation, that he will affirm no mass, but the mass of Jesus Christ, yea, not if it were the pope's own mass. Unto the first I answer. That I have not read his lordship's book,—not excusing thereuntil my own negligence,—and therefore it appeareth unto me, that rather his lordship, should cause the definition to be read out of his book, nor to burden me with the seeking of it. As concerning his lordship's constancy, I beseech the eternal God, to make us all constant, in his eternal verity; for inconstancy in the truth, cannot lack infamy, and great danger. But to me it appeareth, that in no wise it can hurt the fame, nor conscience of the godly, to confess themselves men, who both may err, and also be occasion that others err. And yet, when that the fuller knowledge cometh unto them, by the Spirit of God, no man ought to impute unto them inconstancy, albeit they retract their former error, as in divers heads did that learned Augustine. But the third head doth most delight me, to wit, that my lord hath affirmed that he will defend no mass, but the mass of the Lord Jesus: which if his lordship will perform, as my good hope is, then I doubt not, but we are on the very point of a Christian agreement. For whatsoever his lordship shall prove to me, to be done by the Lord Jesus, that, without all contradiction, I shall embrace. Providing that his lordship allege nothing to be done, by Jesus Christ, which his own institution witnesseth not to be done.

M. QUENTIN.—I define the mass, as concerning the substance, and effect, to be the sacrifice and oblation, of the Lord's body and blood, given and offered by him, in the last supper. And take the scripture to my warrant, according to my article as it is written. And for the first confirmation of the same, grounds me upon the sacrifice

and oblation of Melchisedec. To the second, I thank John Knox of his praise and prayer of my constancy, and in like manner for Christian charity's sake, praise God with all my heart, for his indurateness and pertinacity,—if so be that he be in error,—and will wish him, that he be willed to refuse his pertinacity, as I shall do my constancy if I be in error. To the third, for avoiding of cavillation, I mean that I will defend no mass as concerning the substance, institution and effect, but that mass only, which is institute by Jesus Christ.

JOHN KNOX.—Omitting to further consideration, the answer to the definition to the last two heads I shortly answer, that I praised no constancy, but that which is in the truth. And as touching my own indurateness, wherewith my lord seemeth to burden me, I plainly protest before God, that if I knew myself in error, in that case, or in any other, that concerneth the doctrine of salvation: I should not be ashamed, publicly to confess it. But the last part of my lord's answer appeareth somepart to vary, in my judgment, from his former affirmation, which I took to be, that his lordship would defend nothing in the mass, which he was not able to prove, to be the very institution of Jesus Christ. And therefore, must I have recourse unto the former division of the mass: which is in name, action, opinion, and actor. And humbly require of his lordship, that he would signify unto me, if he would be content to prove the name to be given by Jesus Christ: the whole action and ceremonies from beginning, to the end, to be the ordinance of Almighty God. The opinion, which hath been conceived, taught, and written of it, for to be agreeable with the scriptures of God. And finally, if that the actor hath his assurance of God, to do that, which he there publicly protesteth he doeth.

M. QUENTIN.—As willing that the truth come to a trial, I will not trifle, but shortly give for answer. I will begin at the best first, which is the substance and effect. And as to the ceremonies, actor and name, shall defend them abundantly, God willing, conform to my article when I come thereto,

JOHN KNOX.—The ceremonies used in the mass, and the opinion conceived of the same, have been holden substantial parts thereof, into the conscience of a great multitude. And therefore, ought the conscience of the weak and infirm first to be delivered from that bondage. For what my lord affirmeth of the mass,—to wit, that it is a sacrifice,—this perchance may be also alleged to appertain to the right institution of Jesus Christ, in some case, which once was void, both of those ceremonies, and that damnable opinion.

M. QUENTIN.—I am not coming here to maintain the opinions of men, but to defend the institution of Jesus Christ, conform to my article.

JOHN KNOX.—It appeareth to me yet again, that my lord is willing to defend nothing, but the very institution of Christ Jesus. And I have already affirmed, that neither the name of the mass, the ceremonies used in the same, the opinion conceived of it, neither yet that power, which the actor usurpeth, hath either the institution or assurance of Jesus Christ.

M. QUENTIN.—I am willing to defend my definition concerning the mass, as I have defined it, and take God's word to my warrant, and as to the ceremonies, actor and all the rest shall defend, God willing, to be agreeable with God's word although abundantly as time and place shall serve, beginning first at the substance and effect.

JOHN KNOX.—I answer, that albeit in my judgment, the conscience of man ought first to have been set at liberty, yet hoping that my lord will be content, according to his promise, that the name, ceremonies, and the rest of the accidents of the mass suffer the trial by the word of God. I am content shortly to enter in the body of the matter; and desireth the definition to be resumed.

M. QUENTIN.—I promise, before this honourable auditory, to defend that all contained in the action of the mass to be agreeable with God's word, providing always we gang [go] to the substance.

The definition being resumed: JOHN KNOX answered.—Your lordship is not ignorant, that in every definition, there ought

to be, genus, which I take your lordship here maketh this term (*sacrificium*), but because the term is general, and in the scriptures of God is diversely taken, therefore it must be brought to a certain kind. For in the scriptures there be sacrifices called *eucharistica*, that is, of thanksgiving. The mortification of our bodies, and the obedience that we give to God, in the same, is also called sacrifice. Prayer and invocation of the name of God hath also the same name within the scriptures. Liberality toward the poor, is also so termed. But there is one sacrifice, which is greatest, and most of all, called *propiciatorium*, which is that sacrifice, whereby satisfaction is made to the justice of God, being offended at the sins of man, &c. Now I desire of my lord that he appoint unto the mass, which of these sacrifices best pleaseth him.

M. QUENTIN.—What ye mean by the sacrifice *propiciatorium*, presently I will not dispute. But I take the sacrifice upon the cross, to be the only sacrifice of redemption, and the sacrifice of the mass, to be the sacrifice of commemoration of Christ's death and passion.

JOHN KNOX.—So far as I can conceive of my lord's answer, he maketh no sacrifice *propiciatory*, in the mass: which is the chief head, which I intend to impugn. For, as for the commemoration of Christ's death and passion, that I grant, and publicly do confess, to be celebrate in the right use of the Lord's supper, which I deny the mass to be.

M. QUENTIN.—It is your duty according to formal proceeding, to impugn my warrant, which I have chosen, to defend my definition by, and article even as it is written.

JOHN KNOX.—Protesting that this much is won, that the sacrifice of the mass being denied by me to be a sacrifice *propiciatory*, for the sins of the quick and the dead, according to the opinion thereof before conceived, hath no patron, at this present: I am content to proceed.

M. QUENTIN.—I protest that he has won nothing of me as yet, and refer it to black and white, contained in our writing.

JOHN KNOX.—I have openly denied the

mass to be a sacrifice *propitiatory* for the quick, &c., and the absence thereof is denied. And therefore I refer myself unto the same judges that my lord hath claimed.

M. QUENTIN.—Ye may deny what ye please, for all that ye deny I take not presently to impugn, but where I began there will I end, that is, to defend the mass, conform to my article.

JOHN KNOX.—Seeing that neither the name, the action, the opinion, nor the actor of the mass, can be defended for this present, I would gladly know what I should impugn.

M. QUENTIN.—All above rehearsed can be defended, and shall be defended, God willing, and where ye are glad to know, what ye should impugn, appearingly that should be no newings to you, for I certify you, ye should impugn my warrant alleged for defence of my definition and article.

JOHN KNOX.—If by your warrant ye understand the oblation made in bread and wine by Melchisedec, I plainly deny, that Melchisedec made any oblation or sacrifice, of bread and wine unto God, and desire the text to be judge.

M. QUENTIN.—It is your part to impugn, and mine to defend, for I am the defender, and shall be God willing.

JOHN KNOX.—Can I impugn more plain than when I deny your ground?

M. QUENTIN.—I say the denying of the ground is no proper impugnation.

JOHN KNOX.—Your lordship's ground is, that Melchisedec is the figure of Christ, in that, that he did offer unto God bread and wine, and therefore, yet it behoved Jesus Christ to offer in his last supper his body and blood, under the form of bread and wine. I answer to your ground, yet again, that Melchisedec offered neither bread nor wine unto God. And therefore it, that ye would thereupon conclude, hath no assurance of your ground.

M. QUENTIN.—Prove that.

JOHN KNOX.—Whether that the probation of a negative, should be devolved upon me, especially when I have denied your chief ground, I am content the learned judge.

M. QUENTIN.—Moved through fervour

of the trial of the truth of God's word, I refuse logic captious cavillations for the present,—not perchance for ignorance,—but yet we tyme [lose] not time, to finish and establish our godly pretence for the ease and quietness of the conscience of the noblemen here present.

JOHN KNOX.—I have else [already] protested, that I abhor all cavillations, and yet again declare unto your lordship, that in my judgment it is the way most succinct, yet your lordship prove your own ground, that is, that Melchisedec offered unto God bread and wine, which I deny.

M. QUENTIN.—I take the text to be my warrant and ground.

JOHN KNOX.—The text being read, the 14th of Genesis. There is no mention made of any oblation of bread and wine made by Melchisedec unto God, but only that Melchisedec being king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine. And that being priest of the most high God, he blessed Abraham as the text beareth witness. And therefore I say that the text proveth not that any oblation of bread and wine was made unto God by Melchisedec.

M. QUENTIN.—Ye do affirm that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine. I spier [ask] at you to what effect?

JOHN KNOX.—Will ye devolve upon me now, the person of an answerer, seeing that ye refused yourself of before the same.

M. QUENTIN.—This which he calls answering, is more properly to be called impugnation in this case, in that, finding the text to serve nothing for my purpose, is plain impugnation to my pretence. And so are ye clad rather with the personage of an impugner, nor [than] a defender.

JOHN KNOX.—Whether that I sustain the personage of an impugner, or of a defender, I am not bound to answer what was done with the bread and wine after that it was brought forth. It sufficeth to me for my former purpose, that there is no mention made in the text, that bread and wine by Melchisedec was offered unto God.

M. QUENTIN.—It ryndes [remains] to you to prove, that Melchisedec made no oblation of bread and wine unto God.

JOHN KNOX.—It sufficeth to me, that in

the text there is no mention made that Melchisedec made any oblation of bread and wine unto God, as ye before alleged, and have laid for your ground.

M. QUENTIN.—I say the words of the text are plain that Melchisedec made oblation of bread and wine unto God, and desire you to improve [disprove] the same by the text.

JOHN KNOX.—My inprobation is already led. For in the text there is no mention of oblation of bread and wine made unto God. And therefore I am content, that the whole world judge, whether the ground be not sufficiently improven or not.

M. QUENTIN.—Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine, which he did not without cause, and ye deny that he brought it forth, for the cause, that I allege, *ergo*, for some other cause. Which if ye will not, nor cannot show presently, I shall do diligence to cause the present auditory understand clearly, that he brought forth bread and wine for the cause alleged by me. Providing that if ye will not show the cause presently, that ye shall have no place to show it hereafter.

JOHN KNOX.—I answer that he brought forth bread and wine, the text plainly affirmeth, and I have already granted. But that he made oblation of the same, because the text purporteth it not, I cannot grant it. As touching the cause wherefore he brought it forth,—if place shall be given to conjectures, and that not grounded without great probability, and also with suffrage of some of the ancients, to wit, Josephus and Chrysostome.—It may be said that Melchisedec being a king, brought forth bread and wine, to refresh Abraham and his weary soldiers. And this, for your satisfaction of the cause, why he brought forth bread and wine: ever still sticking upon the principal ground. That because no mention is made, that Melchisedec made oblation of bread and wine unto God, I deny it as of before.

The penult of September, 1562.

M. QUENTIN.—Of John Knox's sayings above rehearsed, I conceive two heads in special, the one is, that Melchisedec made no oblation unto God, but he did bring

forth the bread and wine, to refresh Abraham and his company. I will answer unto the said heads formally, and on this manner. First, I will make impugnation unto the last head where it is thought that he did refresh Abraham and his company. In that, the text is manifest in the contrary, in so far as the text testifies, that Abraham and his company were refreshed by the spoils of the enemies, and were not refreshed, nor mistered na [nor needed any] refreshing of Melchisedec, wherefore it is manifest that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine unto another effect, not to refresh Abraham and his company.

JOHN KNOX.—My former proof, that Melchisedec did not offer bread and wine unto God, standeth upon this ground, that the text maketh mention of no manner of oblation made there unto God of bread and wine. And therefore in a matter of so great importance, dare not I affirm oblation to be made, while that the Holy Ghost keepeth silence. And now unto my lord's argument, first, I answer, that there is no contradiction betwixt these two, Abraham and his company were refreshed of the spoils of their enemies, and Abraham and his company were refreshed of the liberality of Melchisedec. And first, because in the time when Abraham and his company received their nourishment of the substance of their enemies, they were out of the presence of Melchisedec, and not returned unto their country. But albeit that they had been even in the presence of Melchisedec, yet they might have been nourished, partly by his liberality, and partly by their own provision. And thirdly, because the text doth not affirm that Abraham and his were nourished only of the spoil. I cannot admit my lord's argument.

M. QUENTIN.—For satisfaction of the auditory, and to come quickly to the point without drifting of time I will refuse reasoning, after schoolmanner, and will go yet to the text, and depend thereupon. And on this manner saying,—save only that which the young men have eaten,—I infer of this text, that it does appear, yea, and is manifest, that there remained more nor was

eaten, by Abraham and his company, for the present.

JOHN KNOX.—I do not deny, but there remained substance, which was neither eaten nor consumed by Abraham and his company, but what shall be hereof concluded.

M. QUENTIN.—I infer that not only there remained substance, but there remained much more substance, nor Abraham and his company were able to consume, yea, and to give a great deal away, for why, Abraham was victor of four kings, where-through he obtained a great spoil, and not only of four, but also he got the spoils of other five, and got all their vivers and meat, wherethrough it is manifest by the very plain text, that Abraham and his company had much more meat nor they were able to consume, and so mistered [needed] he nor his company no refreshing of Melchisedec, considering he and his company were but a meme number,* as I would say, three hundred and eighteen.

JOHN KNOX.—The victory of Abraham is in the text specified, as also the number of the kings vanquished. And that there remained substance, yea, much more than was spent, I do not deny. But this will not necessarily conclude, but that Melchisedec of his liberality brought forth bread and wine to the purpose foresaid: as by conjecture is most probable. For men of godliness and civil honesty, do not only show themselves liberal in time of extreme necessity, but also will declare their benevolence without great need, yea, and in greatest abundance.

M. QUENTIN.—Because John Knox speaks of substance indifferently, I will desire him to declare his opinion, conform to the text, whether Abraham and his company, recovered of the nine kings' spoils, bread and wine, and other sustenance, which truly, albeit the text do not purport the same in plain words, yet can no man of judgment think otherwise, as I can give many hundred examples in the scriptures,

and one in special, where Jesus Christ our Lord speaks in his own prayer, called the *Pater noster*, of daily bread, whereunto is to be understood all required unto the sustentation of man, albeit the text does not expressly declare the same.

JOHN KNOX.—I have spoken of substance in general, so instructed by the plain text, which maketh mention neither of bread nor wine, in expressed words, other nor of that which Melchisedec brought forth. And by all appearance, there could not any great store of bread and wine be carried back again by Abraham and his company, after the victory of his enemies. For plain it is, that he brought nothing back, which they before did not carry away,—himself and his company only excepted,—we read that they took the prey of Sodom and Gomorrah, and carried with them the substance, yea, and the victuals, Lot his substance, &c. Now albeit, that in the beginning their victuals had been great, yet being such a company as we may justly suppose them to have been: and also being arrived within their own coasts, it is not appearing that great store was reserved. But howsoever it be, this matter standing in conjecture, we will of necessity conclude nothing, seeing that the Holy Ghost hath not expressed it. As touching my lord's allegation of the daily bread, &c. I acknowledge with his lordship that to be the familiar phrase of the scripture, that under the name of bread, is commonly taken all things necessary for the use of man's body, like as these, *frange esurienti panem tuum, &c.*

M. QUENTIN.—Having consideration that John Knox would cast in a suspicion in the hearts of the honourable auditory,—saving his pardon,—by continual repetition of this word conjecture, we will do as God will give us grace, to take this policy out of the hearts of the auditory, and that by proper description of arguments of inference or conjecture, wherefore the auditory shall consider, that there are some conjectures and arguments of inference which necessarily concludes and follows upon. And are called notwithstanding arguments of conjecture or inference, because the one word is not the other, nor does not expressly

* 'Meme number,' evidently a misprint for 'mean number,' or small number,' as is manifest from the context.— *Ed.*

conclude the other, as for one familiar example, *spirat ergo vivit*, as I would say, he aindes [breathes], *ergo* he lives. Wherefore I infer that this conference of phrase, or manner of speech, where it is said in the text, all their victuals, necessarily infer bread, wine, and all other things expedient to be eaten, considering there was great abundance in the cities which were spoiled, as do this phrase, break unto the hungry thy bread, and so whatsoever may be inferred of the one phrase, necessarily may be inferred of the other.

JOHN KNOX.—Hitherto I have travailed, to make difference betwixt that, that man of necessity is bound to believe, and that which man may either believe, or not believe, without any hurt of conscience. What God in expressed words and sentences, hath committed to us within the scriptures, and commanded the same to be believed, he requireth of us that necessarily we believe the same. But where the Spirit of God hath kept silence, and hath not in plain sentences, declared unto us the will of God our Father, there may a man suspend his judgment without hurt of conscience; yea, and more sure it is, not boldly to affirm, that which is kept close by the wisdom of God, than that we should rashly affirm any thing, without the warrant of God's word, as we are taught by the admonition of Augustine. As touching the diversity of arguments, I know both the strength of them that are called *necessario concludentia*, and of those which stand in probability, which both I grant to have the strength in persuasion: but the faith of man requireth a surer ground, than any argument that can be deduced from nature, to wit, it requireth hearing, and that hearing of the word of God, according to the doctrine of the apostle. Now to my lord's argument, I say it doth not necessarily conclude, that Abraham and his soldiers brought more ready meat, such as bread and wine back from their victory, than they were able to spend, albeit that they carried with them the whole substance, yea, the whole victuals of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. Because that in the journey some might have been lost, in the jour-

ney no doubt but much was spent, and in the victory the rest might have been dispersed or lost. For by all appearance Abraham had small respect to bread and wine, more than to that which might reasonably sustain him and his company unto their return. And thus from conjecture we shall continually pass to conjecture, unless that my lord be able to prove, that the text affirmeth in plain words, that such superfluous abundance of bread and wine was brought back, unto the time that Melchisedec met him, and although his lordship be able so to do, as I am assured no man is able, yet shall always Melchisedec and his liberality stand still unconvicted.

M. QUENTIN.—To meet all the heads contained in John Knox particularly above rehearsed, notwithstanding apparently I am constrained to the same. Yet always in favour of the auditory, I will go shortly to some special heads. And first where he makes one *meine* [complaint], that I go by natural reasons to persuade, to take the suspicion of men justly off me in this head, I say and do affirm, that I have done not [nothing] in that cause as yet, but conform to the scriptures althrough [throughout]. And where John Knox speaks in general of meat, our contention was for bread and wine, which I inferred necessarily of the text. And desire him to give me one reason shortly, grounded upon the scripture, wherefore the phrase alleged by me concerning the meat shall not include bread and wine as well as his phrase concerning the bread, by his opinion, without express scripture shall include all kind of other meats.

JOHN KNOX.—I purge myself first, that I neither burden my lord with informality, neither yet, that his lordship travaileth by natural reason only, to persuade to man. But because the whole state of the cause, as I understand, standeth in this, whether that Abraham and his soldiers brought back again superfluity of bread and wine or not, I have desired the same to be proven by the expressed word. The phrase is not mine only, but I did agree with my lord bringing in the same first. And now why I think that Abraham, and his, brought no

superfluity of bread and wine back again? the reason is, because the text doth plainly affirm, that victuals, besides the other substance, was carried away by the enemies. But that any victuals, besides the substance were brought back again, there is no specification.

M. QUENTIN.—Because I perceive John Knox does not meet the head of my article where I do mark the conference [analogy, agreement] betwixt the phrases of the scriptures alleged by us both: wherein—after my judgment—consists the *marekis point** of the purpose, I will travail no further therein, notwithstanding that I have ground of the scripture abundantly. And so I will go to another head, to assure the reader that Melchisedec brought not forth bread and wine, to refresh Abraham and his company, I will ground myself properly upon the text, and on this manner. The text says, *protulit* or *proferens*, which is in the singular number, as, one person bringing forth bread and wine, wherefore necessarily it concludes he brought not forth bread and wine to refresh a multitude, as Abraham and his company was, which was not possible to one person to do: but only to make sacrifice conform to my beginning.

JOHN KNOX.—What I have answered, the benevolent reader shall after judge, to the present conjecture of my lord; I answer, that if Melchisedec alone without all company had brought only forth so much bread and wine, as he was able goodly to carry, yet shall it not be necessarily concluded, that therefore he brought it not forth to gratify Abraham, for a small portion may oftentimes be thankful to many, but my lord appeareth to shoot at that ground, which I have not laid for my principle. And therefore albeit his lordship should win it, yet my former strength were little diminished,—in my judgment,—for unless his lordship be able to prove by the plain words of the text, that the bread and wine were brought forth to be offered

unto God, my principal ground doth always abide. But the phrase of the scripture, and also the ordinary manner of speaking, doth oftentimes attribute to the principal man, that which at his commandment, or will is done by his servants or subjects, whereof I offer myself, to show in scriptures, more testimonies than one, with time. And yet this is not my chief ground, but this I speak for explaining of the text.

M. QUENTIN.—Of the former article I mark two heads in special, which does not only give appearance for my pretence, but plainly does convict, as the godly and inaffectionate reader may clearly perceive. The first head is, where John Knox does allege that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine, to refresh Abraham and his weary company, which plainly differs from his speaking present, saying, that it was to gratify Abraham and his company, whereinto there is such manifest difference as it gives plain persuasion, his ground in this head to be nought. Secondly, it is against the order of nature, to think that any one man,—let be one king and one priest,—should bring forth that might gratify, let be to refresh such a multitude as three hundred and eighteen weary persons.

JOHN KNOX.—What my lord's judgment doth move in the hearts of the auditory, I remit to their own judgment, but I plainly affirm, that neither in my word, nor in my ditement, is there any such repugnance or difference, as justly may convict me to have an evil ground. For in my former sayings, my words were, that by probable conjecture, the bread and wine were brought forth by Melchisedec, to refresh Abraham and his weary company. I did not affirm, that he and his whole company were thereof wholly refreshed. And in my latter words, I say, that albeit there had been no more bread and wine, than Melchisedec only brought forth, yet doth it not thereof necessarily conclude, that the same were not brought forth to gratify Abraham. In which manner of speech, this term gratify, doth neither repugn, nor yet differ, from the term refresh, otherwise, commonly doth in manner of speech, *genus* and *species*, that is to say, the more general and the inferior.

* The *marekis point*. The object directly aimed at—the bull's eye—a metaphor borrowed from archery—signifying here—the main point in question.

For in so far as Abraham and his company were refreshed by the bread and wine,—were it never so little,—in so far doth he bring it forth, to gratify him. Protesting plainly, that unwillingly I am compelled thus to answer.

And thus endeth the second day's travail, all wholly spent to answer my lord's shifting. Whereto he was moved, because he was not able to prove that Melchisedec offered bread and wine unto God, as willingly once he took to prove.

M. QUENTIN.—As does John Knox, so do I with all my heart, remit me to the judgment of the auditory in this head: and will not report the heads, of his former article for avoiding of prolixity. But now will I conclude with one argument.

And thus begins M. Quentin the third day, having this argument written in paper which he causeth to be read.

M. QUENTIN.—Whatsoever opinion is conceived of the scriptures of Almighty God, having no express testimony nor appearance of the same, is all utterly to be refused, as says John Knox himself. But so it is, that John Knox's own opinion, conceived or contracted of the scripture, concerning the bringing forth of bread and wine by Melchisedec, to refresh or gratify Abraham and his weary company, is not expressly contained in the scripture, nor has no appearance of the same: therefore it follows well, that it is all utterly by his own judgment to be refused.

Moved on godly zeal,—honourable auditory,—that in this dangerous time, the truth should come to trial, in such manner, as the conscience of such, as are perturbed, so far as lies in our sober possibility, should be established, and at quietness: we set forth certain articles, as pleased God to give us grace, unto the which, John Knox took on hand to make impugnation: specially to the article concerning the mass, day hour and place being appointed and observed, I come to defend my articles, and in special my article concerning the mass. And according to the same, took me properly to my warrant grounded upon God's word: unto the which warrant, John Knox, as yet, has made no impugnation,

but desired me to sustain and defend the name, the actor, the ceremonies, the opinion of men conceived of the mass, and if it was a sacrifice *propitiatory*. I being willed, that we shortly should go to the ground, and effect, and substance of the purpose wherefore we come, I stood by my article and warrant as they are written: not refusing to defend the heads above rehearsed, as time and place should serve. And notwithstanding that I was sufficiently grounded upon God's word, which I took to be my warrant, and took likewise upon me, far above my ability, the place and personage of a defender: notwithstanding through occasion that served, as work will bear witness, I was constrained to take upon me the personage of a pursuer, far by [beside] my appetite, yea, and the will of my cause: and also by the opinion of all such as would the will of the same, moved on godly zeal,—as God be judge,—that the truth should come to a trial, to the pleasure of God, and satisfaction of the honourable auditory, I being clad with the personage of an impugner, expressly contrary to my mind, for such causes as are above rehearsed, I made impugnation, not by manly [human] imaginations, but by the manifest word of God. And that three manner of ways: first to take away John Knox's conceived opinion, that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine, to refresh or gratify Abraham and his weary company, I called to remembrance, how that the spoils of nine kings, and of certain cities too, were recovered by Abraham, wherethrough he and his company were sufficiently refreshed, and had enough to be refreshed on, so that they mistered [needed] not to be refreshed with bread and wine of Melchisedec. Secondly, where John Knox made question, that they had not bread and wine, I returned again to the text to verify the same. Which says, and all things pertaining unto meat. Inferring that in this phrase was contained bread and wine, conform to the phrase of the scripture, where mention is made only of bread, containing all things necessary for man's sustentation, he finding this not sufficient satisfaction. Yet zeid [yield] I not to man's imagination, but to

the plain text, and grounded myself upon the words of the text, saying, Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine: inferring, in that it was spoken in the third person singular, it was against the order of nature, to think that a man should bring forth—especially he that was a king and a priest, to take that pains to bring forth—bread and wine, that might gratify, let be to refresh, three hundred and eighteen men. Seeing that invincible persuasions properly gathered upon the text, could nowise bring John Knox to confess that thing which appeared unto me conform to the scriptures of Almighty God, and all good reason he should have confessed. Then concluded I with the scriptures, as I did begin, as my conclusion will bear witness, that he would have justified his opinion conceived of the scripture, conform to his own sayings by the express word of God. And of my liberality will grant him yet, if he has any manner of appearance of the same, notwithstanding he said to me he would not give me one hair of his head if I should stand there seven years.

JOHN KNOX.—Protesting first, that I may answer in writ unto the former argument, because as I perceive it was before conceived in writ, I enter in shortly unto the long discourse made by my lord: not willing to answer every part thereof, but only so much as may appear to infirm the just cause. And first, where that my lord affirmeth that I have made no impugnation unto his lordship's article concerning the mass, I am content that not only this honourable audience, but also the whole earth, be judge in that point. For I have plainly denied that either the mass hath approbation of the plain word of God, either in name, action, opinion,—to wit, written of the mass, taught of the mass, and in the conscience of men, conceived of the mass,—and finally that the actor thereof, for his usurped power, hath no great assurance of God's word. Which whole heads being denied to be disputed, at the present, against my lord's article and ground, I did thus reason: that his lordship was not able to prove that Christ Jesus in his last supper did offer his body and blood unto God

his Father, under the forms of bread and wine. His lordship, taking for his proof the alleged sacrifice of Melchisedec in bread and wine offered unto God, I did likewise deny that Melchisedec did at that time—to wit, in the presence of Abraham—offer either bread or wine unto God, which hath been these two days bypast in controversy betwixt his lordship and me. I have always denied that the Holy Spirit in any notable or evident place of scripture doth affirm such a sacrifice to have been made by Melchisedec unto God: and while that I did hear no place of scripture adduced for the approbation thereof, my lord demanding of me, what then I thought was done with the bread and wine? I answered, that albeit I was not bound to my judgment, because that he was bound to prove his affirmative, as yet I say he is bound, and thereof I will be content that his lordship's most favourable friends, of best judgment, yea, even if his lordship please, the lords of the session, be judges in that point. I answered, I say, that by conjecture, the bread and wine were brought forth by Melchisedec to refresh Abraham and his weary company. Upon which occasion his lordship, how justly let all men judge, did clothe himself again, without my procurement, with the personage of an impugner; and did adduce such things as best pleased his lordship: whereto I did answer, as the whole conference will report, and as I suppose, sufficiently to every thing objected, except that because my lord did not touch the exposition alleged by me upon the words, Melchisedec alone did bring forth bread and wine, as my lord allegeth, I deferred to bring in the conference of scriptures to prove that it is a thing in scripture very common, that the thing that is done at the command of any notable person is attributed unto himself, although it be done by servants or subjects at his command, which I do now shortly. It is said in scripture that Noah did all that God commanded him: and plain it is that God commanded him to make the ark, which was in building the full space of a hundred years. God further commanded him to furnish the ark with all kind of

victuals, which the text affirmeth that he did. Now if we shall conclude, that Noah alone cut every tree, Noah alone did hew every tree, and so forth, it appeareth to me that we shall conclude a great absurdity. The same is evident in David, of whom mention is made, that he, being prophet and king, divided to the whole people, yea, unto the whole multitude of Israel, yea, both to men and women, a portion of bread, a portion of flesh, and a portion of wine.

If we shall think that David did this with his own hand, we shall conclude in my appearance the former absurdity. The same is manifest by many other phrases, yea, and by our daily manner of speaking. And therefore yet, as of before, I think my lord's exposition coact [forced, constrained], in that he will admit none to have brought forth the bread and wine but Melchisedec alone. But howsoever it be, it moveth me nothing; for until such time as that my lord, in plain words pronounced by the Holy Ghost, prove that Melchisedec did offer unto God bread and wine, he hath proven nothing of that which he took on hand to prove. And therefore I greatly fear, that while that which his lordship calleth the best is so long in finding a sure ground within the scripture, that the rest in the end be found altogether groundless, at the least, within the book of God. And therefore I desire, as of before, to hear his lordship's probation of the principle.

M. QUENTIN.—I am sorry that we are constrained on this manner, to drive time, either party in justification of his own cause: but wish quickly to go to the mark's point, as I have ever done, conform to my article and to my warrant: and make the whole world to judge, whether it is my duty, after formal reasoning, to defend the said articles, or to prove, or to impugn. Where John Knox makes a mane [complaint,] that I have brought my arguments or purposes in writ: what I have in word, or writ, or otherwise, I praise God. But the truth is, according to my custom, I made memory [memoranda], after my repose of such heads, as I thought I was able to have business ado with all. And that I

did by the grace of God only, not that I am ashamed to be learned with any man that will teach me. And as to the conclusion of his particle, where he does make mane, that I have no ground of the scripture for the mass, as he believes, will God shall frustrate his expectation in that and all others; and assures him will God shall justify the mass as sufficiently, conform to my article, as he and all the rest of his opinion in Christendom shall be able to justify by express scripture, or any other mean, that Jesus Christ is one substance with the Father. And that it be not thought that these are wanton words, likeas the matter should not come to pass, but that I would trifle the matter, I will desire John Knox most humbly and heartily, for Christ's sake, let us go shortly without trifling to the purpose, and let work bear witness. And so requires to resume my argument, and say thereto formally as effects.

JOHN KNOX.—Because that every man must give accounts before God, not only of his works, but also of his words and thoughts, I will make no further protestation, whether that I have defended hitherto my own opinion or a manifest truth, or whether that I have impugned any truth of God or a manifest lie,—let this be said with reverence of all persons, for the justness of the cause,—leaving, I say, the judgment to God, I say that I have in plain terms justly oppugned both the grounds, brought forth by my lord for defence of his article. For in plain words I have denied, that Jesus Christ, in his last supper, did make any sacrifice of his body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, unto God his Father; and likewise I have denied, that Melchisedec did offer unto God bread and wine as of before; which grounds, because my lord hath not hitherto proven, I must hold them as impugned and oppugned: ever while [until] I hear the ground of Melchisedec plainly proven by plain scripture, to wit, that the plain scripture say, that Melchisedec offered unto God bread and wine, or that it be of any plain and evident scripture, plainly convicted that so he did. His lordship ought not to think it strange, although I require to answer in

writ, to that argument, which his lordship hath propounded, conceived before, and committed in writ, for such I take to be the liberty of all free disputations. Whose labour it was, or is, I nothing regard. For so long as God doth minister unto me spirit and life, with judgment and ability, I intend, by his grace, to oppugn that which in my conscience I hold to be damnable idolatry. And where his lordship saith, that he is as able to affirm the mass, which I impugn, to be the ordinance of God, as that I or any of my opinion, is able to prove Jesus Christ to be one substance with the Father, with reverence of his lordship's personage, blood, and honour, and with the reverence and patience of the whole auditory, I say, that the assertion is not only rash, but also most dangerous, yea, and in a part blasphemous. For, for to compare the greatest mystery, yea, the whole assurance of our redemption, with that which, as it hath been used, hath no approbation of God's word,—for that I have impugned and intend to impugn,—cannot lack suspicion of a lightly esteeming of our redemption. And to cut the matter short, the former question being decided, to wit, whether that Melchisedec did offer unto God bread and wine, I offer myself without further delay to prove that Jesus Christ is of one substance with the Father; and that by the evident testimonies of God's scriptures. And therefore yet, as of before, I humbly require his lordship to prepare him for his probation of the former, to wit, of the oblation of Melchisedec.

M. QUENTIN.—Where John KNOX does affirm that in plain terms he has justly impugned both the grounds brought forth by me for defence of my articles, I answer, that I deny that he has made any impugnation. And where he says, that in plain words he has denied that Jesus Christ in his last supper did make any sacrifice of his body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, unto God his Father, or that Melchisedec did offer unto God bread and wine, as of before, I answer, that it is his duty to make impugnation to my assertion, conform to my warrant; for denying is no proper nor sufficient impugnation.

And where he says, that because I have not hitherto proven the said grounds, &c. I answer, that it is my duty to defend and not to prove, conform to my article and my warrant. And where he desires time to answer to my argument, proponed this day in writ, I freely grant it unto him. And where John Knox says, that my assertion is not only rash, but also most dangerous, yea, and in one part blasphemous, I answer, that where he says, I am too rash, I wish his modestness in this same such as becomes a sincere Christian, like as he is reckoned to be. And where he calls my assertion in one part blasphemous, then had been time to have called it blasphemy, when he had proven it indeed sufficiently. And where he says it is dangerous, there is no danger, it being understood as I say and truly mean. For I am more nor assured, that Jesus Christ our Lord is one substance with the Father, and also that Jesus Christ is the author and instigator of the mass. And so does not one verity make impugnation to another. But in this manner of speaking, I will plain my industry given unto me by the grace of God, willing to contrafit the wisdom and prudence of the wise and prudent mediciner, for we are, and should be of reason, mediciners to the soul, for like as the prudent mediciner does expel a venom or poison by contrapoisson, so would I expel the damnable heresies of the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Æcolampadians, against the blessed sacrifice of the mass, by conference with the damnable heresies of the Arians, who did allege ten testimonies of scripture for one, giving more appearance to prove that Christ was not one substance with the Father: nor does the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Æcolampadians, to prove that the mass is idolatry, as I shall sufficiently justify, as may stand to the glory of God and weal of my cause. To the latter part where he says, To cut the matter short, the former question being decided, to wit, whether that Melchisedec did offer bread and wine unto God or not, he offers himself without further delay to prove that Jesus Christ is one substance with the Father, &c. I answer to the hinder part of this particule. I

wish of God, he, and all others of his opinion, mistered as little probation or persuasion to the one, as I do to the other, as I would say, to believe the mass to be the institution of Christ Jesus, as I do more than assuredly believe Christ to be one substance with the Father, and desires no probation thereof: but shall, God willing, prove the one by the scripture as express as he shall prove the other. And where he humbly desires me to prepare myself for the probation of the former, to wit, of the oblation of Melchisedec, I humbly and heartily desire John Knox, as he will testify his fervour, that the truth come to a trial; and as he will satisfy the expectation of the noble auditory, that he will make impugnation formally according to his duty, to my last argument and conclusion.

JOHN KNOX.—Were my lord to unburden himself of that which by all reason he ought to sustain, to wit, to prove his affirmative by himself proponed, saith, that to deny is not properly to impugn, I answer, that in that case it is most proper, for he that proponeth for himself an affirmative, and his adversary denying the same is ever still bound to the probation thereof, and the adversary hath ever still impugned it until he prove it, and thereupon I desire judgment. To the second, I still affirm that it is his lordship's duty to prove his affirmative, whereupon standeth the victory of his whole cause, which is by me in plain words denied. To the third, I thank his lordship heartily, and promise unto him an answer again in writ, this present conference being put to a sufficient end. To the fourth, as my protestation will witness, I speak against the assertion only, and not against the person: which yet, in my judgment, lacketh not suspicion of the former crimes. For howsoever my lord be persuaded of the ground and assurance of the mass, the assurance whereof I have not yet heard, I myself am fully assured that there be more than ten thousand who evidently do know the vanity and impiety of that mass which I have impugned: who, notwithstanding, most constantly believe Jesus Christ to be of one substance with the Fa-

ther; yea, that do believe whatsoever by the scriptures of God, can be proven necessary for the salvation of man. Therefore, yet again I say, that to lay in any manner of equality, that which is most sure, and that which was never yet plainly proven by the scriptures of God, to be the institution of Jesus Christ, is more subject to the crimes foresaid, than that I can be subject to any suspicion of immodesty for my former words. To the blasphemy, I answer as before. Immediately to the sixth, how that ever my lord understandeth and meaneth, that his lordship is as able to prove the mass to be the institution of Jesus Christ, as I am able to prove Christ to be one substance with the Father: I think that a great number will think my lord's affirmation very hard to be proven. And I myself will still continually doubt, until the time I hear the probation read. To the seventh, as touching my lord's comparison of the mediciner, and of his lordship's industry, what the pastors of the church ought to be, the scriptures plainly do teach us: but what universally they have been these nine hundred years bypast, histories, experience, and recent memory have taught us, yea, and presently do teach us, to the great grief of all Christianity. Where that his lordship doth in plain terms condemn the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Æcolampadians of heresy, I would have required of his lordship delay of time, according to his desire of me, until the time that their cause had been sufficiently tried in a lawful universal counsel, duly indicted and convened. But where that he compareth the doctrine of the forenamed with the damnable heresy of Arius, I would likewise have wished unto his lordship greater foresight in so grave a matter. For howsoever the Arians appeared to abound in testimonies of scriptures, without all ground, indistinctly congested, and that because they made no difference betwixt the two natures in Jesus Christ, but did foolishly appropriate to the Godhead that which did only appertain to the manly [human] nature, yet think I, that my lord shall never be able, by plain scripture to impugn any chief head, either

affirmed or denied in doctrine of salvation by the foresaid persons, likeas did the godly and learned in their ages, the foresaid damnable heresy. To the last, I have already promised to answer to my lord's argument in writ, and therefore ought not to be burdened with it now, especially because it is without our former ground, and doth not properly appertain to the cause. And yet therefore now last for conclusion, that we shall not be compelled continually to repeat one thing, I desire my lord according to his duty and reason of disputation, to bring forth his probation of his two former grounds by me plainly denied.

This conference being ended for this time, my lord presently did rise for trouble of body, and then John Knox did shortly resume the principal grounds. And because the noblemen here assembled were altogether destitute of all provision, both for horse and man, the said John humbly required the foresaid lord, that it would please him to go to Ayr, where that better easement might be had for all estates; which because my lord utterly refused, the said John desired when that the said conference should be ended? My lord did promise, that upon license purchased of the queen's majesty and her honourable coun-

cil, that he would compear in Edinburgh, and there, in their presence, finish the said conference. The said John did promise to travail with the secret counsel, that the said licence might be obtained; and desired the foresaid lord, to do the like with the queen's majesty, whereupon the said John Knox took instruments and documents.

M. QUENTIN.—At the conclusion of our reasoning, I gave John Knox an argument in writ, desiring him that he would justify his opinion by express testimony of scripture, or any appearance thereof. Whereto the said John required time to give answer, and the time might nowise serve of farther reasoning for such causes as are comprehended in the said John Knox's writing. And as towards his desire of me to Ayr, truly it was the thing that I might not presently commodiously do. But always [however] I will compear before the queen's grace, and such as her grace pleases to take to be auditors, to defend the said articles, and in special the article concerning the mass, as they are written, when and where it be her grace's pleasure, so that the ability of my body will serve any wise, as I hope to God it shall, to whom be praise, glory, and honour for ever.

CROSSRAGUELL.

THE ANSWER

TO MY LORD'S LAST ARGUMENT,

PROPONED BY HIM IN WRIT, THE LAST DAY OF DISPUTATION.

THE ARGUMENT IS THIS.

M. QUENTIN.—Whatsoever opinion is conceived of the scriptures of Almighty God, having no express testimony nor appearance of the same, is utterly to be refused, as says John Knox himself. But so it is that John Knox's own opinion conceived or contracted of the scripture, concerning the bringing forth of bread and wine by Melchisedec, to refresh or gratify Abraham and his weary company, is not expressly con-

tained in the scripture, nor has no appearance of the same, therefore it follows well, that it is all utterly by his own judgment to be refused.

JOHN KNOX.—If I should grant unto you, my lord, your whole argument, I should but declare myself ignorant of the art, and unmindful of my own affirmation; but yet had ye proven nothing of your intent. The chief question and controversy betwixt you

and me, is not whether that my interpretation of that place,—which at your instance and request I gave,—be true or not: but whether that Melchisedec, the figure of Christ, did offer unto God bread and wine, which ye have affirmed, and have laid it to be the ground and cause, why it behoved Christ Jesus to have made oblation of his body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, in his last supper; which both I denied, so that it rests to you to prove, that Melchisedec, the figure of Christ, did offer unto God bread and wine, &c. And appertains not unto me to prove my opinion nor interpretation: for supposing that my opinion conceived of that place were to be rejected,—as ye are never able to prove it to be,—yet is your affirmative never the better proven; for if ye will conclude, it was not brought forth to refresh Abraham,—which is yet not proven,—*ergo*, it was brought forth to be offered unto God: babes will mock you, and send you again to your logic. But yet, my lord, with your leave, I must come nearer you, and say, that the major or first part of your argument is false, and that ye falsely allege upon me that which I never spake nor meant. Read the whole conference betwixt you and me, and ye shall not find that I have simply affirmed that all opinion of man, conceived of the scriptures, is utterly to be rejected, unless the same be proven by the manifest word of God; for I am not ignorant that some interpretations are tolerable, yea, and may be to the edification of the church, although they do not fully express the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place. But I have affirmed, and yet affirm, that neither the authority of the church, the determination of the council, nor the opinion of the doctor is to be received in matters of faith, and in the doctrine concerning our salvation, unless the same be proven by the express word of God. And therefore, my lord, with your leave, I must say, that either wilfully or else by some oversight ye have omitted, both in the major and in the minor of your argument, that which should have been the cause and assurance of your conclusion; for thus ye ought to have reasoned, what-

soever opinion is conceived of the scripture of Almighty God, concerning faith and the doctrine of salvation, having no express testimony of the same, is to be rejected. But so it is, that John Knox's own opinion concerning the bringing forth of bread and wine by Melchisedec, is a matter concerning faith, and the doctrine of our salvation, and yet hath no testimony of God's expressed word; therefore it is to be rejected. If on this manner ye had reasoned, my lord,—as of necessity ye must do, if ye conclude any thing against me,—I would have immediately denied the second part of your argument, and have said, that to know or define what was done with the bread and wine brought out by Melchisedec, is no article of our belief, neither yet is it a doctrine necessary to the salvation of man. For neither did Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Methusalem, nor Noah, believe any such thing, neither yet is there since the days of Abraham, any commandment given by God to believe such an article; yea, further, in the whole scriptures, there is no mention made what was done with that bread and wine, and therefore it can be no article of our belief, nor yet no doctrine concerning our salvation, and so hath your argument broken its own neck. If I list, my lord, to sport a little with you, I might find some occasion in the second part of your argument; for where ye affirm that my opinion concerning the bringing forth of the bread and wine by Melchisedec, to refresh Abraham and his company, is neither expressly contained in the word of God, neither yet hath appearance of the same, and therefore utterly it is to be rejected. Now, my lord, give me leave to turn this part of the argument in your own bosom, if I can, and that so I may do, thus I reason.

The opinion conceived by my lord abbot concerning bread and wine, brought forth by Melchisedec to be offered unto God, is not expressly contained in God's scriptures, therefore it is utterly to be rejected. Beware, my lord, that ye be not beaten with your own baton, for then must the mass, yea, the best part of the same, stand upon an unsure ground, that is to say, upon the

opinion of man, and having no assurance of God's expressed word. But now, my lord, merryness set aside, I humbly require you by my pen, as I did by mouth, that deeply ye consider with what conscience before God ye dare affirm that doctrine to be wholesome, yea, and necessary to be believed, whereof ye are able to bring no proof out of the manifest word of God. The second day of our conference and disputation, when I was constrained to answer your frivolous conjectures and vanities, your brags and boast oftener blown out than once, where that your probation should be so evident, that the stones should hear your probation, and the dead walls should see the justness of your cause. I patiently did abide,—although perchance with the grief of some brethren,—these your wanton words, and thought with myself *parturiunt montes, &c.* But what is now produced and brought forth, the world may see, it may appear that ye were hard beset, when, to avoid the proof of your own affirmative, ye fled to impugn that which appertaineth nothing to the purpose. For as I was not bound to have shown unto you what I thought was done

with the bread and wine brought forth by Melchisedec, so was I not bound to have defended my interpretation and judgment of that place: but unto you it always appertaineth,—and if ever we meet again upon that head, it will yet be judged to appertain to you,—to prove that Melchisedec did at that time offer bread and wine unto God; which I am well assured, that ye are never able to do by any testimony of God's word. And therefore must I say, the mass standeth groundless; and the greatest patron thereof, for all his sicker riding, hath once lost his stirrups, yea, is altogether set beside his saddle. And yet the common bruit goeth, that ye, my lord, your flatterers and collaterals brag greatly of your victory obtained in disputation against John Knox, but I will not believe you to be so vain, unless I shall know the certainty by your own hand writ.

Let all men now judge upon what ground the sacrifice of the mass standeth. The heavenly Father hath not planted within his scripture such a doctrine: it followeth, therefore, that it ought to be rooted out of all godly men's hearts.

INDEX.

The letter n. is appended to such Articles as are to be found in the Editorial Notes.

Abbeys, some destroyed by order of council, 238.
Adamson, Eliz., her death, 84.
Airth, William, a friar, in a sermon at Dundee speaks freely against the licentious lives of bishops, 14.
Aleseus, Alexander, flies from persecution into Germany, 20.
Anderson, Alexander, sub-principal of Aberdeen, called before the convention of the nobility to give an account of his faith, 226, 227.
Andrew's, St., castle of, besieged after cardinal Beaton's death, 63—an agreement made with the besieged, ib.—siege of, 70—surrender, 71—raised, 72.
Argyle, earl of, makes Douglas his chaplain, 95—his answer to the articles sent to him by the bishop of St Andrews, to dissuade him from embracing the reformation, 96, &c.—sides with the protestants, 120, 121—letter to the queen regent, 128—assists the church, 327—complained of for raising forces, 330—threatened, 331.
Armstrong, Andrew, put to trouble, 293.
Arran, earl of, chosen governor of Scotland on the death of James V. 32—by the practices of the abbot of Paisley he favours the catholic views, 36—breaks the contract of marriage betwixt queen Mary and prince Edward of England, 37—renounces the protestant religion in Stirling, ib.—gives his eldest son pledge to cardinal Beaton, ib.—made duke of Chatehault, &c. 74—deposed, 1554, 82—his purgation in form, 160—ordered by the privy council to deliver up Dumbarton castle to the queen, 169.
Arran, earl of, eldest son of the preceding, arrives from France, 139—proposed by the parliament of Scotland 560 in marriage to queen Elizabeth, 224, rejected, ib.—makes suit to queen Mary of Scotland for marriage, but is refused by her, 226—his protestation against an act of privy council, 249—is in great trouble of mind, and pretends to discover a treasonable conspiracy against the queen contrived by the earl of Bothwell, 268—other acts of frenzy, ib.—imprisoned, 269—is ill used by captain James Stewart of Cardonel his keeper, ib.
Articles, on which the Lollards of Kyle were accused, 4—concluded by the protestants of Scotland for the promoting reformation, 94—of reformation agreed on by the popish clergy, 101—agreed to by the bishop of Vallance and monsieur Randam, commissioners from France, and the nobility and people of Scotland, 200—above mentioned proclaimed at Edinburgh, 8th July, 1560—204.
Assembly, General, of the church of Scotland, petitions against idolatry and respecting stipends, 236—meets in Dec. 1561, 256—debates concerning the Book of Discipline, 257—presents articles concerning the planting of kirks and provision of ministers, ib.—its address to the queen concerning the earl of Bothwell, &c. for

breaking up Cuthbert Ramsay's house, 264—meets 24th June, 1562, sends a supplication to the queen concerning abuses, 271—274—meets 25th Dec 1562, 281—approves Knox, 300—meets in June, 1564, 304—appoints a conference with Knox, ib.—meets in December, 1564, 321—meets, frames some articles to the queen concerning religion, 327—which are presented to her, 328—her answer, ib.—convenes in Edinburgh 25th December, 1565, makes some acts against the mass, and addresses the queen for payment of their stipends, 340—appoints a fast, ib.—supplicates the king and queen for stipends, 341—convenes 25th June, 1566, before whom Paul Methven appears, 346—meets 25th Dec. 1566, its letter to the bishops of England in favour of such as were persecuted for refusing to comply with the ceremonies, 350.
Athole, Earl of, one of the queen's counsellors, 336—338—goes to Stirling, enters into a bond with many of the nobility to defend the young prince, and revenge the murder of king Henry, 354.
Ayrshire, Lollards in, 4—assistance from, to the congregation, 122—bond of the barons from, for maintaining ministers, with the names of the signers, 276.

B

Balfour, Sir James, his character, 70, and n.—prisoner in the galleys, set at liberty, 80.
Balfour, James, parson of Flisk, his great interest at court, 335, 336—his saying to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, 337—capitulates with the lords for delivery of the castle of Edinburgh, 357.
Ballenden, Sir John, justice clerk, 300.
Balnaves, Henry, his imprisonment, &c. 77, and n.
Baptism, opinions concerning, 106, and n.
Bawbee, Scotch, value, and origin of the name, 135, n.
Beaton, Cardinal David, puts king James's hand, after he was dead, to a blank paper, above which was superinduced a pretended testament, 31—imprisoned in Dalkeith and Seyton, gets himself released by bribery, 33—heads a faction against Arran, 37—causes dissension betwixt lord Ruthven and lord Grey, concerning the office of provost of Perth, 38—persecutes many in the town of Perth for pretended heresy, 39, 40—puts four men and a woman to death on suspicion of their having eaten a goose on Friday, ib.—causes John Roger a black friar to be murdered, ib.—persecutes Wishart, 51—his death, May 29th, 1546, 59—sketch of his life, 62, n.
Beaton, James, his character and titles, 6—his craftiness and cruelty towards Patrick Hamilton, 7—further cruelties, 19, 20.
Bedford, earl of, governor of Berwick, receives the banished lords, 339—attends the baptism of king James, 349.

Berwick honours queen Mary, 349.
Bishops, death of several, 89—two-penny faith sent abroad by, 101—silence in parliament, 220—embroil the protestant cause, 233.
Black, a friar, says mass to the queen regent, 198.
Bond of the protestant nobility to promote religion, from which they took the name of lords of the congregation, Edinburgh, 3d December, 1557, 94—by the congregation at Perth, 123, 124—for maintenance of religion and mutual defence, at Stirling, 26th July, 559, 138—at Leith, 136, 196—by the gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick in favour of the protestant religion, 4th September, 1562, 276—by the noblemen, who slew Rizzio, to maintain religion and liberty, 342.
Borthwick, captain John, burned in effigy, 21.
Bothwell, earl of, waylays Ormiston, 166—escapes pursuit, ib.—his house of Crichton spoiled, 168—with some others break up Cuthbert Ramsay's door, in quest of Alison Craig, his daughter-in-law, 264—tumult betwixt him and the Hamiltons, 266—seeks to be reconciled with the earl of Arran by means of John Knox, ib.—which is accomplished, 267—imprisoned on the accusation of Arran, 269—escapes out of Edinburgh castle, 275—obtains liberty to go to France, 280—returns from France, 322—his enmity to the earl of Murray, ib.—summoned to answer the course of the law for his crimes, ib.—fails to appear, 324—retires to France, ib.—the queen favours him, ib. arrives from France, and is made lieutenant in the west and middle marches, 337—is married to the earl of Huntly's sister, 342—goes to the queen at Dunbar, 344—in favour with the queen, and procures favour to the lairds of Ormiston, Hatton, and Calder, 345—receives lands, &c. from the queen, ib.—procures pardon for some of those who were accessory to Rizzio's slaughter, 347—deserts the protestant sermons, ib.—is wounded by the thieves in Nithsdale, visited by the queen in his sickness, 348—generally courted, 349—causes the body of Darnley to be carried to the next house, 352—contriver of his murder, 353—reasons, ib.—tried and acquitted, 353—calls together several lords, and procures their consent to his marriage with the queen, ib.—carries her to Dunbar, as it were by force, ib.—obtains his pardon from her, and a divorce from his lady, ib.—married to queen Mary, 354—causes the queen write to the nobility, a bond subscribed by several, ib.—raises men with a design to seize the prince, 355—but is prevented, ib.—made duke of Orkney, ib.—marches against the lords with Mary, ib.—challenges them to single combat, 356—forbid by Mary to fight, ib.—escapes by her means, 357—sends to Sir James Balfour for a silver cabinet, ib.—the lords seize it, and find in it the letters and love sonnets betwixt the queen and Bothwell, ib.
Bowes, Margery, spouse to Knox, dies, 226.
Briance, count, ambassador from the king of France to attend the prince's baptism, 349.
Buchanan, George, imprisoned, makes his escape, 24, and n.—specimen of his "Franciscan," 25, n.—mentioned, 321, n.

C

Caitness, earl of, imprisoned for a murder committed by his servants upon the earl of Marshall's men, but soon released, 303.
Carmichael, Richard, prosecuted, 16.
Cassils, earl of, and others die in France, suspected to have been poisoned, 90.
Cassils, earl of, marries lord Glamis' sister, and by her persuasion becomes protestant, and carries on the reformation in Carrick, 318.

Cecil, Sir William, his first letter to the congregation, 182—his answer to John Knox's letter, 186—comes to Scotland to negotiate with the French, 200.
Chalmers, James, laird of Gathgirth, his bold speech to the queen regent, 88.
Chatellet dances with queen Mary, 283—brought to St Andrews, tried, and beheaded, 283.
Chattelhaul, duke of, See *Arran*.
Childmurder, two of the queen's court hanged for, 301.
Churches of Geneva, Berne, and Basil, &c. send the confession of their faith to the church of Scotland, which is approved by them, 348.
Clergy, Popish, in Scotland, remarks on, 16, n.—poems against, 25, and n.—remarks on, 62, n.
Cockburn, John, See *Ormiston*.
Cockle, knighthood of the, a French order, conferred on several nobles, 74—on Darnley, 342.
Coldingham, lord John, his death and character, 292.
Colvin, Robert of Cleish, master of household to lord James, slain at the siege of Leith, May, 1560, 198.
Comets and fires, 87, 301, and n.
Confession of faith by Mr Patrick Hamilton, 8—13—of the barons and ministers presented to parliament, 208—213.
Congregation of protestants and lords of their bond, 98—their address to the queen regent complaining of the hardships she had put them under, 116—their declaration in their own defence, 117—their declaration to the popish prelates, &c. 120—assisted at Perth by the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and town of Dundee, ib.—and by forces from Ayrshire, 122—their bond 123—meet in great numbers in Cupar muir, 126—make a cessation of arms with the queen for eight days, 13th June, 1559, 127, and n.—write to the queen regent, 128—march to St Johnston, rescue the town, but the abbey destroyed, 129—seize Stirling, 131—and from thence march to Edinburgh, ib.—negotiation between them and the queen regent, 131—135—vindicate themselves from the calumny of debasing the public coin, and of carrying off money from the mint, 135—their agreement with the queen regent, 24th July, 1559, 136, 137—these articles proclaimed, 138—depart from Edinburgh to Stirling, their bond there, 138—their answer to the queen's proclamation, 28th August, 1559, 145—another answer to the said proclamation, 148—their convention at Stirling, 10th September, 1559, 150—their letter to the queen regent upon her beginning to fortify Leith, 19th September, 1559, ib.—their letter to lord Erskine, informing him of the Frenchmen's fortifying Leith, 19th September, 1559, 151—appoint their forces to meet at Stirling, 15th October, 1559, 152—give warning to the country of the designs of the French, ib.—their declaration against the queen regent's proclamation, 154—their second admonition to the queen regent, 160—convene in council at Edinburgh 21st October, 1559, depose by their unanimous sentence the queen regent, 162—the reasons contained in their declaration, ib.—intimate the queen's suspension from authority at the cross of Edinburgh, and send back the lion herald to her with their answer, 164—summon the town of Leith by sound of trumpet, and get defiance from those within, 165—send Ormiston to Berwick for money, 166—pursue the earl of Bothwell for wounding and robbing the laird of Ormiston, ib.—lose some of their great ordnance, 167—skirmish with the French, 168—remove to Stirling, 169—harass the French, 178—their letter to Sir William Cecil, 182—send lord James Stewart, lord Ruthven, &c. to meet the duke of Norfolk and the queen of England's commissioners, 190—instructions to the commissioners, 193—their bond at Leith, 27th April, 1560, 196—petition the parliament

1560, for establishing the protestant religion, 206—their confession of faith presented to the parliament, 208—220. See *Nobility*, and *General Assembly*.
Convention of grey friars, Knox's answers before a, 66.
Councils, 110, n.
Council, Privy, ambassador from France to, 232—answers to his proposal, 237—make an act, that all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed, which is executed, 238—their letter to queen Elizabeth concerning queen Mary's refusing to ratify the treaty at Leith, 16th July, 1561, 242—act 25th August, 1561, commanding every person to keep the peace, 248—four of their acts concerning the provision of ministers, all in 1561, 258—261.
Craig, John, his satire on two of Mary's court, 302—his speech in conference, 318—his reasons for refusing to proclaim Bothwell and Mary, 334.
Cranston, Patrick, interrupts mass at Holyrood, &c. 293.
Craw, Paul, a Bohemian burned at St Andrews for alleged heresy, anno 1431, 3.
Crichton, Abraham, president of the session, dies, 345.
Crofts, Sir James, an English general, 195—blamed for neglect of duty at the assault on Leith, 197.
Crossraguell, Kennedy abbot of, disputes with Knox, 277—abbacy thrown down by order of the privy council, 238.
Crown matrimonial granted to the dauphin of France, husband to queen Mary, 101—voted to Darnley, 328.
Cumming, Robert, a schoolmaster, tried for idolatry, 281.

D

Dancers, invective against, 301.
Daniot, John, his advice to Rizzio, 342.
Darnley, Henry Stewart lord, arrives in Scotland, February 20th, 1564—5, 322—is introduced to the queen, ib.—created earl of Ross, 326—and soon after duke of Rothsay, ib.—crown matrimonial granted to in council, ib.—proclaimed king, 331—made knight of the cockle, 332—his honours limited by the queen, ib.—marches with the queen to various places, 333—338, see *Queen Mary*.—vindicates himself from the slaughter of Rizzio, 343—neglected by the queen, 348—and generally, ib.—wants such things as are necessary for his station, writes to the Pope, the kings of Spain and France, ib.—complains that popery is not again erected in Scotland, and lays the blame thereof on the queen, ib.—his reception by the queen at Jedburgh, ib.—how used at Stirling at the time of his son's baptism, 349—gets poison, goes to Glasgow, ib.—is allured by the queen to come to Edinburgh, where he is murdered, 352—inquest on his body, ib.—his character, ib.—remarks concerning his murder, ib.
Dearth in Scotland in 1563, 284—causes, ib.
Discipline, commission given to several ministers and superintendents, to frame the policy and discipline of the kirk, 223—first book of, subscribed by a great part of the nobility, ib.—printed at large, 486—525.
Dun. See *Erskine, John*.
Dunbar, bishop of Glasgow, 49, and n.—his quarrel at Glasgow cathedral with cardinal Beaton for precedence, 50—agreed upon Mr Wishart's prosecution, 51.
Dundee, town of, aids the congregation, 114—120—sends forces to assist at the siege of Leith, 167—pays composition to queen Mary, 335.
Durie, bishop of Galloway, his death and character, 91, and n.

E

Edinburgh spoiled and burned by the English army, 41

—tumult in, the provost slain, 76—image of St Giles burned there, 87—tumult on St Giles' day, 88—tumults in, 234—fired on by Erskine from the castle, 334—money exacted from by the queen, 337.
Edinburgh, magistrates of, make a proclamation against vice and popery, 255—imprisoned by the queen, ib.—and an order given to make a new election of magistrates, which is reluctantly obeyed, 255.
Edward VI. of England dies, his character, 83.
Elders and deacons, the order of their election in the kirk of Edinburgh, 230—232.
Elizabeth queen of England answers the Scots ambassadors that she would not marry soon, and desired that the earl of Arran might not depend on any hopes thereof, 226—ratifies the treaty of peace at Leith, 238—much offended at queen's Mary's refusal to ratify the treaty at Leith, 240—writes to estates of Scotland concerning that matter, 241—her embassy to desire the ratification of the treaty of Leith, which is again declined by queen Mary, 256—negotiation betwixt her and queen Mary, and an interview betwixt them designed at York, which did not take place, 271—appears displeased with queen Mary's intention to marry lord Darnley, commands the earl of Lennox and lord Darnley to return to England, 322—her dissimulation, 323, 326—denies aid to the banished lords, 339—sends them some support after the earl of Murray's departure from her, and writes to queen Mary, ib.
Elphinston, Nicolas, sent to England by the protestants for support, 332.
English, their ships and troops come to Scotland, 40—they march towards Leith, 72—engage the Scots near Musselburgh, 73—fortify Broughty, 74—ships fight with the French, 76—peace with, 81—ships enter the Forth, 178, 190—English army in aid of the congregation assembles, 194—enters Scotland, 195—skirmish at Leith, ib.—English and Scots assault Leith, 197—army of the, leaves Scotland, 204.
Erskine, lord, governor of Edinburgh castle, 167—his firmness, 175—his reason for refusing to subscribe the Book of Discipline, 223, and n.—made earl of Mar, 331.
Erskine, John, of Dun, his interview with the queen regent, 114—writes to the congregation, ib.—withdraws from her, ib.—the consequences, ib.—interview with queen Mary, 291.

F

Faifurd, religious house of, thrown down by order of the privy council, 238.
Faith, two-penny, a popish catechism so called, 101.
Fares, popish, the Abbot of Unreason, 15, and n.—Robin Hood, 233, and n.
Faside hill, battle of, 72.
Ferrier, Alex., his singular behaviour on being accused of heresy, 16.
Fife, John, flies from persecution, 20.
Flisk, see *Balfour*.
Forbes, lady, her words on Huntly's death, 280.
Forrest, vicar of Dollar, burned, 22—his character, ib. and n.
Forrest, —, of Linlithgow burned for having a New Testament in English, 19, and n.
Fox's Book of Martyrs, 6, and n.
Francis II. king of France, crown matrimonial of Scotland granted to, 101, 102—his and queen Mary's letter to lord James prior of St Andrews, 139—refuses to confirm the peace contracted at Leith, 1560, 222—dies 15th December, 1560, 224, 225—a poem upon his death in Latin and English, 225.

French, inroad at Wark, 41—galleys attack St Andrews castle, 70—an additional force of, comes to Scotland, 74—fortify Inveresk, 76—peace, 81—their presumption, 144—their numbers in Scotland complained of, 148—skirmishes with the, 167, 168—take Kinghorn, 176—their cruelty to a Scotchman, 195—attack the English trenches, *ib.*—transported from Leith to France, 204.

G

Geneva, church of, sends its confession to that of Scotland, their uniformity, 348.

Giles, St, image of in Edinburgh how used, 87, 88—church of used in preparing scaling ladders for the siege of Leith, 165.

Glasgow, persecution in, for heresy, 22—fray in, between two prelates, 50—country about, destroyed by the French, 194.

Glencairn, *Alexander earl of*, his poem against the friars, 25—protests against A. Wallace's death, 82—his resolution, 120—together with the gentlemen of the west comes seasonably to the relief of Perth, 122—breaks down the altars and images in the chapel of Holyroodhouse after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven, 357.

Goodman, *Christ*, his words in assembly, 300.

Gowley, *Norman*, burned for heresy, 21.

Gordon, *capt.*, of Inverness castle, executed, 277.

Gordon, *John*, laird of Findlater, pursues lord Ogilvie, 275—is taken and imprisoned, *ib.*—makes his escape, *ib.*—surprises captain Stewart, 278—see *Huntly*.

Grange, see *Kirkaldy*, *Wm.*

Gray, *lord*, general of the English army, 195—is commanded by the duke of Norfolk to continue the siege of Leith, 198.

Guise, *duke of*, and faction, their practices, 225—slain, 291.

H

Haddington fortified by the English, 74—infected with the pestilence, 80.

Halden rigg, raid of, 26.

Haliburton, *capt. Alexander*, death of, 168.

Hamiltons, their feud with Bothwell's party, 266—refuse to join with the lords who oppose queen Mary, and enter into a bond for the protection of the young prince, 357.

Hamilton, laird of Stenhouse and provost of Edinburgh, slain by the French in a tumult, 76.

Hamilton, *Gavin*, slain by the English, 74.

Hamilton, *Sir James*, appears to king James V. after his death, 24.

Hamilton, *John*, abbot of Paisley and bishop of St Andrews, bastard brother to the earl of Arran, governor, gives him ill council, 36—by his practices and cardinal Beaton's the contract of marriage betwixt our queen and prince Edward is broken by the earl of Arran, governor, 37—takes the lady Stenhouse from her husband, and lives a very flagitious life, 41—made bishop of St Andrews, excommunicates and causes denounce rebels such as were necessary to cardinal Beaton's death, 66—his letter to the earl of Argyle, and instructions to Sir David Hamilton, to dissuade the said earl from embracing the reformation, 95, &c.—sketch of his life and character, 109, and *n.*—and abbot of Crossraguell meet secretly in Paisley, 275—erects the mass, 1563, 284—procures an order from the queen to put him in possession of all the power he had before the reformation, 352—comes to Edinburgh with 100 horse to take possession, is desired by

the provost of Edinburgh to desist from the design; he complies with the advice at that time, *ib.*

Hamilton, *John*, an unlearned ambassador, 72.

Hamilton, *Patrick*, sketch of his life, 6—condemned and burned for heresy, 7—his articles of doctrine inserted, 8—14.

Harlow, *William*, a protestant preacher comes to Scotland, 83—his character, *ib.* and *n.*—preaches publicly in Edinburgh, 87.

Hay, *George*, commissioner to Carrick, 275.

Henry VIII. king of England, abolishes the authority of the pope of Rome in England and suppresses monasteries, 20—assignment with king James V. at York, which was agreed to by king James, 26—offers his son Edward to queen Mary, 35.

Henry, a man named, executed for Rizzio's murder, 348.

Hepburn, *Patrick*, bishop of Murray, his character, 15.

Horne, *castle of*, recovered from the English, 1549, 77.

Hood, *Robin*, game of, celebrated at the instigation of the papists, 233, and *n.* 322.

Huntly, *earl of*, engaged at the battle of Faside, 73—taken, *ib.*—ransomed, *ib.*—his interview with queen Mary, 277—her displeasure at him, *ib.*—denounced rebel, 278—his forces overcome at Carrochie-burn, 279—his death, *ib.*—his title with that of eleven of his party forfeited, 287—lord Gordon restored to the dignity, 331.

I

Images stolen away in all parts of the country, 87—broken in Holyrood, 357.

Inquisition against the inhabitants of Dundee and Leith by cardinal Beaton, 21.

J

James V. king of Scotland, how wrought on by the clergy, 23, *n.*—his dreams, 24—assembles his forces at Fala, 27—where they refuse to invade England, *ib.*—makes an unsuccessful expedition against England, *ib.*—gets news of its bad success, falls into a deep melancholy, 31—soon after dies, 32.

James, prince of Scotland, and afterwards king James VI. of Scotland and I. of G. Britain, born in the castle of Edinburgh, 19th June, 1566, 346—baptized in Stirling castle after the popish manner, 349—crowned king at Stirling, and the earl of Morton and lord Hume take the coronation oath in name of the young king, 359.

K

Keilor, a black-friar, burned on the castlehill of Edinburgh, 22, and *n.*

Keith, *earl marshall*, his notable speech when he voted for establishing the protestant religion, 1560, 220.

Keith's History of the Scottish Bishops corrected, 49, *n.* 61, *n.* 89, *n.* 90, *n.* 91, *n.*

Kennedy, burned for heresy at Glasgow, his behaviour, 22.

Kennedy, *Quinten*, his dispute with Knox, 277—his work on the subject, 527.

Kilwinning abbacy thrown down by order of the privy council, 64.

Kinghorn wasted by the French, 179.

Kirkaldy, *Wm.* laird of Grange, his advice to king James, 28—his counsel about the election of Arran to be governor, 31—enters the castle of St Andrews, 61—he and others escape from France, 79—sends a challenge to monsieur d'Oysel, 177—defeats captain Batu, 178.

Knox, John, his intercourse with Wishart, 47—enters the castle of St Andrews, 1547, 64—teaches there, ib.—is solicited to enter into the office of the ministry, ib. his dispute concerning the popish tenets with dean John Annan, ib.—is opposed by Hamilton bishop of St Andrews, 66—is called before a convention of gray and black friars, and accused of several articles, ib.—conference between him and John Winram sub-prior of St Andrews and friar Ar buckle, 66—69—sent with others to the galleys, 71—his feelings there, 78—his escape with William and Robert Leslie in beggars' garments, 79—comes to England, preaches at several places, ib.—goes to Geneva, ib.—called to be preacher at Frankfort, ib.—accused by the English refugees, ib.—returns to Geneva, goes to Dieppe, 80—returns to Scotland and preaches in Edinburgh secretly, 84—goes to Dum at the laird's desire, 85—summoned before the bishops, 15th May, but diet not held, ib.—wrote a letter to the queen dowager, 86—copy of, at 361—goes again to Geneva, 86—buried in effigy for non-appearance, 87—makes his appellation, ib.—inserted, 375—400—letter from some of the nobility to, 91—letter to the protestant nobility of Scotland from Dieppe, 92, and n.—arrives from France, 2d May, 1559, 114—exhorts the preachers summoned, ib.—his oration to the lords of the congregation at St Johnston, 121—preaches at Perth, 123—opposed by the bishop of St Andrews, preaches in St Andrews, June 10th, 1559, 125—his letter to the queen regent, 158—his opinion concerning the deposition of the queen regent, 162—his sermon to the congregation at Stirling, 170—173—at Cupar, 176—his letter to Sir William Cecil, 179—discourse with Grange, 182—his second letter to Sir William Cecil, 183—his letter to queen Elizabeth, 184—his answer to Sir William Cecil's letter, 187—his letter to the lords at Glasgow, 188—appointed minister of Edinburgh, 206—his part in the Confession of Faith, ib. n.—preaches against idolatry, 250—his conversation with the queen, 250—251—his treatise against the Regimen of Women objected to by the queen, 251—inserted, 439—461—his opinion of the queen, 251—conference with Bothwell, 266—interview with Arran, 268—preaches a sermon which gives offence to the queen, 269—called before her on that account, ib.—his conference with her, 269—271—appointed by the General Assembly commissioner to Kyle and Galloway, 275—goes to Nithsdale and Galloway, confers with the master of Maxwell, writes to the duke of Chattelherault, disputes with the abbot of Crossraguell, 277—his conference with the queen at Lochleven, 284—his letter to the earl of Argyle, 286—differences betwixt him and the earl of Murray, 288, and n.—his free sermon before the nobility in the parliament, 1563, 289—for which he is accused to the queen, 290—conference between the queen and Knox, ib.—his letter convocating the brethren to assist in the trials for interrupting mass, 293—which is intercepted and put in the hands of the queen, 294—accused of treason, ib.—brought before the council, 298—acquitted, 299—refuses to make confession of a crime, 300—approved by the general assembly, ib.—examined in a conference, 304—320—his sermon before king Henry Stewart of Scotland, 332—commanded to come to the council, ib.—desired to abstain from preaching for 15 or 20 days, refuses, ib.—prays publicly for the nobility that were banished in 1565, and is approved by Secretary Lethington, 339—preaches the sermon at the coronation of king James, 359—remarks on his history and character, 61, n. 75, n. 92, n. 100, n. 130, n. 180, n. 250, n. 279, n. 304, n. 311, n.

Knox's History, authenticity and editions of, 29, n. and introduction, xxxi—London suppressed edition, 29, n.

40, n. 47, n. 50, n. 60, n. 67, n. 80, n. 86, n. 137, n. 165, n. 179, n. 184, n. 243, n.—1586, 61, n.—Glasgow MS. copy, 29, n. 50, n. 243, n. 265, n.—Buchanan's edition of, notices and corrections of, 4, n. 19, n. 29, n. 31, n. 34, n. 43, n. 50, n. 57, n. 59, n. 75, n. 78, n. 86, n. 243, n. 265, n.

Kyle, zealous letters from the protestants there, and other places of the west, to their brethren against idolatry, 323. See *Ayrshire*.

Kyllon tried for rioting, released by the populace, 234.

L

Leith, inhabitants of, accused of heresy, 20—besieged, 165—a mutiny among the besiegers, ib.—fire there, 190.

Lennox, earl of, arrives from France, 37—is put in hopes to be made governor, and that the queen dowager should marry him, frustrated of his expectations deserts the French faction, and seeks the favour of England, ib.—makes a party against the earl of Arran, governor, is disappointed of his design and narrowly escapes, ib.—goes to England, received under the protection of king Henry VIII. who gives him to wife lady Margaret Douglas his niece, mother to Henry lord Darnley, husband to queen Mary of Scotland, 41—and his lady committed to the Tower of London for trafficking with papists, 271—obtains liberty to return to Scotland by means of Secretary Lethington, 291—comes back to Scotland after a long exile, 321—is graciously received by the queen, ib.—restored by parliament, ib.—his fortunes, 322—applies to the queen for the trial of the earl of Bothwell, for his son the king's murder, 333.

Lesly, John, brother to the earl of Rothes, joins the conspirators who seize the castle of St Andrews and slay the cardinal, 60.

Lesly, John, parson of Une, afterwards abbot of Lindores and bishop of Ross, declines to answer the arguments against the nobility, 1560—1, 226—called *Notumus et volumus*, 243.

Lesly, Norman, 60—imprisoned in the castle of Cherisburg in France, 77.

Lin, John, a gray friar, turns protestant, 22.

Lindsay, John, a saying of, 15.

Lindsay of Pitscotie quoted, 23, n.

Lockhart, Alexander, brother to the laird of Bar, killed at the siege of Leith, 198.

Lockhart, Robert, endeavours to make an agreement betwixt the queen regent and lords of the congregation without success, 158.

Lottards of Kyle accused of heresy, 1494, 4, and n.

Lothian, superintendent of, see *Spottiswood, John*.

Lundie, laird of, his speech in the General Assembly, 304—imprisonment, 335.

M

M'Crie's life of Knox quoted, 33, n. 42, n. 77, n. 83, n. 109, n.

M'Gill, James, lord register, embraces the protestant religion, 233.

Machabeus, John, a learned man, flies for religion into Denmark, and 105, n.

Magistrates, discussion concerning the powers of, 251, 304—320, n.

Maitland of Lethington, joins the protestants, 169—sent to London, 173—his sayings and opinions concerning ministers' stipends, 262, 263—his sayings in the General Assembly, 274—conversation with Knox, 295—conducts Knox's trial for treason, 297—long discussion with Knox in conference concerning the powers of rulers, 304—326.

Marticks come to Scotland, 175, see *French*.
Mary of England, her character, 83.
Mary queen of Scots, born, 31—treaty of marriage to Edward prince of Wales, 35—contracted to the king of France, 74—declines to ratify the treaty at Leith with England, 222—ambassadors from, 232—answer to him, 237—negotiation between her and the English ambassador, 238—240—arrives in Scotland, 247—sets up mass, which was ill taken by many protestants, ib.—conversation with Knox, 250—254—chooses her privy council, 254—takes a tour through the country, ib.—is sumptuously entertained at Edinburgh, ib.—in terror of armed men in the court of her palace, 256—second interview with Knox, 269—270—in great joy on account of the triumph of her party in France, 269—takes a tour to the north of Scotland, 275—comes to Aberdeen and is met by the earl of Huntly, 277—rumours of her marriage, 280—returns to Edinburgh, ib.—her speeches, 288—interview with Knox and others on the subject of her marriage, 290—makes a tour to the west, 292—her family in her absence set up the mass at Edinburgh, ib.—the consequences, 293—present at Knox's trial for treason, 296—299—behaviour of her court, 301—303—goes to Athole to the hunting, 321—goes to Fife, is magnificently entertained by the nobility and gentry there, ib.—shows great signs of love to lord Darnley, sends Lethington to the queen of England to declare her intention to marry lord Darnley, 322—is displeased with the magistrates of Edinburgh for punishing a popish priest, 324—her letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh, ib.—charges the magistrates of Edinburgh to set the priest at liberty, ib.—writes to the lords and learned men to meet her at Stirling, 325—desires the earl of Murray to consent to lord Darnley's receiving the crown matrimonial, takes his answer in ill part, ib.—her marriage with lord Darnley proposed in council and assented to by the chief of the nobility, providing religion be secured, 325, 326—convention of the nobility appointed to meet at Perth, the last of May, 326—calls for the superintendents, ib.—promises to hear disputation concerning religion, and to hear sermons from protestant ministers, particularly the laird of Dun, ib.—her answer to some articles presented by the General Assembly, 328—hears a protestant sermon at baptizing a child of lord Livingston's, 329—sends a message to the magistrates of Edinburgh to imprison several burghesses of the town, and causes the lord treasurer take an inventory of the said burghesses goods, which is very displeasing to the inhabitants, ib. 330—displeased at a meeting of some of the nobility, 15th June, 1565, writes to several gentlemen throughout the kingdom to attend her in arms, ib. 331—makes a proclamation declaring that she had no intention to alter religion, ib.—creates lord Darnley duke of Rothesay, bans of marriage proclaimed betwixt her and lord Darnley, ib.—complains of the earl of Murray; sends a message to him to come to her, which he declines because many of his enemies were at court, ib.—makes proclamation that prince Henry duke of Rothesay, &c. her husband, should be obeyed and revered as king, ib.—is married at Holyroodhouse by the dean of Restalrig, 332—summons forces, ib.—progress to Glasgow, 333—and various places in pursuit of the lords, 334—her proclamation against rebels, 335—her counsellors, 336—pursues the lords, 338—induces the earls of Lennox, Athole, and Cassilis to go to mass openly in her chapel, 339—allows some friars, viz. Abercromby and Roger, to preach, 340—dissensions in court, ib.—her love to her husband king Henry declines, 342—causes her own name to be put before his in all writs, ib.—and a seal like the

king's to be made and given to Rizzio, ib.—her displeasure at the death of Rizzio, 343—dissembles, ib.—goes to Seton and Dunbar, and carries the king about with her, ib.—consults to revenge Rizzio's death, 344—comes back to Edinburgh with the king and 8000 men, many in alarm leave the town, ib.—her severities, 345—disposes of the church-benefices to courtiers, &c. ib.—gives the castle of Dunbar, and principal lands of the earldom of March, &c. to Bothwell, ib.—her hatred to Darnley how increased, 348—falls sick when visiting the earl of Bothwell, 348—names the duke of Chattelherault and earl of Murray regents if she should die at that time, ib.—is visited by her husband king Henry, who gets a cold reception, ib.—king James born, 346—goes to the borders, 349—to Craigmillar, ib.—makes preparation for the baptism of the prince at Stirling, ib.—her liberal promises to the church, 350—goes to Glasgow to visit her husband, 352—brings him into Edinburgh with fair words, and lodges him at the church of Field, ib.—he is murdered, ib.—the house blown up with gun-powder, ib.—appoints an assize for Bothwell's trial, 353—carried off by Bothwell to Dunbar, ib.—desires Mr John Craig, minister of Edinburgh, to publish the bans of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell, 354—his reasons against the lawfulness of the marriage, ib.—is married to Bothwell 15th May, 1567, by the bishop of Orkney, ib.—publishes a proclamation against the lords who joined against Bothwell, 355—flies from Borthwick to Dunbar, ib.—marches from Dunbar with an army of 5000 men, ib.—is met by the lords at Carberry hill, 356—the army refuses to fight in favour of Bothwell, 357—surrenders herself to the nobility, ib.—is put under restraint by the lords, ib.—carried to Edinburgh, and from thence sent to the castle of Loch-leven, ib.—reigns rule in favour of Murray, 358.

Maries, the queen's four, 247, and n.
Mass set up at Holyroodhouse, 141—act against, 221—disputation concerning, 226—celebrated by queen Mary, 248—instituted in several places, 284—trials for celebrating, 287—set up by queen Mary's family at Holyrood, 283.

Maxwell, master of, lord Harries, warden of the marches, 29—taken by the English, 30—conversation with Knox, 294—entreats the queen, 333—joins the protestant lords, 334, 335, 337—summoned, ib.—restored to favour, 338.

Meals, hours of, 235. n.

Melville, laird of Raith, beheaded for writing to his son, 77.

Melville, James, dies, 80.

Methven, Paul, reaches the reformed doctrines, 104—is accused of adultery, 282—commission to John Knox and some elders of Edinburgh, to try the said scandal at Jedburgh, and to report to the session of Edinburgh, ib.—is convicted, flies, and is excommunicated, ib.—reflections thereon, ib. 283—his penance and flight, 337.

Milne, Walter, sometime a popish priest, a man of great age, put to death by the bishop of St Andrews for the protestant religion, 109.

Ministers distributed through the kingdom, anno 1560, 206—ill used by the flatterers of the court, 223, 301—meeting of, 338—supplication to the queen, 346—complaints of, 347—their address to the English church, 350, see *Stipends*.

Moneth or Grampians, 259, and n.

Money, Scotch, value of, 20, n. 135, n. and 262, n. 321, n.
Morton, earl of, his share in the slaughter of Rizzio, 342—his answer to Bothwell's ambassador, 356.

Murray, earl of, lord prior of St Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray, his answer to the letter of Francis II. and queen Mary, 140—his answer to the queen regent's

letter, 30th September, 1559, dated at St Andrews, 1st October, 1559, 153—his embassy to France, 227—returns from France having escaped many dangers, 237—brings letters from the queen entreating her subjects to preserve the peace till she come home, *ib.*—goes to the north and executes the orders of the privy council with respect to the destroying of the monuments of idolatry, *ib.*—appointed the queen's lieutenant in the south for suppression of theft, 256—made earl of Murray, 263—marries lady Agnes Keith daughter of the earl of Marischall, *ib.*—makes raid to Hawick, apprehends 50 thieves, several of them were executed, 271—heads the fight against Huntly's forces, 279—confirmed in the earldom of Murray, 288—holds courts in the north, 292—is much displeased with Bothwell's return from France, 322—reasons with the queen, 325—writes to the chief of the protestants concerning the convention at St Johnston, 326—sick at Lochleven, 327—summoned, and not appearing is denounced rebel, 331—interview with queen Elizabeth, 339—with the rest of the banished lords arrives in Scotland, 343—refuses to sign the bond in defence of the queen and Bothwell, obtains liberty to go to France, 355—arrives from France, 359—accepts the regency, and is proclaimed regent, *ib.*

N

Nobility of Scotland refuse to invade England with the French, 87—their letters of invitation to Mr Knox to return to Scotland, 10th March, 1556, 91—convention of them at Edinburgh, 5th January, 1560, 226—convinced of the falsehood of popery, 227—send lord James prior of St Andrews to France to queen Mary, *ib.*—appoint a meeting of parliament, 20th May, 1561, *ib.*—their petition against popery and for the provision of the ministry, 327—opposed to queen Mary meet at Ayr, 15th of August, 1565, where they resolve to be in readiness with their whole forces, 24th of said month, 332—are prevented of meeting by the queen, who proclaims them rebels, and orders all men of Lothian, Fife, Angus, &c. to meet their majesties the said 24th of August, *ib.*—meet at Paisley, 333—go to Hamilton, *ib.*—come to Edinburgh, *ib.*—joined by few, *ib.*—write to the king and queen, complaining of their hard usage, are willing to submit themselves to trial, insist that the true religion may be established, &c. *ib.*—leave Edinburgh, 334—go to Hamilton, *ib.*—to Dumfries, *ib.*—send propositions to the king and queen which are neglected, *ib.*—summoned to appear at St Andrews, 335—denounced rebels, *ib.*—displeased at the queen's counsellors, 336—seek support of the queen of England, 337—go to Carlisle, 338—are kindly received in England by the earl of Bedford, 339—send the earl of Murray to queen Elizabeth, *ib.*—summoned to appear for treason and lese majesty, *ib.*—use interest to be received into favour, 340—articles devised against them, and the queen designs they should be attained and forfeited, 342—go to the tolbooth of Edinburgh March 12th, and protest that their trial was fallen from, 344—join against Bothwell, 354—design to besiege the castle of Borthwick where he was with the queen, 355—come to Edinburgh, *ib.*—are masters of the town, *ib.*—publish a proclamation against Bothwell, *ib.*—apply to the General Assembly that they may interpose with the Hamiltons and other of the lords, who refuse to join with them in defence of the young prince, &c. 357—agree on several articles, 358—send the lords Lindsay and Ruthven to the queen to present unto her two writs, *ib.*

Norfolk, duke of, marches into Scotland, 27—treats

with the congregation, 188—negotiations and contract with the Scotch lords at Berwick, 190—193.

O

Orleans, mask of, described, 265.
Ormiston, Cockburn, John, laird of, banished and forfeited, 74—waylaid by Bothwell, 166.
Oysel, monsieur de, lieutenant for France in Scotland, 70—his terror, 73—proposes to march into England, 87—leads the forces against Perth, 123—gives assurance of armistice, 127.

P

Painter, David, bishop of Ross, his death, 89—his character, *ib.* n.—his advice to the popish clergy, 91.
Paisley, abbacy of, burned by the earls of Arran, Argyle and Glencairn, 238.
Papists, endeavour to raise new troubles in Scotland, 223—intend to take Edinburgh before the meeting of parliament in May 1561, but are prevented by the protestants, 235—are very insolent, anno 1564, make a superstitious song which gives great offence to the protestants, 322.
Parliament of Scotland, makes an act allowing all to read the Scriptures in the English tongue, 33—sends commissioners to Henry VIII of England to treat of the marriage betwixt his son and queen Mary of Scotland, 34—held in the abbey of Haddington, agrees to the marriage of the queen with the French king, 74—appointed to meet 25th July, 1560, 206—meets, *ib.* orders the congregation to give in a confession of faith, 208—read, 208—220—ratified, *ib.*—act against the mass, 221—act for abolishing the jurisdiction of the pope, *ib.*—answers to the objections made against its authority, 222—sends ambassadors to England, 224—meets, May, 1563, in which the earl of Huntly and several of his kinsmen are forfeited, the laird of Grange and others restored, and an act of oblivion passed, 287—meets December, 1564, in which the earl of Lennox is restored to his estate and honours, 321—at Perth, 327—prorogued by the queen, 330.
Peace contracted between Scotland, England, and France, 81.
Perth, Charteris and Ruthven contend for the provostry of, 38—executions for heresy there, 39—embraces the reformed doctrines, 113—the multitude destroy the monasteries, &c. there, 114—letter from the protestants there to the queen, 116—entered by the queen regent, 124—abandoned by many of the inhabitants, *ib.*—retaken by the army of the congregation, 129.
Poetry of queen Mary's age, 301, n.
Pope, his authority in Scotland abolished by act of parliament, 221.
Prodigies, 87, 301, and n.
Protestants, their oration and petition to the queen regent, 105, with notes—their letter to the parliament, 110—their protestation in parliament, 112—meet May 27th, 1561, and draw up articles to be presented to the parliament, 235—prepare to defend themselves, 1565, 333, see *Congregation*.
Protestation made in parliament by the protestants refused to be recorded, 112.
Provost of Edinburgh slain by the French in a tumult, 76—deposition of one, 255—comes to the palace of Holyroodhouse with 500 men upon the report of the slaughter of R'zzio, is commanded to go home by king Henry, 343.

Q

Queen dowager passes to France by sea, 82—with the earls of Huntly, Glencairn, Marshall, Cassilis, lords

Maxwell, Fleming, Sir George Douglas, &c. whereof few returned, 90—made regent after her return, 1554, 82—deals deceitfully with the protestants, 109—causes summon the protestant ministers to undergo trial, 113—but at the intercession of the earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, she delays the summons, *ib.*—desires lord Ruthven provost of Perth to suppress the reformation, which he declines to do, *ib.*—desires Mr James Haliburton provost of Dundee to apprehend Paul Methven, of which he gives advertisement to the said Paul, who makes his escape, *ib.*—orders the preachers to compare at Stirling, 10th May, 1559, *ib.*—puts the preachers to the horn, 114—enters Perth, 124—charges all men to leave the town of Perth, *ib.*—goes to Falkland with a number of Frenchmen, 125—intends to come to Coupar, but is hindered by the lords of the congregation, 126—issues an offensive proclamation, 131—causes mass to be set up at Holyroodhouse, 141—discharges payment to such of the canons of Cambuskeneth as had forsaken popery, also discharges payment to the abbot of Lindores because he had joined with the protestants, 142—breaks the articles of agreement with the protestants, *ib.*—writes a flattering letter to the duke of Châtellerauld, *ib.*—and to the barons of Scotland, 143—brings in bands of French soldiers, 144—emits a proclamation to deceive the people, *ib.*—fortifies Leith contrary to agreement, 150—sends an answer to the lords by Sir Robert Carnegie and Mr David Borthwick, 151—endeavours to withdraw the gentlemen of the country from the lords of the congregation, and to divide them among themselves, 152—writes to lord James, prior of St Andrews, by Mr John Spence of Condy, 30th September, 1559, *ib.*—issues a proclamation against the lords of the congregation, 153—sends Mr Robert Forman lyon king at arms, to the lords of the congregation, and by him commands all such as assist the duke of Châtellerauld and lords of the congregation to depart from Edinburgh, 161—deposed by the lords of the congregation, 162—goes to the castle of Edinburgh, 195—sits upon the fore-wall of the castle of Edinburgh, and rejoices at the slaughter of the English and Scots at the assault on Leith, 198—her words thereon, *ib.*—her sickness increases, 199—desires to speak with monsieur d'Oysel, *ib.*—a letter of hers intercepted by lord Gray, *ib.*—she desires to speak with the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, and lord James, *ib.*—she sends for John Willock minister, *ib.*—her corpse carried to France, 19th October, 1560, *ib.*—her burial, remarks thereon, 235.

Question debated betwixt Knox and the queen, whether subjects might suppress the idolatry of their prince, 250.

R

Railh, laird of, see *Melville*.

Rambouillet comes ambassador from France with the order of the cockle for king Henry, 332.

Randame, mons., comes to Scotland to negotiate peace, 199.

Randolph, Tho., agent for queen Elizabeth in Scotland, 264.

Reformers, Scottish, first covenant of the, 94—moderation of, 105, and *n.*—remarks on their character and opinions, 75, *n.* 94, *n.* 105, *n.* 107, *n.* 108, *n.* 111, *n.* 120, *n.* 127, *n.* 130, *n.* 132, *n.* 180, *n.* 216, *n.* 219, *n.* 222, *n.* 223, *n.* 347, *n.*

Reid, Adam, one of the Lollards of Kyle, his answers to his accusation, 5.

Reid, bishop of Orkney, poisoned, 90—his death, *ib.*—his character, *ib.* *n.*

Resby, James, his martyrdom, 3, *n.*

Rizzio, David, his rise in the court of queen Mary, 1564, 303—306—his influence in court, 327, 336—his elevation in court, 339—slain by the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, lord Lindsay, master of Ruthven, &c. upon the 9th of March, 1565-6, 342—the effects, 343, 344—execution for, 348.

Roger, John, his imprisonment and death, 40.

Rothes, earl of, put to the horn, 335.

Rough, John, 61—cited to a convention at St Andrews with Knox, 66.

Row, John, heads a deputation from the assembly to the queen, 341—appointed to confer about the queen's grants, 350.

Russel, Jerome, a cordelier friar, accused and burned for alleged heresy, 22.

Ruthven, aids the congregation at the battle of Kinghorn, 178—kills Rizzio, 342—flies, 344.

S

Sadler, Ralph, sent ambassador by Henry VIII. to the earl of Arran, governor, to treat of a marriage betwixt Edward prince of Wales, and queen Mary of Scotland, 35—the effects of this, *ib.*

Sanderson, appointed to be carted for bigamy, but rescued by the mob, 232—234.

Sandilands, Sir James, lord of St John, his oration to the queen regent, 105—sent to France by the parliament, 1560, to get their acts ratified by Francis II. and queen Mary, which is refused by them, 222.

Scoon, abbey of, destroyed, 130.

Scot, Thomas, justice clerk, dies in great terror, 24—report of his appearance to king James V. *ib.*

Scot, Thomas, executed, 345.

Scriptures, the Scots parliament allows them to be read in the English tongue, 33—reasoning and reflections on the subject, 34.

Sea stood still and neither ebbed nor flowed for 24 hours, in February, 1563, and some other prodigies, 301, and *n.*

Seaton, Alexander, a black friar, confessor to king James V. preaches, 16, 17—accused of heresy, flies to England, 17—his letter to that king, 18—preaches in England, 20.

Semple, lord, disobeys the ordinances of the council, for which reason his castle is besieged and taken, 224.

Semple, John, called the dancer, his marriage, 301.

Sinclair, Henry, bishop of Ross, his character, 294—shows a letter of Knox's to the queen, *ib.*—reproved by the queen, his answer, 299—dies, 345.

Sinclair, John, dean of Restalrig and bishop of Brechin on the death of the preceding, his brother of Ross preaches sound doctrine at first, but soon after discovers his hypocrisy, 90, 91, *n.*—dies, 345.

Sinclair, Oliver, a pensioner to the priests and a great enemy to the reformation, 24—made lieutenant general at the battle of Solway moss, 28—defeated, *ib.*—his conduct, 30—reflected on by king James V. 31.

Soldier, French, death of one, 178.

Solway moss, battle near, 29.

Spence of Condy, sent with a memorial from the queen regent, 152—encourages Knox, 295.

Spotswood, John, superintendent of Lothian, his supplication to the queen against idolatry, 323—convenes the ministers under his charge at Edinburgh, 338—supplicates the king and queen for payment of their stipends, *ib.*

Spotswood's history, notices and corrections of, 22, *n.* 201, *n.* 349, *n.*

Stipends, petition of the church to the privy council concerning, 236—acts of the privy council concerning,

258 -261.—appointed to be modified to ministers, 262—value of, *ib. n.*—opinions concerning, 263.
Stirling taken by the congregation, 131.
Straiton and *Gourley*, two gentlemen hanged and burned for heresy, 21.
Sunmons by the poor widows, orphans, blind, &c. against the monks and friars, 100—against papists, who are brought before the justiciary court, they submit to the queen's pleasure, and are imprisoned, 287.
Superintendants appointed, 206—the form and order of their election, 228—230—and other ministers supplicate the queen for their stipends, 346.
Sweden, king of, sends an ambassador with proposals of marriage to queen *Mary*, which are rejected by her, 271.

T

Tarbet, James, how treated for saying mass, 323.
Thanksgiving, form of, for deliverance from the French, 205.
Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, ambassador for queen *Elizabeth* arrives in Scotland, 1565, gets audience of the queen, and represents his mistress's displeasure at her intended marriage with lord *Daruley*, 326.

W

Wallace, Adam, his accusation and answers, 81—is burned on the castlehill for pretended heresy, 82.
Whitelaw, Alexander, mistaken for *Kuox*, 142—his character, 185.
Wickliffe's translation of the *New Testament*, 14, *n.*
Williams, Thomas, account of, 53, and *n.*—preaches to *Arran*, *ib.*
Willock, John, his life and character, 83, and *n.*—preaches in *Edinburgh*, 105—endeavours used to hinder him from preaching in the kirk of *St Giles*, 141—to which the protestant lords refuse to yield, *ib.*—his speech for the deposition of queen *Mary*, 161.
Wishart, George, account of, 42, and *n.*—his gifts, *ib.*—his prophecies, *ib.* and *n.*—preaches at various places, 43—goes to *Dundee* while the pestilence rages there, 44—a priest attempts to assassinate him, *ib.*—his sermons at *Montrose*, *Leith*, &c. 45, 46—his apprehension, 48—trial, accusation, and answers, 51—56—execution and behaviour at the stake, 57—59, and *n.*
Witches, countess of *Huntly's*, 279, and *n.*—two burned, 292.
Wodrow's history corrected, 4, *n.*
Wood, John, his defalcation, 256.

THE END.

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