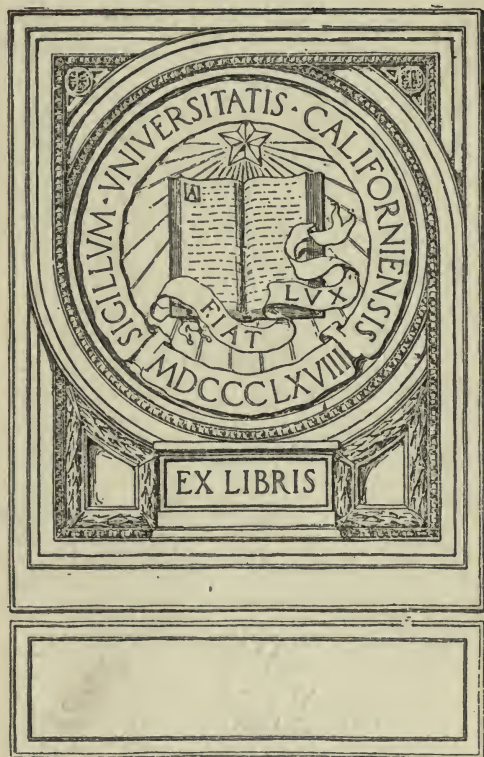


John Knox

A Biography

D. Macmillan.





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John Knox. B

JOHN KNOX.
From an old Portrait.

Frontispiece.

JOHN KNOX

A BIOGRAPHY

BY THE REV.

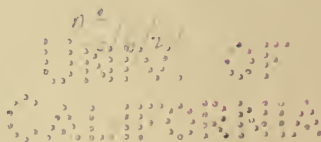
D. MACMILLAN, M.A.

MINISTER OF KELVINHAUGH PARISH, GLASGOW

With an Appreciation of the Reformer

BY THE

VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.



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PREFACE

THIS biography of the great Scottish Reformer has been directly inspired by the quatercentenary of his birth, which is to be celebrated this year. This is at once its excuse and its justification. The book is intended to fill a place midway between the larger and the smaller biographies of Knox already in existence. It is meant to meet the wants of those whose desire is to have a full sketch of the Reformer's career, but one which, at the same time, is not overburdened with unnecessary details.

I have to express my indebtedness to writers who have gone over the field before me: to the historians of the period, and in particular to the two chief biographers of Knox, Dr. McCrie and Dr. Hume Brown. Among the smaller biographies I have found that of Mrs. Maccunn the most suggestive. Dr. David Laing's well-known edition of Knox's works has, of course, been my chief source of information. Two books recently published are also of special note; these are the Baird Lecture

of the late Professor Mitchell and the Croall Lecture of the late Professor Hastie. Dr. Mitchell's work, edited with great care by Dr. Hay Fleming, gives a very luminous sketch of the polity of Knox, and Dr. Hastie's volume is invaluable for its exposition of the Reformer's theology.

The question of the date of Knox's birth, recently raised, is discussed in the Appendix. It is not pretended that the matter has been finally settled, but no evidence yet adduced seems to me strong enough to cause us to depart from the date mentioned by Spottiswoode and Buchanan. Knox's spelling has been in most instances modernised, but the original form has been preserved where it appeared most effective.

Whatever value the book possesses is, I feel, greatly enhanced by Principal Story's Introduction, in which he gives an appreciation of the Reformer at once distinctive and illuminative.

My best thanks are due to Mr. William Wallace, LL.D., for valuable suggestions made while the work was passing through the press, to the Rev. P. H. Aitken, B.D., and the Rev. George Drummond, B.D., for kindly revising the proofs, and to the Rev. R. S. V. Logie, M.A., for preparing the Index.

D. MACMILLAN.

February 20, 1905.



INTRODUCTION

THIS book needs no introduction to the public from me, being, as well as I can judge, an excellent piece of biographical literature — clear, compact, impartial — which can stand securely on its own merits. Nor does the subject of it require that any one Scotsman need vindicate any other's right to take a share in the general tribute to the illustrious memory of John Knox.

In Scotland at least, and in this year which (according to general tradition) sees the 400th anniversary of his birth, none will think the tribute undeserved or mistimed. Columba, when looking for the last time on the humble scenes of his apostolic life and labours, foretold, with a manly confidence in the worth of the work he had done, that "small and mean" although Iona appeared, it yet would be held in reverence by many races and rulers of men. The Christianity and civilisation of the realms of Scotland, of Northumbria and of Wales, have borne witness to his prophetic truth. The second great champion of the Northern Church, with a like lofty consciousness of having done his

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duty to his fatherland, said, ere his course was finished, "What I have been to my country although this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth."

We are not unthankful, and we need no compulsion to prompt us to bear our testimony, of gratitude and veneration, to the stoutest assertor of the religious liberties and civil rights of the people of Scotland. But yet one is tempted to ponder whether his honoured name is as familiar to us as it was to our forefathers: whether his words, "half battles of the free," ring with as clear a challenge as of yore to "the help of the Lord against the mighty": whether the example of his high-hearted patriotism is still felt to be as inspiring as it was in the old time before us. If, in answering this question, our mind is in any way clouded with a doubt, it is high time we examined ourselves on our relation to the memory of John Knox. Why should his memory appeal to our sentiments of patriotism, of religion, of love of liberty, as that of no other Scotsman does? I think we find convincing answer in the records of his life, as set forth in these pages.

The story of that life has been often told, both by friend and foe. It has also been rehearsed by writers who sometimes almost appear to be moved by a personal ill-will, or a distorting fanaticism, which forbade their seeing clearly or interpreting candidly his principles and actions. But it is

remarkable that the general consent of impartial students of history has always awarded to Knox a place second to none in the Scots' Valhalla of the great and good—"the one Scotsman," says Carlyle, "to whom, of all others, his country and the whole world owe a debt." It is well that this Anniversary should not be suffered to pass into the silence and the darkness, wherewith our life is bound, without some record of our loyalty to the name, which is more inseparably associated than any other with the establishment of Scottish Protestantism and the assertion of Scottish Nationality. The two causes are of a unity so absolute that the one cannot be severed from the other without loss of life to both, any more than the bleeding half of a dismembered body can survive its wound.

Knox's well-known belief in a policy of Union between Scotland and England may seem to discredit this assertion—but only to the superficial observer. When he came in 1560 from Geneva to take the lead in the social, political, and religious revolution that was then hastening to its crisis in his native country, he found the Kingdom weltering in a chaos of discordant elements. The Crown was in the hands of a foreign regent, and the nobles, who should have been its strength and stay, were for the most part a selfish gang, greedy of place and power, seeking in the general turmoil whatever spoil they could lay their hands on. The politicians were men of shiftY principles, now intriguing for the good-will

of England, now for the friendship of France. The middle class of burghers and traders, men of sounder morals and better education than the lairds, had not yet gained the firm hold, which their intelligence and wealth afterwards won for them, on the mind of their compatriots and on the course of public affairs. Everywhere the body politic was infected with disorder, discontent, unrest, and suspicion. The Church, by its own acknowledgment, was flagrantly corrupt—the lives of the Clergy, from the Archbishop to the Deacon, shamelessly immoral and scandalously depraved: the seculars ignorant, rude, and flagitious; the regulars wasting their substance in riotous living, or in luxurious sloth, in their magnificent monasteries. The keen eye of the Reformer saw, through the gloom and confusion, one clear ray of hope which might brighten into a perfect day when Scotland should be orderly, united, educated, delivered from superstition, and blessed with freedom: and that hope was to be realised through English help. There was no desire to surrender Scottish Nationality. On the contrary, there was the desire for the salvation of all that was worth saving in the National life of Scotland. For a time the nominal Nationality might appear to lose or veil its rugged features, but the real Nationality—the stubbornness, the fidelity to the highest and the best, the honesty, the bravery, the patient loyalty, which had survived all the malign influences of generations of misrule—these, which lay near the

roots of the Scottish character, would remain and would assert themselves in a free and friendly alliance with the sister power of England. To gain that alliance, and to maintain it, Knox saw was the truest patriotism: but absolutely irreconcilable with this was the continued supremacy of the Roman Church, which from the days of Margaret had held Scotland in a bitter spiritual bondage.

The first essential for reformation—in every department of life, domestic, social, industrial, political—was a Revolution in Religion. Without that no reform was possible, or even conceivable. The paralysing hand of the Church must be unclasped, its ruthless interference with all liberty of thought and action must be defied, its irrational dogmas dislodged from their high places, its idolatries and superstitions dragged into the light of day and trampled in the dust. There was nothing else for it; no *via media*, no temporising readjustments would serve the cruel need. The Revolution must be complete, in doctrine, in practice, in ritual, in government. As is evident from his *History*, Knox took the weapons with which he was to lead it to victory from the armoury of Geneva, whence Calvin guided and inspired the campaign of freedom against tyranny. We may mark, with some regret, how far Calvin's mind dominated his, and Calvinistic doctrine reproduced itself in his theology. But in the revolt from Rome, and in the suspicion of even the modified sacramentarianism of Luther, no system less thorough-

going than Calvin's could satisfy a man like Knox, with his inveterate hatred of idolatry and passionate devotion to what he believed to be the Divine and righteous will:—passionate devotion of this sort, and passionate conviction of the inherent right of every human creature to have its own immediate access to the very throne of God, by the “new and living way,” unaided, or unhindered, by any services or devices or mediations of men or churches.

As far as help from outside—from England or elsewhere—went, Knox for long owed it but little. The Tudor Autocrat could not forget or forgive the obloquy he had poured on “the Monstrous,” the “Monstruous,” the “Monstriferous” Regiment of Women; and she watched Knox's career with a vindictiveness which would, if she could, have hampered every effort her advisers made to lend English aid to the Scots Reformers: but the battle was practically won, speedily and essentially without external succours.

Knox spoke his prophet's message to the Scots, and the Nation rallied to his call. They had never forgotten him, all the time he had been away in the accursed French galleys, in England, in Dieppe, in Frankfort and Geneva, with but brief returns to the North; and they recognised their Leader now. The Man needed for the time had come, his voice putting more heart into them than “five hundred trumpets blustering in their ears”; a sermon from him worth a squadron of cavalry, the man of their own blood and class, yet not ashamed to stand before kings, and to

tell the honest truth to any man; not afraid to say to the Privy Councillors who had his life in their hands, "I am in the place where I am demanded by conscience to speak the truth, and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." He never paltered with the truth, or sought fine phrases to mislead his hearers or veil his meaning. "I call," said he, "a fig a fig and a spade a spade." His language was plain and strong, homely and racy, yet now and again soaring to flights of impassioned eloquence or pathetic pleading that swayed all hearts like a wheat-field before a gale. His sarcasm, his humour, his invective, were biting and brilliant, but no written record can convey the vivid impression his speech produced. It was the impetuous force and burning conviction which urged his words, joined to the commanding personality of the man, that bore all before him.

Some disorder and violence accompanied a few of his earlier denunciations and appeals; but he gave this no encouragement or approval. The popular hatred and contempt spent themselves chiefly on the Monastic establishments, whose hoarded wealth and idle luxury had long provoked the jealousy and resentment of the unruly populace, ever ready to make a pernicious profit out of sources of religious or secular unrest. But Knox was incapable of playing on the passions of "the rascal multitude." On the occasions when he appeared before the Court or the Privy Council, he spoke with a gravity, a weight, a self-respect which compelled respect in its turn. "Who

are you," asked Mary, "that interfere with my government within this Realm?" "Madam," he replied, "a subject born within the same." The whole claims of the rights of religion and of personal liberty were summed up in the words, lifting, as they did, the matter in hand out of all meaner relations to the broad platform of public right and justice,—from the question of what was due to the Crown from the subject, to the larger one of what was due to the subject from the Crown.

In all his interviews with the Queen he stands before the beautiful Mary, in his Geneva gown, a somewhat grim but yet a stately figure, austere, incorruptible, with a rigid persuasion of the righteousness of the cause which he felt he was commissioned to uphold. To him that cause was nothing less than God's, of whose immediate sovereignty over the realm of Scotland he, John Knox, and not Mary Stuart, was the representative. His faith in his own office as the Messenger of a New Covenant with Scotland, which should establish God's Kingdom there on a divine foundation never to be shaken,—foundation of a pure evangel—of an Apostolic Church—of a free and godly people,—was as profound as his belief in the unchangeable and inscrutable Decree which had fixed his destiny from all Eternity. It was a stern belief, but, to the children of the Covenant, a hopeful one, as they saw the Lord's work prospering in their hands, and hailed it as a sign that they were of the Elect, their righteousness

inflexible as that of God Himself. A creed less absolute in its moral standard, less assured of its foothold within the veil, would not have been the fortress which Knox and men like him needed in those days of storm and stress. No doubt of his commission ever darkened his mind. No fear of man ever unstrung his nerve or daunted his resolution. For the Scottish Nation, wearied of falsehood and faction, with its life degraded and its conscience demoralised, he created a soul "under the ribs of death"; roused it to a sense of its responsibility to God, awoke its benumbed love of liberty to a determination to assert the sacred rights of freedom.

All this was a work not done easily, or in a hurry. Year after year he fought his battles and won his victories. "This that Knox did for his Nation," says Carlyle, "we may really call a Resurrection as from Death."

John Knox's teaching and discipline (of which his Confession of Faith and First Book of Discipline were the embodiments) laid down the principles, and inspired the practices, which, in the words of an historian of the time, changed the Scots from being "one of the rudest, most ignorant, indigent, and turbulent of peoples, into one of the most civilised, educated, prosperous, and upright, which our family of Nations can show." And yet not all his noble ideas were realised. A just provision for the Clergy, who took the place of the former priests and Churchmen, was pared down to a beggarly pittance; and

the wolfish rapacity of the "nobles" clutched also the wealth of the monks and friars on its way to the support of the poor and the endowment of colleges and schools. His wholesomest and most statesman-like schemes for the general welfare were thwarted and sneered at as "devout imaginations" by those who had it in their power to direct, for a time, the public policy, to the lasting detriment of Church and State. We are still trying, by belated legislations, to effect social, economical, and educational reforms which would have been achieved four hundred years ago, if only Knox had had full freedom to act. The great body of the people stood by him and were thoroughly loyal to him. The aristocracy was not. Half-hearted support, wavering allegiance to the cause, shuffling sympathy with its Champion, disparagement of his motives, mendacious aspersion of his character, misrepresentation and abuse — these were common and current among the classes who loved the old Faith and the young Queen, and those who at bottom, caring little for either, hated Knox's discipline and hungered for the spoils of the Kirk.

The discipline no doubt was stern (the Puritanic element showed itself distinctly in Knox's character and ecclesiastical economy), but it was of a higher strain at anyrate than could consort with the dissolute manners of the wanton Court. At the head of the Court, and of the political party identified with it, was the uncompromising enemy of the

Reformed Religion, the most fascinating woman of her time ; and Knox knew, and she knew, that between her influence and his the struggle was for life or death. In the Queen's Mass in the Chapel Royal Knox saw nothing but rank idolatry and National downfall and disgrace. He would have none of it. He was "intolerant," undoubtedly : but could he be otherwise? Could he be tolerant of that ungodly power which for four hundred years had sucked the blood of Scotland, had slain her martyrs, had burned her witnessess of the Truth, had held down her people in Spiritual darkness and made religion a byword in the land?

There are some things in the world that no free and honest man can, or ought to, tolerate. And the Scoto-Roman Church in the reign of Mary Stuart was one of them. If Scotland was to live, *it* must die. Knox dealt it its deathblow : and with him, after a tough contest, remained the victory of liberty and Truth. It was not an absolute triumph. Ere he was in his grave the forces of reaction had begun to raise their noxious heads ; to rebel against the Church's "godly discipline," and seemly order ; to stumble into the crooked paths of Prelacy, and the superstitions of Sacerdotalism and Sacramentarianism. Yet it was but for a time. The new faith and order of the Presbyterian Kirk—a free Church in a free State—were too firmly planted in the minds and consciences of an enfranchised people to be shaken by the temporary success, or failure, of

ecclesiastical factions or political parties. For four hundred years they have stood as on a rock.

And the Church of Scotland—Apostolic, National, Reformed—will continue so to stand as long as Scotsmen are faithful to the trust which Knox bequeathed to them. Let them not forget or misunderstand what it is—the Custody of the Faith once delivered to the Saints; the unbroken Tradition of the primitive Church; the Ideal of that city of God which is Eternal in the Heavens.

R. H. S.

JOHN KNOX



CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

THE first forty years of John Knox's life are almost an unbroken blank. His *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, which is practically his own biography writ large, maintains a singular silence regarding the early years of his career. It is supposed that he was so ashamed "of the time spent in the puddle of papestry" that he preferred to make no reference to it. What we know of his birth and parentage, and the influences which were at work in producing him, can be briefly stated.

He was born in the year 1505¹ at Gifford Gate, near Haddington. His father was called William, and he had a brother of the same name. His mother was a Sinclair. This we know from the fact that, following the common custom of the time, he used

¹ See Appendix.

her name as his own to shelter him from persecution. His earlier biographers connect his family with the noble House of the Knoxes of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, but there is no ground for this belief. He describes himself as "a man of base estate and condition," and in an interesting interview which he had with the Earl of Bothwell the fact of his humble origin is made perfectly clear. "For albeit that to this hour it hath not chanced me to speak with your Lordship, face to face, yet have I borne a good mind to your house. . . . For, my Lord, my grandfather, goodsher, and father have served your Lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards." It is possible that Knox here refers to the Battle of Flodden; in any case the interview shows that a feudal relation existed between the House of Bothwell and his family. Like the other two supreme Scotsmen, Burns and Carlyle, he sprang from the people. In mind and heart and character he was a genuine product of the Scottish soil.

The district of East Lothian was, long before Knox's day, one of the greenest and most fertile parts of Scotland. It had little in its physical features to suggest that hardiness and sternness of character which have been associated with Knox in popular tradition. But, as those who have made a deeper study of the life of the great Reformer know, there was a tenderness in his character which formed no unfitting counterpart to the scenes of his childhood and youth. The religious Revolution, in which he



HADDINGTON CHURCH.

was to play so distinguished a part, demanded qualities which threw into the background the sympathy and gentleness which by nature were his. In his native town Knox would see the Romish Church in all its splendour and, at the same time, in all its corruption. Haddington was rich in monasteries and churches, and one of the latter, from its beauty of architecture, was called "The Lamp of Lothian." Whatever his affection for Haddington may have been, he was at no pains to hide the slowness with which it accepted the new religion. In the account which he gives of Wishart's preaching there, he declares that Haddington was fonder of witnessing Clerk Plays than listening to the Gospel. The wealth and power of the Church in that district may have accounted for this.

The future Reformer was educated first in the Burgh School of his native town, and afterwards in the University of Glasgow. Scotland, even at so early a date, showed that interest in education which has characterised it ever since. Knox afterwards, in his Book of Discipline, gave a sketch of an ideal system of education for his country, but that system was not his own invention; it had its bedrock in pre-Reformation times. The burgh schools of Scotland were no unworthy precursors of the famous grammar schools of a later age.

Knox entered Glasgow University in 1522, at the age of seventeen years. He would naturally have gone to the University of St. Andrews, which was

nearer, but the fame of John Major, who had recently been appointed principal regent or tutor in the College of the Faculty of Arts in Glasgow, and who was himself a Haddington man, and educated in its Burgh School, drew Knox to the younger and more distant University of the West.

John Major would seem to have been the beau-ideal of the Scottish professor of the time, but, reading his works in the light of modern thought, it is not easy to discover the secret of his popularity. Buchanan, who studied under him afterwards in St. Andrews, is at no pains to conceal his contempt. He criticises his professor's teaching as "sophistry rather than dialectics," and the fact that both he and Knox should have afterwards travelled far in different directions from the teaching of Major, shows that he had no great influence over them. Major was a type of the Schoolman who knew something of the new Learning without being affected by it. He studied in Paris in the same College as Erasmus, but, unlike the great Humanist, he remained practically uninfluenced by the spirit of the Renaissance. All the same, he had imbibed some generous opinions of government and of the natural rights and liberty of subjects in relation to their rulers. In this respect he influenced both Buchanan and Knox, and the latter's manly insistence on his independence and rights to Queen Mary, "Madam, a subject born within the same," may have been the full development of the views of his old master.

Glasgow University at that time gave little or no promise of its great future. It was poor in endowments and in teaching. The city itself was dominated by the Church. The Cathedral, with its Archbishop and Prebendaries, was the centre and source of the life both of the city and the University. Knox had the benefit of Major's teaching for a year only, for the latter was transferred in 1523 to the University of St. Andrews, and he himself is supposed to have left without taking a degree.

Thus far the career of the Reformer can be partly traced, but for the next twenty years hardly a single record of it can be found. It is generally believed, however, that he returned to East Lothian, and acted first as a notary and afterwards as private tutor in the families of the local gentry. Indeed, this can be authenticated, for documents have been recently discovered which prove him to have acted in the former capacity, and he himself tells us that at the time of Wishart's preaching in Haddington he was private tutor in the families of Cockburn of Ormiston and Hugh Douglas of Longniddry. There is no record of the time when he took priest's Orders, but in later years his Catholic adversaries railed at him as one of the "Pope's Knights," and as having received Orders by which he "were umquhile called Sir John." The tradition, incorporated in his *Life* by Beza, and repeated and expanded by later biographers, that he excelled as a lecturer in Philosophy, and threw over the

study of Aristotle for that of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, may be true, but it is without historical proof.

Knox, however, must have been during those long years directing his attention to the great questions which were influencing the whole of Western Europe. The minds of men everywhere were being stirred by the religious Revolution which had already all but run its course on the Continent, and the fact that Knox suddenly appeared in the Castle of St. Andrews in 1547 fully armed for the great warfare which he was to wage, shows that he must have been preparing for it by a long course of thought and study. He never pretended that there was anything miraculous in his renunciation of the old religion and his acceptance of the new. Study and reflection, and external influences, must be regarded as having played an important part in that transformation of heart and mind which not only saved himself but his country from Popish darkness and superstition.

On the Continent, and even in England, the Renaissance preceded the Reformation; in Scotland this was reversed. Indeed, the Renaissance never really took hold in Scottish soil. The Revolution was pre-eminently a religious one. This may account for its thoroughness, and for the supreme influence which the Reformed religion exercised over the life and thought of Scotland for generations. Theology became the absorbing interest, to the exclusion of Art and Letters. In Germany and in

England it was different. The Renaissance in the former country preceded the Reformation, and in England they went hand in hand. This may explain the more human religious life of Luther and the less intense fervour of the English Reformers. They took a broader view of life and destiny. Their minds were both Hebraistic and Hellenistic; while the Scottish mind was Hebraistic only. It is hard to say whether the Scottish people have gained or lost by this. For one thing, it has given that moral grit to the nation which has made it great; while, on the other hand, it has, to a certain extent, robbed it of those more human interests which play a necessary part in the all-round development of a people.

But long before the times of Luther and Calvin a spirit of reform had manifested itself in the Scottish Church. The Lollards of Kyle in the fifteenth century preached some of those very doctrines which afterwards became the watchwords of the Reformation. They had their spiritual descendants, and from their day until the time of Knox himself, the blood of Scottish martyrs testified that the spirit of pure religion was far from dead. The country was thus prepared for a full participation in the religious Revolution which had already powerfully affected the Continent, and was making rapid headway in England. The Reformed views were being spread by means of books and preachers. The nations that had been under the influence of the

Papacy were beginning to assert their political rights and to become individualised. They were attaining to self-consciousness. The age of unquestioning faith was gone; and Scotland, though a little in the rear of this movement, was about to show that in carrying it out it meant to be thorough.

Had the Church in England, however, not been reformed it is possible that no religious Revolution would have taken place in Scotland. The northern country at this time was divided in its allegiance between France and England. Both countries courted its alliance. James v. was dead. The nation was nominally under the Regency of Arran, but, as a matter of fact, the real power lay in the hands of Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-Dowager Mary of Lorraine. Those who were bound by every tie to France saw in an alliance with it the only hope for the Catholic Church. England, on the other hand, courted the friendship of Scotland chiefly for political reasons. Henry VIII., in order to bind the two countries together, determined to marry his son, the future King Edward VI., to the young Queen Mary of Scots. Between Scotland and England there had been a long and deadly enmity, and the natural tendency of politicians was to favour an understanding with France; but the secret policy of the latter country, which was to make of Scotland a French province, caused them to hesitate, and the Protestant party in the country, which was now considerable, saw that their only chance of success lay in

friendship with England. Had England remained Roman Catholic the incipient Protestantism of Scotland would have died a natural death, for it was the support, partly genuine and partly selfish and political, which the country across the border gave in the time of need that really saved Protestantism for Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF MISSION.

NO external force, political, religious, or personal, could have destroyed the Church had it encouraged soundness of teaching and fostered purity of life; but its corruption was beyond healing. The disease was too deep and had lasted too long, and death was the natural and only deliverance. The leaders of the Church were alive to the need of reform, but their efforts were too late. Ecclesiastical Councils and Acts of Parliament insisted upon amendment, but in vain. The laity were crying out for the purification of the ecclesiastical life of the day, and deplored the "opin sclander that is gevin to the haill estates thruch the said spirituall mene's ungodly and dissollute lives." In the opening chapters of his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* Knox gives a picture of the corruptions that existed in the Church, and particularly of the scandalous lives of the clergy, which in graphic detail and humour has seldom been equalled.

Even if half of what he said were true, and we

know it to be essentially true, the times were ripe for a thorough cleansing of the Augean stable. The shameful trafficking in benefices; the large parishes entirely neglected; the greed and wealth of the higher clergy; the perversion of doctrine; the fostering of superstition; and the immoral and shameless lives of the Bishops, whom Knox scathingly characterises as "idle bellies and dumb dogs," were more than the country could stand, and the zeal for righteousness inherent in human nature was stirred, and cried for the reform or the abolition of a Church that was a scandal to Christendom.

If, however, the Church could not be reformed from within it must be defended from without. So thought the leading ecclesiastics in Scotland. They entered accordingly upon that course of persecution which began with the burning of James Resby in Perth in 1407, eight years before the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague, and which ceased not till the burning of Walter Mill in St. Andrews in 1558. But persecution never yet killed truth, and the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews in 1528 centralised, so to speak, the new movement, and imparted to it an impelling power which, outside influences being favourable, was prophetic of victory. Indeed, Knox dates the history of the Reformation in Scotland from Hamilton's death.

This young teacher of the new religion was only in his twenty-fourth year when his tongue was silenced for ever. He belonged to the patrician family

of that name, was a native of West Lothian, took Orders in the Roman Catholic Church and became Abbot of Ferne, but receiving a taste of the new learning and religion at St. Andrews, where he studied, he travelled to Germany, and at the Universities of Marburg and Wittenberg came directly under the influence of the Lutheran theology. In his thesis, which was afterwards published under the title of *Patrick's Places*, he gave the first systematised statement of the Reformed religion by any Scotsman. Returning to his native country he became a power. He was so gentle and winning in character, and, for his time, so learned, that his preaching took deep root in the hearts of those who listened to it. The Church took alarm, and James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the uncle of his more famous successor, Cardinal Beaton, put Hamilton on his trial and caused him to be condemned and burned.

The next man of outstanding importance who appears in the history of Scottish religious life is George Wishart. Between his death and that of Hamilton there is a period almost of twenty years. During that interval the Reformed views were being spread by books and preaching, for under the Regency of Arran the Bible was allowed to be circulated and read in the vernacular. Other influences were also at work. Poetry and the Drama were playing their part. The Satires of Sir David Lindsay were casting ridicule on the Church and Clergy, and "The Gude and Godlie Ballatis" of the

Wedderburns were incorporating the new truths in a form which could be read and sung by the common people. In keeping with this spirit, John Erskine of Dun, one of the most notable men of the period, encouraged young Wishart, who, like his patron, was a native of the Mearns, to teach the Greek Testament in Montrose. This was the first time that "Greek" was taught in Scotland. But Cardinal Beaton, who was now in the ascendant, and who was determined to foster an alliance with France and to crush the Reformation in Scotland, was laying violent hands upon all who were of the Reformed ways.

Wishart took alarm and fled to England. He afterwards travelled on the Continent, translated into English the first Helvetic Confession, taught theology at Cambridge University, and impressed his scholars by his simplicity, charity, and learning. "He was a man," writes one of them, Emery Tylney, "courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn."

He returned to his native country in 1543, and began preaching in Montrose and Dundee. He subsequently went to Ayrshire, but revisited Dundee on learning that the plague had broken out in that city, and won the love and reverence of the people by his devotion and self-sacrifice. Thereafter he crossed to Leith, but his friends, the Lairds of Ormiston, Longniddry, and Brunston, took him for greater safety to East Lothian, and it was while there that he and Knox were brought into personal and friendly contact. The first real glimpse we get of the future

Reformer is in the capacity of armour-bearer, going before Wishart with the two-handed sword that was now necessary for his protection. It was in those days that are called the "Holy days of Yule" that Wishart came to East Lothian.

Knox displays a marked enthusiasm in speaking of Wishart. He characterises him as "a man of such graces as before him was never heard within this realm, and are rare yet in any man, notwithstanding this great lyght of God that since his days has schined unto us." There is every reason for thinking that Knox regarded him as his spiritual father. It was under the inspiring teaching of Wishart that the future Reformer attained to his religious self-consciousness, came out into the open, and determined to give himself heart and soul to the preaching and propagation of the new religion.

Wishart was disappointed at the sparseness of the audience that assembled to hear him at Haddington, and he unburdened his soul to Knox. "Walking up and down behind the High Altar," waiting for the hour of sermon, he said to Knox that he "wearied of the world because he perceived that men began to weary of God." The fact is, the people of Haddington were intimidated by the presence in the neighbourhood of Cardinal Beaton, and the knowledge that the preacher was a marked man.

Beaton's hatred of Wishart was twofold. He saw in him an enemy not only of the Romish Church but of himself. A plot at this time was being



GEORGE WISHART.

hatched against the Cardinal, and some of the very men who were aiding and defending Wishart in his propagandism were known to be involved in it. No proof has been adduced to show that Wishart was a party to the scheme, which had the approval of Henry VIII. and the English faction in Scotland. He was naturally associated in his life-work with the Protestants in the country who both on religious and political grounds were inimical to the Cardinal.

After sermon Wishart returned to the house of Ormiston, and upon Knox insisting on accompanying him, Wishart put him gently aside by saying, "Nay : return to your bairns and God bless you." Knox obeyed reluctantly, and, giving up the two-handed sword, parted from Wishart, whom he was never to see again.

That night the house of Ormiston was surrounded by the Earl of Bothwell and his retainers, and Wishart was entrusted to their charge on the distinct understanding that he was not to be handed over to the Civil or Ecclesiastical authorities. But Bothwell broke his pledge. Wishart was soon carried to the Castle of Edinburgh, and thereafter to the Castle of St. Andrews. All this happened early in 1546, and in March of the same year he suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews.

Knox now found himself a marked man, and, wearying of the persecution to which he was subjected, he resolved to flee the country. Germany, and not Switzerland, seemed to attract him most ; but he

changed his mind in later years, and when at last he did go to the Continent it was to Geneva and not to Wittenberg. He had by that time made deliberate choice of the Reformed Theology. The fathers of his pupils, loth to lose his services, persuaded him to seek refuge in the Castle of St. Andrews, and to take his young charges with him.

Strange and even startling things had happened in that old grey city since Knox parted from his friend Wishart at the door of Haddington Church. Wishart himself had been martyred, but Beaton, the prime mover in the business, had also been slain. A band of desperate men, of whom Melville of Carnbee, William Kirkcaldy, younger, of Grange, and John and Norman Leslie were the chief, pledged themselves to avenge the martyrdom of Wishart, and early on the 29th day of May, while the Cardinal still slept in his chamber, they seized the Castle of St. Andrews, which he thought impregnable, and ruthlessly put him to death. "I am a priest, ye will not slay me!" cried the once great ecclesiastic in abject terror, but the word Mercy drew no response from those desperate men. For answer he received a sword-thrust, and while drawing his last breath he was asked to repent of the murder of George Wishart, "that notable instrument of God."

Beaton was the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen that the Romish Church produced in Scotland, and probably the greatest. He has earned undying obloquy by his murder of George

Wishart and his persecution of the preachers of the Reformed religion. But the historians of the period take a wider view of his character and career, and find in him the ablest Scottish politician of the time. He was a patriot inasmuch as he opposed, to the utmost, the alliance with England, in which he thought there lay great danger to his country; and he certainly cannot be accused of being in the pay of Henry VIII., like the Earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, and others. But his opposition to the English alliance was dictated as much, perhaps, by his devotion to the Romish Church as his love of Scotland, for he saw in the policy of Henry VIII. the probable future success of Protestantism. He cultivated the friendship of France, partly, no doubt, for the purpose of thwarting the aims of the English monarch, but in this he, at the same time, endangered the freedom of his own country, and did his best to perpetuate the superstition that then prevailed. Personal ambition, perchance as much as anything, guided his public conduct, for the policy which he pursued necessitated his own eminence, and demanded that the leading ecclesiastic should also be the chief statesman of the day. This policy was doomed to failure, and whatever his more estimable qualities may have been, the popular judgment of the country has, notwithstanding various attempts to whitewash his character, been steadily cast against him.

CHAPTER III.

ST. ANDREWS AND THE GALLEYS.

IT was on the 10th of April 1547 that Knox entered the Castle of St. Andrews. The company that welcomed him was a strange one. It consisted almost entirely of political rebels and religious refugees, or, as Pitscottie quaintly puts it, of those who “suspected themselves to be privy to the said slaughter.” Among them were such sober-minded men as Sir David Lindsay, Henry Balnaves, and John Rough, and, along with these, those who had taken an active part in the murder of Beaton, such as young Kirkcaldy, Melville, and the two Leslies.

It would be absurd, of course, to regard these last as murderers in the ordinary sense. Their crime was political, and assassination in those days was quietly debated in the cabinets of kings, and determined on as the only means of suppressing troublesome opponents. But the company in the Castle, which at this time numbered one hundred and fifty, was, to say the least, a very mixed one. Knox

was shocked at the conduct of some of them, openly rebuked them, and declared that the corrupt life which they led "could not escape the judgment of God." He did his best to instruct their minds and reform their morals by his teaching and preaching. He continued instructing the three lads who were under his care, and took up their lessons at the point where he had stopped before entering the Castle.

He has told us the nature of the instruction which he imparted. "Besides their grammar and other human authors he read unto them the Catechism, an account of which he caused them to give publicly in the Parish Kirk of St. Andrews. He read, moreover, unto them, proceeding where he left at his departure from Longniddry, where before his residence was, and that lecture he read at the Castle, in the chapel within the Castle, at a certain hour."

The garrison was not long in discovering that a man of more than ordinary power was now in their midst. John Rough was very good in his way, but it was perfectly clear to their minds that he was not equal to John Knox. The leading men among them were anxious that the latter would assume the official position of a preacher of the new faith, and they made a representation to him to that effect. The future Reformer did not yield easily. He held the most serious views on the tremendous responsibility which rested on a man who assumed

such an office. At first, he tells us, he utterly refused, alleging that "he would not run where God had not called him." Lindsay and Balnaves, who were shrewd judges of character and had a quick eye for talent, and who had been deeply impressed by Knox's catechising and teaching of his pupils, insisted upon him giving his consent; and Rough, after a special sermon on the election of ministers, suddenly turned to Knox and in the name of all present called upon him to accept the holy vocation of a minister of the Gospel. Then addressing the people, he said: "Was not this your charge to me?" With one voice they answered: "Thou and we approve it." This appeal quite overcame Knox. He felt that this call to the ministry was in reality a call from God; that the Almighty was speaking through the voice of the people. It was like the summons which in ancient times was issued to the prophets of Israel, and he could not refuse it. Overwhelmed by the appeal, he, as he himself tells us, "abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears and withdrew himself to his chamber."

To us also, at this time of day, there seems a Divine purpose in the call which he thus received to the ministry. The man was ready to discharge the great duties which the times demanded. He did not probably know this himself, but the boldness and ability with which he almost there and then took up his new duties showed that the long years of preparation were ended, that their purpose

was served, and that the man was fully equipped at all points. He was ready to wage that battle against ignorance, superstition, and immorality, which would end in the overthrow of the Romish Church and in the establishment of the Protestant religion.

In the very first sermon which he preached in the Parish Church before the University, the garrison, and the townspeople, he struck straight at the roots of the evils of which the Papacy was the fruit. He identified it with the Man of Sin; with Anti-Christ; with the Whore of Babylon; and "deciphered by the way the lives of the various Popes," condemning their lives and jeering at their doctrines as idolatry. The imagery of Knox's sermon, taken from Daniel, St. Paul, and the Apocalypse, was a revelation to his audience if familiar to us. He made a great impression. Some said, "Master George Wishart spoke never so plainly, and yet he was burned; even so will he be." Others said, "Others hewed the branches of the Papacy, but this man strikes at the root."

Archbishop Hamilton, having heard of this sermon, wrote to John Wynram, Sub-Prior of the Monastery of St. Andrews, and called upon him to take steps to have Knox suppressed. This was easier said than done. Wynram, who had a leaning towards the Reformed views, was bound to make a show of obedience, and he caused nine heretical propositions taken from the preaching of Rough and Knox to be drawn up, and the two preachers were

summoned before a gathering of the Romish clergy in St. Leonard's College to defend themselves.

Rough was a "good man" and "without corruption," but while liked by the people he was not the most learned. He had also experienced difficulty at former times in meeting the theological attacks of his opponents, but on this occasion he was assisted by a champion who was more than a match for all the Professors and Doctors in St. Andrews. Wynram, who first took up the dispute, soon handed it over to a Franciscan friar, who entirely lost his head, and to the dismay of his fellows made the extraordinary statement, "That the Apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they had wrote their Epistles, but after they received Him, and then they did order their ceremonies."

But of much more importance than the overthrow of his opponents in argument was the hold that Knox was evidently gaining on the minds and hearts of the common people. We read that they heard him gladly, and in his very first sermon he sounded that note of religious freedom which afterwards burst into a veritable trumpet peal, and summoned to his side the commons of Scotland in the fresh vigour of their new-found independence. In June he administered the Sacrament to two hundred people after the Reformed manner. This was the second occasion on which the Death of our Lord had been commemorated in this fashion. George Wishart, on the night before his execution, celebrated

the Sacrament with his jailer according to the rites of the Reformed Church. From this dates the overthrow of the Romish Sacrament of the Mass, which Knox was never weary of declaring to be rank idolatry.

The Earl of Arran, unable to subdue the garrison, tried to bribe it into surrender. He secured a pardon from the Pope which in reality was no pardon at all, and the garrison, looking for assistance from England, determined to prolong the struggle, but on the last day of June a French fleet appeared outside the bay of St. Andrews, and Knox for one saw the doom that was imminent. He declared that their defences would be but "egg-shells," and that they would "fall into the enemy's hands and be carried into a strange country."

The French, who knew how to beleaguer a stronghold, posted cannon in such positions as could command the Castle, and on Saturday the last of July it surrendered. They were careful, however, to yield themselves to the French Admiral rather than to the Regent of Scotland, and they laid down the condition that their lives be saved, that they should be transported to France, and if unable to remain in the French service they should be conveyed at the cost of their captors back to Scotland. This pledge was no sooner given than it was broken. The members of the captured garrison were at once consigned to the galleys and to prisons in France. Among the former was Knox, who for nineteen

months toiled as a galley slave, and endured bodily sufferings and anguish of mind and spirit which were almost unutterable.

Knox is very reticent about his life on board the galleys, but on the one or two occasions on which he refers to it, it can be seen that the iron had entered his soul, and that he could not look back upon that period without a shudder. "How long," he says in one passage, "I continued a prisoner; what torment I sustained in the galleys and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite." His hatred of France is well known, and the nineteen months spent by him as a galley slave must, to say the least, have intensified it.

It is almost impossible for us at this time of day to imagine the kind of life that those miserable wretches who toiled in the French warships had to endure. One of those galleys carried a complement of 450 men; of these 150 formed the crew, and the remaining 300 were slaves who toiled at the oars. Five or six of them sat on a bench which stretched crosswise from side to side of the ship. To this bench they were chained night and day. The labour of rowing was intense. In taking their stroke they had to rise from the bench, and the effort was so great that even in the coldest weather perspiration burst out on their faces. They were scantily clad with coarse canvas coat and cap, and their food was a kind of porridge made of oil and beans, with a biscuit thrown in. From stem to stern ran a

gangway, called the *coursier*, and along it walked the officer in charge with whip in hand, which he plied unsparingly to anyone who lagged at his task. A slight awning screened the slaves from the burning sun; but in rough weather it was removed, and left them exposed to wind and rain and cold.

It almost passes human imagination to picture the horrors of such a life, especially for a man like Knox, who was there for conscience' sake, and who had been accustomed to the amenities which, for most human beings, make existence tolerable. Chained at the same oar with him may have been a Turk or a Moor, a thief or a murderer; but there was no escape. He had to bear the companionship without a moment's relief. One shrinks from even hinting at the horrible conditions under which those poor wretches lived and toiled. Enough to mention that the hospital, which was in the centre and bottom of the ship, was such a plague-stricken hole that many a poor sick creature preferred to die toiling at his oar rather than be put into it.

The French officers would seem to have concerned themselves about the religious opinions of their prisoners, and to have attempted to convert the heretics among them to the old faith. In this connection an incident of considerable interest is related by Knox, and, although he does not say so, he himself must have been the hero of it.

"Those that were in the galleys," he remarks in his *History of the Reformation*, "were threatened

with torments if they would not give reverence to the Mass, but they could never get the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol. Yea, upon the Saturday at night when they sang their *Salve Regina* the whole Scottishmen put on their hoods or such things as they had to cover their heads, and when the others were compelled to kiss a painted board called *Notre Dame* they were not pressed after that once, for this was the chance. Soon after the arrival at Nantes their great *Salve* was sung, and a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed: and among others was presented to one of the Scottishmen then chained. He gently said, 'Trouble me not, such an idol is accursed, and therefore I will not touch it.' The *patron* and the *Argoussin*, with two officers having the charge of 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 cast it into the river, and said: 'Let our lady now save herself, she is light enough, let her learn to swim.' After that," he grimly adds, "was no Scottishman urged with that idolatry."

It would appear that on two occasions, while a slave in the galleys, the ship in which he toiled came within sight of the Scottish coast, and the view of his native land seems to have inspired the hope that one day he would be at liberty. On the second of these occasions they were lying between

St. Andrews and Dundee. The hardships which he had endured were beginning to tell on him, and he was now broken in health, but his answer to James Balfour, one of his companions at the oar, who asked him if he recognised the spot, shows that, however dejected, he was convinced that the task to which he was consecrated would still be discharged by him. "Yes," answered Knox, "I know it well, for I see the steeple of the place where God first in public opened my lips to His glory, and I am fully persuaded how weak soever I may now appear, I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify His godly name in that place."

It would seem, however, that a certain liberty must have been allowed to Knox, for he was able to correspond with those members of the garrison who were confined in different castles along the coast of France. Young Kirkcaldy of Grange, and three other Scotsmen who were imprisoned in the Benedictine Abbey of Mont St. Michel, were meditating their escape, and consulted Knox if they might make the attempt. He replied: "Certainly, if ye shed no blood." They took his advice, and in place of killing their jailers they made them drunk with wine and so attained their liberty.

Henry Balnaves, who was confined in the Palace of Rouen, solicited Knox's judgment on a *Treatise on Justification by Faith*, in the composition of which he had relieved the monotony of his imprisonment. "This composition," Knox states,

“was come into his hands while he was in Rouen lying in irons and was troubled by corporal infirmity in a galley called *Nostre Dame*.” Knox evidently had leisure not only to read the work, “to the comfort of his spirit,” but to divide it into chapters and write a digest of it. He afterward sent it with a letter of introduction and commendation to the “Congregation of the Castle of St. Andrews.” This work by Balnaves, which will afterwards be referred to, is of considerable interest as the first systematic statement of the Reformed religion prepared by any Scotsman. Patrick Hamilton’s *Places* was a bald composition in comparison, and though both of them were conceived largely on the same lines, that of Balnaves is fuller and more logically reasoned.

But liberty was at last in sight for Knox and his companions. The friendly policy between the two Governments of France and England, which began during the last period of Edward the Sixth’s reign, was continued by Protector Somerset. England at last remembered that the garrison of St. Andrews had been fighting as her allies. Terms were arranged between the two Governments, and some time in the month of February 1549 Knox gained his freedom, and in 1550 all his fellow-prisoners were allowed to leave France.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

KNOX on regaining liberty would naturally have returned to Scotland, but had he done so he would have courted the fate of George Wishart. The country was in a very unsettled condition, and the policy of the governing classes was dead against the Reformation. He accordingly went to England, where he was welcomed by the Duke of Somerset as one likely to aid him in spreading the Protestant religion.

England at this time possessed very few capable preachers. Its parochial clergy were for the most part ignorant priests, who ought to have been living in retirement on their pensions, but who had been allowed by Henry VIII. to serve their cures and draw their stipends in order to save his Exchequer. The reaction which took place under Bloody Mary would perhaps never have succeeded had it not been that in most parishes the ministers were Roman Catholic at heart, and ready to support a revival of the old superstition.

Knox was sent to Berwick-on-Tweed as a licensed

preacher. The place was well chosen. There he had a congregation composed partly of Scotsmen from across the border, who had repaired thither for safety. Knox's fame afterwards drew more of his countrymen to that town. In Berwick there was also a garrison, and the Reformer's experience in the Castle of St. Andrews, among the rough soldiery, would stand him in good stead. We can well believe that his simple and direct method of address, his graphic style, forcible delivery and clear, strong, and burning convictions, would have great power over those who were placed under his care. "Though the Battle appears strong, your Captain is inexpugnable;" "Abide, stand, and call for His support, and so the enemies which now affray you shall be confounded," are specimens of the kind of imagery which he employed, and indicate how vivid and real his preaching must have been.

Knox's Scottish admirers forget that he spent what must have been the ten best years of his life among Englishmen. Five were passed in England preaching in different parts of the country, and to the Court, and in taking his part in framing the Articles of Belief and the Prayer Book. Knox, wherever he was, invariably was the real head of the table. In other words, he possessed a personality so strong that it influenced all who came into contact with him, and his convictions were so definite and his courage so marked that he never allowed his conscience to be wounded by timid silence. It

is now seen that the part which he played in shaping the Reformation in England was very considerable, and that he was instrumental in imparting to it a spirit of pure and sturdy Puritanism which in a later age burst forth in all its power and saved the country from ruin. It seems to us, therefore, somewhat necessary that we should at this stage try to understand what Knox's religious views really were.

It is the fashion to discount him as a systematic theologian, and he himself in the Letter of Commendation which he wrote to Balnaves' *Treatise* makes no claim to scientific scholarship; for he remarks: "It is no speculative Theolog which desires to give you courage, but even so, a brother in affliction, which partly hath experienced what Satan's wrath may do against the chosen of God." With the exception of St. Paul, none of the Apostles pretended to be systematic theologians, and yet we hear of the Petrine and Johannine Gospels. It is the "affliction of experience," after all, to which Knox refers, that makes the true teacher and preacher. For Theology, we are told, is as much of the heart as of the head. In this respect Knox stands out pre-eminent, and to it he owed the tremendous power which he had over his hearers, and it was in virtue of it that he afterwards moved Scotland and conquered it for Protestantism.

Dr. M'Crie, the first formal biographer of Knox, treats at considerable length of his religious views, and we are bound to say that he seems to us to be

nearer the truth than Dr. Hume Brown, Knox's later biographer. The latter, in a very interesting chapter on Knox's "Religious Opinions," gives far too much weight to the supposed influence which Balnaves' *Treatise on Justification by Faith* had on the Reformer. He imagines that because Knox wrote the Note of Commendation to the book it therefore expresses his entire religious views. Now, as a matter of fact, although with all the other Reformers he attached great importance to the doctrine of Justification by Faith, he did not by any means regard it as the leading doctrine of Protestantism. Dr. Hume Brown would be the first to admit that, like Knox himself, he is no "speculative Theolog," and therefore cannot speak with supreme authority on this question.

To discover the Reformer's position we have not only to read his works, but to interpret them in the light of scientific knowledge of the subject. This, fortunately, has recently been done by one of the greatest Scottish theologians of recent times, the late Professor Hastie of Glasgow University. In his Croall Lectures on the "Theology of the Reformed Church," a work published after his death, Dr. Hastie gives a luminous sketch of Knox's religious opinions, and he shows that he accepted the Reformed rather than the Lutheran view of the Protestant Faith.

In order to arrive at a clear knowledge of Knox's theological views it is necessary to bear in mind a

fundamental distinction between the Lutheran and Reformed presentations of Protestantism. While Luther, and those who sided with him, protested with all their might against the doctrine of Works or the Judaic element in the Romish Church, Zwingli and Calvin raised their voices with equal vehemence against the doctrine of image worship or the pagan element in that Communion. Now while all the Reformers accepted the two positions of Protestantism thus stated, the Lutherans emphasised the former distinction and the Reformed theologians the latter: and it is quite impossible to understand the governing principles of the two Reforming parties in Protestantism without bearing these divisions constantly in mind. Knox, as can be clearly shown, was from the very beginning an ardent disciple of the Reformed theologians, and from the first sermon which he preached in St. Andrews to his last he never ceased to denounce the pagan or idolatrous element in the Romish Church, which made it, in his eyes, no Church at all, but a monstrosity that ought at whatever cost to be got rid of.

Indeed, Knox's watchword of "No idolatry," sounded in his famous sermon at Perth, was also the watchword of the Lollards of Kyle, who in the fifteenth century, during the reign of James IV., introduced into Scotland the religious teaching of John Wycliff. We find that among the thirty-four Articles of Heresy charged against them there were several that clearly foreshadowed the position of

Knox. One of them was that "images were not to be had nor yet to be worshipped." A second, that "the relics of saints are not to be worshipped," and a third that "after the consecration in the Mass there remains but bread."

The next great movement in the religious life of Scotland is represented by Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Reformation, who was burned at St. Andrews in 1528. He had as a young man imbibed the Lutheran teaching at Wittenberg; and, as was then the fashion, he embodied his theological convictions in a thesis or set of articles which were published after his death under the title of *Patrick's Places*, or, as we would say, "Commonplaces" or "Heads" of Theology. This treatise is thoroughly Lutheran in standpoint, form, and expression, and it would seem as if it was to be the divine of Erfurt and not the theologian of Geneva who was to give his impress to the Reformation movement in Scotland.

But after Hamilton came George Wishart. Eighteen years divided the two, and during that period the religious views of Scotland were being moulded afresh by the influences that were bearing upon the country from the Continent and England. Wishart gave a new direction to the religious revival, for he was a believer in the Reformed Theology. He had come under its influence while travelling on the Continent, and bore testimony to his convictions by translating into English the first Helvetic Confession. Indeed one of the Articles for which he suffered

martyrdom was his repudiation of transubstantiation and the Mass. And we read that one of the results of his preaching was an attack by the men of Dundee and Montrose on some of the religious houses of these towns, which were gloriously bedecked, and full of those images the worship of which the Reformed Theologians declared to be gross idolatry.

Knox had, by the time he began his duties as a licensed preacher in England, written almost nothing. His introduction to and synopsis of Balnaves' *Treatise on Justification* would seem to have been his sole literary venture, his only other record being one sermon preached by him, that in St. Andrews, and his disputations with the leaders of the Romish Church there. But these are quite enough to show the quality of the man both as a speaker and as a writer, and it is hard for us to believe that they were his first ventures in either capacity, for they display a knowledge of the subject, a maturity of thought, a directness and ease of expression that would do no discredit to a past master. What Knox was then he remained ever after, and we find that in the sermon he enunciated those opinions which he ever held by.

Thus from the very beginning he was an adherent of the Reformed rather than of the Lutheran conception of the Protestant Faith. He declared the Pope to be "that Man of Sin" and the Romish Church to be "the Synagogue of Satan," and deplored the degeneracy of the Roman Church as compared with the purity which was in the days of the

Apostles. While lying in irons in the French galley on the Loire he flung overboard the image of the Virgin which he was asked to worship, declaring it to be "but a pented brod."

In his defence at Newcastle on the 4th April 1550, he made a powerful indictment against the idolatry of the Roman Church as seen in the sacrifice of the Mass, declaring it to be idolatry; and in a "Summary according to the Holy Scriptures of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," drawn up about the same time, he distinctly throws in his lot with the upholders of the Reformed Theology, repudiating the doctrine not only of transubstantiation but that of consubstantiation as well, and declaring the Sacrament to be altogether spiritual. His notable stand against the rubric in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (October 1552), enjoining kneeling as the proper attitude for receiving the Sacrament, resulted in a note being inserted that in such a posture no "adoration" is intended.

In subsequent publications written while in England, and before he came under the personal influence of Calvin, who is supposed to have moulded him to his own sweet will, we find the same principle laid down, and his whole position may be summed up in his declaration that "all worshipping, honouring, or service of God invented by the brain of man in the religion of God without His own express command is idolatry."

CHAPTER V.

IN ENGLAND.

KNOX, holding these views, found himself in very congenial surroundings when, in 1549, he was appointed by the Privy Council of England, as one of their licensed preachers, to minister to the garrison and people of Berwick. Henry VIII. had been two years dead, and those who were responsible for the government of the Church held much more drastic views regarding the reform of religion than he had ever entertained. The English monarch was content for the most part to break with the Church of Rome, and to apportion between himself and his favourites among the nobility the wealth and lands of the Church. He did not interfere much with its doctrine or ritual, but since his death these had been taken in hand, and the signs were auspicious for a thoroughgoing religious revolution.

It is true that the bulk of the people loved the old ways, and clung, as their custom is, to use and wont; but London, whose influence was very predominant in this and other matters at that time, was

strongly in favour of the Reformation, and the aristocracy, who had shared in the property of the Church, were not only loth to give up what they had already grabbed, but were very anxious to secure as large a share as possible of the remaining spoils.

Knox accordingly experienced great freedom in his ministry at Berwick, and it would seem that he discharged his duties entirely according to his own light and convictions. Proof of this is found in a letter written by him at a later date, in which he declares that he dispensed the Communion in exactly the same fashion as he did in St. Andrews. We know that on that occasion the manner in which he administered the sacred rite was in accordance with Scriptural simplicity, and it may be taken for granted that in conducting the service on the Sundays, and in the general discharge of his duties, he adhered to the forms which had received the approval of Zwingli, Calvin, and the other leaders of the Reformed Church on the Continent.

His great desire was to remove every obstacle that might stand between the soul of the believer and his God. He was anxious that nothing should intervene between the suppliant and his Maker; and it must have been his public insistence on this which brought him under the unfavourable notice of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and others in that diocese, who in their hearts still clung to the old ways. In any case, as has already been indicated, he was asked to give an account to the Bishop of the



THE CROWN OF ST. GILES'.

doctrine which he taught, and he himself in somewhat triumphant terms describes the occasion, when before a notable gathering at Newcastle on the 4th of April 1550 he proved to his own satisfaction, at least, that the sacrifice of the Mass is idolatry. So pleased was he with this performance that he afterwards published it as a separate work, under the title, *A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry*. This being the first independent work which he gave to the world, it may not be unfitly regarded as his manifesto.

Knox was not allowed to remain long in Berwick. In 1551 he was removed, presumably by the order of the Privy Council, to Newcastle. During the two years he was in the Border town he had proved himself to be one of the outstanding champions of the new religion. He would feel himself on safer ground in Newcastle, for not a little progress had been made in putting into force the views which he himself advocated. An Act of Parliament, for instance, had recently been passed ordering the removal of images and paintings from the churches. Altars also were being condemned, and Cranmer and his household had celebrated the season of Lent in 1550 by eating meat.

Knox, however, was not by any means satisfied with what had been accomplished, and he was looking forward with eagerness to the appearance of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., which he hoped would put a true face on the Church of Eng-

land, and in this he was not to be altogether disappointed. He was not, however, blind to the existing condition of affairs in the country, but clearly saw that before a thoroughgoing Reformation could be accomplished in England, if indeed it ever would be accomplished, those who advocated the new ways would have to pass through a fiery furnace.

On this, as on other occasions, he had a vigilant eye for the signs of the times, and his capacity to understand current events and the trend of affairs gave him, in the eyes of contemporaries, the character of a prophet. He indeed was no prophet in the vulgar acceptance of the term, but if penetration, shrewdness, and absence of cant and humbug, go to the making of a prophet, then he certainly was one. It was because of his singular power of detachment, and ability to see things as they really were, that he was able to forecast coming events and earn for himself a reverence and a notoriety which stood him in very good stead, and helped not a little to give divine sanction to his words and actions.

He saw, for one thing, that the Reformation in England depended on young King Edward's life, that the statesmen who for the time being advocated it were governed purely by selfish motives, and that even the two men, Somerset and Northumberland, who were all powerful in the Councils of the nation, were not the inspired religionists which some imagined, but—especially the latter—calculating schemers, who managed the popular movement for

their own ends. Somerset, who a year earlier had fallen into disfavour, was in January 1552, shortly after Knox came to Newcastle, beheaded, and the Reformer, who was far from being whole-hearted in his admiration of the Protector, yet openly lamented his death, and was "compelled of conscience to condemn" the means invented by Northumberland "to take away his innocent friend."

A new honour awaited Knox about this time. The Privy Council in 1551 determined that six King's chaplains should be appointed, and the following year Knox was chosen one of them. Edward VI., in the private diary which he kept, explains the nature of the duties which these chaplains were expected to discharge. Two of them had to be in attendance at the Court, and the other four were to act as itinerant preachers, covering the whole country by their peregrinations and ministrations. Knox in due time was summoned to preach before the Court in the order and in virtue of his office, but previous to that he received a singular and additional mark of distinction by being offered the Bishopric of Rochester.

The proposal that he should be appointed to that See came from Northumberland. Some are at a loss to know whether it was his admiration for, or dislike of, Knox that prompted him. Northumberland, in virtue of his position as General Warden of the Marches, was brought in 1552 into close touch with Knox, and the Reformer was not slack to take advantage in his preaching on public affairs to drive home

the truths which he felt commissioned to declare. He testifies himself to the nature of his utterances at this time, and some of them cannot have been very pleasing to Northumberland. The latter accordingly, wishing to get rid of Knox, made the proposal to which we have referred. The reasons with which he backed up the suggested appointment were that Knox would "whet Cranmer's appetite," put the Anabaptists to rout, get himself out of the north, and at the same time rid Newcastle of the Scots who had gathered round him.

But Northumberland did not know the man with whom he had to deal. Knox refused the Bishopric. It is not unfrequently alleged in this connection that the reason why he declined the See of Rochester was because he did not believe in bishops. He himself does not say so. It should not be forgotten that at this time the Church of England was not only in sympathy, but in communion with the Reformed Churches everywhere. The divine right of Episcopacy was not a part of its creed, and John Knox and other preachers, whose Orders were genuine but not hierarchical, were freely recommended and cordially welcomed, not only to the ministry but to the very highest positions in its command. It was only in later years, during the time of Laud, that the Anglican Church began to air those pretensions which have gradually alienated from it the other Churches of the Reformation with which in early times it was in communion.

Knox, it must be admitted, was never particularly in love with the office of a bishop. He knew what it had led to in the Romish Church. The wealth and the arrogance, the tyranny and the moral corruption of bishops, were largely due, he knew, to their office. This must have weighed with him no doubt in coming to a decision, but the real reason lay in the unreality and insecurity of the Reformation in England. Shortly after this he confessed as much. When in exile he wrote: "What moved me to refuse, and that with displeasure of all men, those high promotions? Assuredly the foresight of troubles to come. How oft have I said that the time would not be long that England would give me bread."

In the autumn of 1552 Knox took his turn as Court preacher, and his first sermon created a sensation. In a letter, dated London, 12th October 1552, received by Bullinger from a friend, there is the following passage: "Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the Bishops in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man, however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons that we may hope some good to the Church will at length arise, which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant."

To Knox the question of kneeling at the Lord's Supper was the question of the hour. At this very time the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was on the eve of being published, and the rubric on kneeling was the one to which Knox took most exception. Ridley and Peter Martyr supported him in his objection, but Cranmer could see no harm in the practice. Knox's protest, however, was so strong that in the end deference was paid to it. The publication of the book was stopped, a leaf was inserted into those already in type stating that no adoration was intended by kneeling, and in subsequent issues this declaration formed a part of the book, and has ever since been known as the "black rubric." That this concession was due to Knox is rendered almost certain by the statement of one Dr. Weston, a Catholic opponent, who in a dispute with Latimer at Oxford in 1554 said: "A renegade Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement it was put into the last Prayer Book."

It would almost seem as if for the moment Knox overlooked the great victory which he had gained,—for this very question of kneeling was one of the main articles in dispute between the Church of Rome and the Reformed Churches,—so concerned was he as to the effect which the Prayer Book would have upon the worship of his old congregation at Berwick. We have seen the extreme simplicity of the ritual which he observed while ministering to them, and

the new Prayer Book, although he admits that "at one time he had a good opinion of it," necessarily in some respects broke through that simplicity. He himself had determined to submit to it, and in the end he counselled them to do the same.

But another triumph was in store for Knox as showing the profound influence which he had not only upon the ritual but upon the doctrine of the Church of England. Archbishop Cranmer had been engaged for the last four years in drawing up Articles of Belief, and had now all but finished his task, and they were on the point of publication. At first forty-five in number, they were afterwards reduced to forty-two, and finally to thirty-nine. These Articles were submitted to the chaplains for their consideration, and Knox, among others, protested against the thirty-eighth Article, which expressly stated that the ceremonies enjoined in the new Prayer Book were in full accord with evangelical liberty. One of these ceremonies, of course, was this one of kneeling against which Knox had raised strong objections, and so persistent was he in his opposition, and determined in his efforts, that as in the case of the Prayer Book, so now in that of the Articles, he triumphed, for when they appeared a short time afterwards the obnoxious clause was omitted.

About this time he was offered the Vicarage of of All-Hallows in Bread Street, London, but this second offer of promotion he also declined. It would seem that the Council were not a little

annoyed at Knox's repeated refusals, and they summoned him to state his reasons. On the 14th of April 1553 he appeared before them, and they demanded of him three questions: (1) Why he refused the benefice provided for him; (2) Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the evangelic ministration according to the rights and laws of the realm of England; (3) If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent. To the first he answered that he thought he could be of more service in some other place than in London; to the second that discipline in the Church of England was lax, seeing that no minister had the power to separate the lepers from the "heal"; and to the third he answered that Christ dispensed the Communion without kneeling, and that His example ought to be followed.

Nothing further came of this, and we find him fulfilling his duties with a freedom and power which must have won him respect and even admiration. Plainness of speech was one of his great virtues, and we are not surprised to find that he practised it when addressing even the highest in the land. This was pretty much the fashion of the time among notable preachers in England, and in their sermons before the Court they spared not the proudest. In the last sermon which he himself preached before King Edward we find a specimen of his style, and of the way in which he attacked not only the corruptions but the corrupters of the time.

"I recited," he remarks, "the histories of

Achitophel, Shebna, and Judas. 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 . . . Were 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 Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer."

Under this transparent veil he described the characters of Northumberland, Winchester, and others who at the time were the leading councillors of Edward VI. Such boldness of speech necessarily endangered Knox's life, but exaggeration in the pulpit would seem to have been not only a habit of the time, but one that was tolerated, and as the sermons of the Court preachers usually lasted three or four hours it gave those who were being attacked ample opportunity of leaving the church, a privilege of which, we understand, they not unfrequently availed themselves.

Edward VI. died on the 6th of July 1553, and the country was thrown into confusion. Knox at the time was in Buckingham, and preaching on the 16th of July in Amersham Parish Church, before a large and excited congregation, he burst forth into one of the most eloquent passages that he ever spoke or

penned. "Oh! England, England," he exclaims, "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 state of thy commonwealth will be preserved." But the persecutions which marked the first year of Mary's reign gave no hope of God's voice being listened to. Many of the foreign divines were driven out of the country, and certain of the Bishops were in prison. Cranmer, however, quailed not, but remained steadfast at Lambeth, and so did others.

The 20th of December was the limit fixed for toleration of the Reformed views. Knox at the time was in Newcastle. He was poor and in ill health. He was being watched, and his servant was seized and his letters taken possession of. His friends implored him with tears to flee the country. He was loth to do this, but at last he yielded to their solicitations and quitted England at the beginning of the following year. "Some will ask," he says, "why did I fly. Assuredly I cannot tell, but of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause of my flying."

This we readily believe, and we must also believe that a higher Hand was guiding his destiny. The time was coming when Scotland would require him, and for the great work that he was to accomplish there the training which he was now undergoing was, under Providence, a necessary preparation.

CHAPTER VI.

FRIENDSHIPS.

WE have seen the influence that Knox had upon the Church of England. The form which the Reformation took in that country was not a little due to him. It may be true that his arrival on the scene was too late to give it that cast which he himself chiefly favoured, and which he was afterwards able to impose upon the Church of Scotland; all the same, he impressed the leaders of Church and State at the time with his personality, and introduced certain features into the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England that have characterised it ever since.

But it may be asked in turn if England had no influence upon Knox. It should never be forgotten that he spent five years of the best part of his life in that country, and that the next five years were passed on the Continent, but in ministering to an English congregation. The experience which he gained as a consequence was most valuable, and stood him in good stead in after years when he had to

carry through the Reformation in his own country. But there are those who think that that experience was not the only benefit which he received from England and Englishmen. They imagine that his natural asperity was somewhat softened by fellowship with men and women who belonged to an older civilisation, and that the amenity of life which prevailed in the sister country across the border toned down his innate tendency to sharpness of temper and harshness of judgment.

This, of course, is very flattering to England, and not very complimentary to Knox. We fail to see the truth of it. Knox's character was all of a piece. The friendships which figure prominently in his life at that time, and which were made immediately after his appearance in England, show that by nature he was not the rough, rude, self-contained man that some imagine him to have been ; for beneath a rugged exterior there was a depth of affection and tenderness which drew to him those who felt the need of support and comfort while waging the battle of life.

It may appear singular that his English friends were for the most part women. His relations toward them form one of the most charming features of his life. Knox before and after this time had many men friends, but his attitude towards them was quite different from that which existed between him and his women friends. The men joined with the Reformer in the great public work which the times

demand. Their friendship was largely a matter of intellectual and political sympathy, but his relations to women were quite different. They looked to him for spiritual comfort and leaned upon him for religious support, and this is all the more remarkable because, in his *First Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, he is not slack in declaring his poor opinion of the gentler sex. "Women," he said in that remarkable and imprudent production, "women are weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish"; and yet he in turn would seem to have leaned upon women and to have found them the most helpful of friends. The truth is that in Knox's case, as in that of many others, the head and heart were at war, and his practice was better than his belief.

We can well conceive how the Reformer may have impressed the imagination of many on his appearance in Berwick as a preacher of the Gospel. His reputation and his sufferings would have gone before him. Here was the man who had spent nineteen months as a slave in the French galleys for his religious convictions, who was recognised as the representative Scotsman on the Protestant side, the man on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of Wishart, and who had worsted in argument the doctors and dignitaries of the Romish Church. His fame as a preacher, too, would have gone before him, and it is not at all unlikely that for these very reasons he would be looked upon with interest, and

would appeal to the female mind and heart. In any case he had not been long in Berwick when he drew to his side one who clung to him during the rest of her life, and to whom he was indeed a spiritual adviser and comforter.

This admirer was Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, wife of Richard Bowes, Governor of the Castle of Norham. She would seem to have been one of those women who are affected by a spirit of religious melancholy bordering almost on morbidness. She had many temptations real or imaginary, and tortured herself by introspection, and was in constant doubt as to her own ultimate salvation. Such a woman found in Knox that strong tower and refuge which her soul desired, and between them there sprang up a close fellowship which was only broken by death. "Great familiarity," he himself declared, "and long acquaintance, the cause of which was neither flesh nor blood but a troubled conscience upon her part, which never suffered her to rest but when she was in the company of the faithful, and who (from the first hearing of the word in my mouth) she judged me to be one." That is Knox's own explanation of the intimate relation that existed between them, and, we must admit, a very satisfactory one. "I have always delighted," he afterwards said, "in your company, and, when labours would permit, you know I have not spared hours of talk and commune with you." For years he listened with sympathy to her various complaints, and when

absent answered all her questions in a kindly and painstaking manner.

It is not strange that occasionally he felt somewhat impatient, and replied to her as follows: "My daily labours must now increase, and therefore spare me as much as you may. My old malady troubles me sore, and nothing is more contrary to my health than writing." Knox here refers to the disease which he contracted while in the French galleys. It interfered not a little with his labours, and he suffered from the effects of it to his dying day.

It ought to be remembered when reading of the outpourings of Mrs. Bowes that both she and Knox had but recently severed their connection with the Roman Catholic Church, where confession was a recognised and long-standing usage. It was the custom then, as it still is in the Roman Catholic Church, for those afflicted by a troubled conscience to pour out their "dolours" to their father confessor. We can quite understand how difficult it would be for those who but a year or two ago had been members of that Church to break away from the custom. This will account for such a confidence as the following on the part of Knox to Mrs. Bowes: "Call to mind," he says, "what I did standing at a cupboard in Alnwick. In very deed I thought that no creature had been tempted as I was." But the wife of Richard Bowes was anxious that the relation between her family and Knox should be

closer than that of mere friendship, and she favoured the proposal that Marjory, her fifth daughter, and one of a family of twelve, a girl still in her teens, should marry Knox. The Reformer himself was quite eager that this proposal should be carried out, and in due time he became betrothed to Marjory Bowes and subsequently married her.

But all this did not take place without very considerable trouble, and more than once it almost seemed as if Knox's hopes would have suffered shipwreck. The Bowes family did not regard the union with approval. Richard Bowes himself was still a Roman Catholic, and on that account and for other reasons he endeavoured to stop the match. Knox was a man of uncertain prospects, his refusal of a bishopric and an important vicarage made him to be regarded as somewhat impracticable, nor was he quite young, and his family could not boast of the lineage of that of Richard Bowes, the Governor of Norham Castle. But Knox was persistent, and so was his future mother-in-law, and the Reformer declared after some rebuffs which she experienced that it should now be "his business." "It behoved him," he says, "to jeopard his life for the comfort of his own flesh, both fear and friendship of all earthly creatures laid aside."

He accordingly interviewed Sir Robert Bowes, the head of the house and the bride's uncle, in London. He got, however, a very cold reception. He found Sir Robert not only a despiser but also a taunter

of 'God's messengers,' "God be merciful unto him." Knox stood firm and "kept a good countenance, but the despiteful words had so pierced his heart that his life was bitter unto him." After this plainly unfavourable reception he seemed almost to have lost heart. Yet during his last month in England almost, when dangers were thickening round him, he undertook a perilous journey to Newcastle in the hope of seeing Mrs. Bowes and Marjory, but he had to leave the country without an interview.

When he revisited it, however, it was to take back to the Continent the daughter as his bride. This Marjory figures now and again in Knox's history, and always in a favourable light. There are those who declare that she married Knox because her mother wished it, or because her imagination was fired by the sufferings of the Reformer and by the halo of sanctity which surrounded him. There might be worse reasons for marriage, although we are not inclined to admit that these were the sole motives which induced her to become Knox's wife. She proved faithful and devoted, and earned the praise of Calvin, and, after her death, the sorrowful regret of her husband.

These were not the only female friends that Knox had. He had several in Edinburgh, and he corresponded with them regularly after his first visit to his native country. It would seem, however, that he was not specially enamoured with his "Edin-

burgh sisters," as he calls them, and somewhat bluntly remarks in one of his letters that his communications were not intended for any one individually, that what he wrote to one was meant for all. We cannot fail to be impressed by his patience in listening to the complaints of these Edinburgh sisters, and in answering their questions regarding, among other things, the kind of dress that females ought to wear. He replies at great length to such queries, writing, if not a treatise, certainly a pamphlet on the subject. One of them, Mrs. Mackgil, wife of the Clerk Register, would seem to have been troubled by the fact that her husband was still an enemy to the Reformation, and by her scruples as to how she should conduct herself towards him. Knox's views on a delicate point of this kind were very cautious and prudent, but he naturally inclined to the opinion that the Clerk Register would have been more worthy of the respect and obedience of his wife had he been a Protestant.

But the woman in whose friendship he would seem to have found the most satisfaction was Mrs. Anne Locke, the wife of a merchant in Cheapside, London. It is possible that she was the one of the three women who, on hearing a letter of Mrs. Bowes read in their presence, exclaimed, "Oh! would to God I might speak with that person, for I perceive there are more tempted than I." Mrs. Hickman, the wife of another merchant, would also seem to have shown Knox much kindness during his stay in London, but

it was Mrs. Locke who proved his most valued and confidential friend. For the next ten years he corresponded with her regularly, telling her of the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, asking her to procure books for him, and at the same time giving her that spiritual guidance which she desired.

It is in a letter to her that the following sentence occurs, which is one of the clearest bits of self-revelation in which Knox ever indulged: "Of nature," he says, "I am churlish, and in conditions different from many, yet one thing I ashamed not to affirm, that familiarity once thoroughly contracted was never yet broken of my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all than that any have need of me."

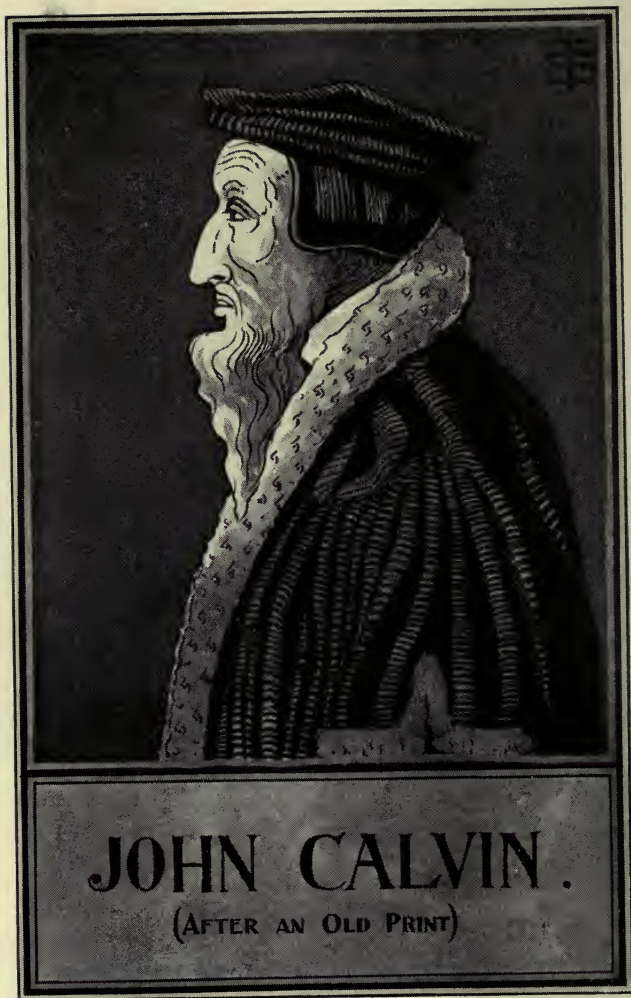
It was towards the end of February or the beginning of March, 1554, that Knox left England. He would seem to have gone direct to Dieppe. He chose this place possibly because he would be within reach of his old congregations, in whose spiritual welfare he ever continued to be deeply interested. One of the first things which he did on his arrival at the French seaport was to finish his treatise on the Sixth Psalm, which he was composing for the benefit of Mrs. Bowes, and to despatch it to her. He thereafter set himself to address words of exhortation and comfort to his old flock in England.

This production, which was afterwards published under the title of *A Godly Letter to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick*, is spirited and

eloquent, and shows Knox at his best. He harks back on his old subject of the idolatry of the Romish Church, and, afraid lest they should revert to their old belief, he warns them of the plagues that would visit them, and encourages them to adhere to their former profession.

One is not a little surprised at the optimism which underlies this address, for really the times were far from promising for the new religion. Mary of England had begun to persecute and burn the faithful. Henry II. of France was setting himself to stamp out the new religion, and Mary of Lorraine had made Scotland an impossible harbour for those who had accepted the Protestant Faith. It is very remarkable how, all through, Knox's courage and hopes of final victory would never seem to have left him. He may have been reminded by his present surroundings of the dark days when, as a galley slave, sick and sad at heart, he looked on these same shores of France, and how the Almighty had at last delivered him and given him a great work to do in England. The remembrance of this would no doubt strengthen his faith, and add to his old conviction that he would one day lift up his voice in that kirk where by the mercy of God he had first been called to preach the evangel.

He did not stay long in Dieppe, but left it, as he remarks, with a "sore troubled heart, journeying whither God knoweth." For two months he travelled from one place to another, chiefly in



Switzerland, reasoning with the "pastors and many other excellent learned men upon such matters as now I cannot commit to writing." Everywhere he was received as a friend and as a brother. The two most distinguished men whose acquaintance he made at this time were Calvin and Bullinger. Knox was familiar with the writings of these men, and he held them both, but particularly the first, in great respect. Calvin had not at this time attained the position which he afterwards occupied as a leader in the Reformed Church, but he was already recognised as one of its chief men, and Knox even at that time characterises him as that "singular instrument of God."

Knox's knowledge of the political and religious circumstances that prevailed in Europe, and chiefly in England and Scotland, suggested to him several very important and far-reaching questions which he would seem to have freely discussed with Calvin, and about which he desired his opinion. These questions really formed the basis of Knox's subsequent action as the leader of the Reformation in Scotland, and at this early date, in absolute independence of Calvin and others, he pondered over and subsequently solved them to his own satisfaction, and to the benefit of his native country and the world.

He shortly afterwards left Geneva, and passed to Zurich with a letter of introduction from Calvin to Bullinger. His interview with the Swiss Reformer

had for its main object the discussion of the very questions about which he and Calvin had conversed. In a letter of Bullinger's these questions with his answers are fortunately preserved for us. They are four in number. The first refers to the legality of the government of Edward VI., seeing that the King was a minor; the second relates to female rule; the third raises the question of the submission of the subject to a magistrate who forces idolatry and who condemns true religion; and the fourth anticipates the situation in Scotland, and asks what godly persons should do when a religious nobility rises up against an idolatrous sovereign. Anyone can see that in these questions Knox raised the whole religious and civil revolution of that and subsequent times in Scotch and English history. They contain within them the dethronement of Queen Mary and the execution of Charles I.

It is absurd in the face of them to speak of Knox's subjection to Calvin or any other. The dictator of Geneva was a systematic theologian and biblical exegete of the first rank, but his mind had not the political penetration and sweep of Knox's, nor was he as capable as the latter of dealing with practical difficulties on a large scale. Bullinger's opinions are sensible and cautious, but his attitude was quite incapable of meeting the circumstances that soon arose in the life of Knox and in his work in Scotland.

In the month of May Knox was again at Dieppe.

It is probable that he visited the sea-coast town in the hope of learning some news of England. The persecution in that country had almost reached its full height; Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were in prison, one or two notable men had been executed, and Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain was imminent. Knox thought of visiting England to "let men see what may be done with a safe conscience in these dolorous and dangerous days," but the fear of what might happen, not so much to himself as to others, restrained him. He contented himself, meanwhile, with writing two letters to his afflicted brethren in England, telling them not to despair, but to take courage from the experiences of the Church which in past days had gone through similar trials.

But the most notable production penned by him during these weary and anxious days at Dieppe was his *Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England*. This pamphlet has been sharply criticised and strongly condemned for its harsh judgments, but it should not be forgotten that it was written under trying and tragic circumstances. The fires of Smithfield were already ablaze, the prisons were packed with leading preachers, and the Reformation was to all appearances to be ruthlessly trampled under foot in England. What wonder that Knox's heart was on fire, and that he cried out for vengeance on the "Devil's Gardiner," and "Bloody Bonner," who, as

“blind buzzards and bloodthirsty wolves,” were hunting God’s servants to their doom.

The most Reverend Fathers in God, the Bishops of Winchester and London, who were thus characterised, might possibly object to the terms which Knox hurled at them ; and so might Queen Mary, whom he described as “Athaliah” and “Herodias’ daughter,” and denounced as “false,” “dissembling,” “inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises,” “the utter mischief of England.” One passage, however, which he probably thought little of at the time, afterwards, we shall see, brought him into serious trouble. It is where he describes Charles v. as “no less enemy to Christ than ever was Nero.” He forgot that the Emperor whom he thus denounced held in his hands the fate of the Protestants in the vast dominions which he ruled, and where Knox himself was soon to be a subject. They were recalled to his memory at a time when he least expected it.

Of course it is easy to condemn Knox for his strong, imprudent, and, in some respects perhaps, unjust language, but knowing the man and the times shall *we* condemn him? Had he been the creature of compromise, and a speaker of soft words, the Reformation in Scotland, for one thing, would never have been accomplished. Grant that his pamphlet did not make the position of the Protestant party in England easier, and that they had some ground for blaming him afterwards for its publication, still it required a man like Knox to speak the

truth, even though in terms of exaggeration, and to appeal to the imagination of the people by his graphic and epigrammatic language. In judging of Knox in this and in other respects we should do so in relation to his times. The age was not one which indulged in smooth things, either in word or action, and controversy was conducted not by rapier thrusts but by sword blows. In these more tolerant days his pamphlet may appear rough and harsh, but by the men of his own day it would not be characterised in that fashion.

CHAPTER VII.

KNOX ON THE CONTINENT.

KNOX left Dieppe about the beginning of August, and journeyed to Geneva: "The most perfect School of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles." Calvin must have been the attraction, for there were no English exiles there. Knox had arrived independently at the same conclusions as Calvin regarding the Protestant religion. Both derived their views from the one source, the Bible. Between the two men there was an intellectual and religious sympathy. They at once became friends, and the friendship was never broken.

The persecutions in England under Bloody Mary drove many exiles to the Continent. About eight hundred at this time sought refuge in France, Germany, and Switzerland, and a considerable colony under the leadership of Whittingham settled in Frankfort-on-the-Main. The municipal rulers of that Imperial city allowed them the use of the French Church on alternate Sundays. One condition was

laid down, that they would conform to the creed of that Church. That creed was Calvinistic, and the English congregation discarded, as a consequence, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Shortly afterwards, in adopting one for their own use, they modified the English Service Book, omitting the litany, kneeling at communion and responses. They also substituted a new Confession for the one in the English book, and concluded the service after the Swiss and Scottish fashion with "a psalm in metre in a plain tune."

It is perfectly clear from their ready acceptance of the French creed, and afterwards by the very drastic changes which they made on the English Prayer Book, that they belonged to that party in the Church of England who a year or two before were making strong efforts to bring the Reformation into line with the teaching of Scripture and the practice of the Early Church. Hooper was one of the leaders of this party, and Knox was another. They were in a small minority, but all the same they managed to make very important changes in the doctrine and ritual of the Church, and they started that movement which afterwards became so well known as Puritanism. Whittingham and his congregation endeavoured to induce their fellow-countrymen who were at Zurich, Strasburg, and Wesel to come to Frankfort, but after some correspondence it was seen that the English exiles in these towns were strongly opposed to the views of the Frank-

fort congregation, and so they refused the invitation.

Shortly after this, on the 24th of September, a letter with twenty-one signatures was sent to Knox at Geneva, inviting him to become one of the ministers of the English Church at Frankfort. The Scottish preacher was very much disinclined to accept the offer. His life for the past ten years had been a troublous, stormy, and strenuous one, and it is not at all unlikely that he welcomed the peace and repose of Geneva and the intellectual companionship which he found there. He was also anxious to repair the defects of his scholarship, and to bring himself abreast of the attainments of the learned men with whom he was now associating. But his chief reason was probably the same as that which compelled him to decline preferment in the Church of England, "the knowledge of troubles to come." He would be perfectly well aware of the divided opinions that existed even in the Frankfort congregation, for although the majority adopted the modified Prayer Book there was a minority that objected to it. At length he consented, and he himself declares that it was "at the command of Mr. Calvin, that notable servant of God, albeit unwillingly he obeyed the vocation," and so in the second week of November he arrived in Frankfort.

We now enter on one of the most important periods in the life of Knox. It is one that may not appeal to the general mass of people, but, looking

at it from its effects on the subsequent history of the religious life and thought of England, it is full of significance. Knox's religious opinions, which must have been formed before he became a Protestant in name, were boldly advocated by him from the very first. In St. Andrews, in the French galleys, and in England, he remained true to his early convictions, and was able to persuade others to adopt them. The English Reformation he regarded as a "mingle-mangle." He did his best to free it of "popish dregs," and to impart to it Scriptural purity and simplicity, and now at Frankfort he felt called upon to stand fast to his old opinions. The Service Book which the English congregation in that city had adopted would seem to have been only temporary in its character, and one of the first tasks which awaited him was to decide on a new Order. Two were suggested, that of Geneva and the Service Book of Edward VI. Knox felt that in the circumstances it would not be prudent, or even possible, to introduce either, and being convinced that his presence would not be conducive to the peace of the church he proposed to leave. To this, however, "they would in no wise consent." As a way out of the difficulty they proposed to consult the man of Geneva, and it was agreed that Whittingham and Knox should send to Calvin a "platt," or description of the English Service Book, and ask him for his opinion.

It cannot be said that the account which was

given by these two men of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was altogether unbiassed. Certain expressions occur which show that they did not regard it as perfect by any means. This, of course, was to be expected. Calvin took fully a month in forming his opinion, and that opinion, as might be anticipated, was far from favourable. He could not understand what they meant by "delighting so greatly in the leavings of popish dregs," and he added that there were "tolerable foolish things" in the book. Knox again desired to leave, and in any case he counselled moderation. At last a compromise was arrived at, and a temporary arrangement made for the conduct of public worship and the dispensing of the Sacraments.

But at the very moment when peace at last prevailed fresh troubles broke out. On the 13th of March 1555 a new band of English exiles led by Richard Cox arrived in Frankfort. Cox had been a man of considerable importance in England during the reign of King Edward. He never attained to the first position among the Reformers, but he lacked neither ability nor courage. He and his companions were in full sympathy with the English Prayer Book, and felt that there was almost something dishonourable in their fellow-countrymen renouncing a work for which many were now in exile, and for adherence to which Cranmer, Ridley, and others were in prison, and would soon be put to death. Cox during the last reign had been Chancellor of Oxford University,

and tutor and almoner to the King. Apart from his own undoubted strength of character, the offices which he had thus held gave him considerable weight. Knox and his friends welcomed them to their congregation, but on the very first Sunday on which they attended church they raised the responses, and on the following Sunday one of them mounted the pulpit, read the litany, and gave the responses, Cox at the same time declaring they "would do as they had done in England, and their church should have an English face."

This, on the lowest ground, was a breach of Christian courtesy and good manners. They had been welcomed on the understanding that they would conform to the accepted service. They must have known of the troubles that had already caused much dispeace in the congregation, and it was a gross breach of privilege thus rudely and without warning to introduce fresh disturbance. Knox happened to be the preacher appointed for the afternoon, and, roused by the arrogance of Cox and his *confrères*, he "set his face like a flint" to resist their bold attempt, and preached such a sermon as they had very probably never listened to before.

"I told them," says Knox, in giving an account of this discourse, "that it became not the proudest of them all to enterprise the breach of any order within that church gathered in the name of Christ." "Among many sins," he continued, "that moved God to plague England, that slackness to reform religion

when time and place was granted was one, and therefore that it did become us to be circumspect how we did lay now our foundations, and how we went forward, and because that some men nothing ashamed to say and affirm openly that there had been no impediment nor stop in England, but that religion might go forth and grow to the purity, and that it was already brought to perfection. I reprov'd this opinion as feigned and untrue by the lack of discipline which is not in the book, neither could in England be obtained, and by the trouble that Mr. Hooper for the rochet and such trifles in the book allowed, as also by that which appeared in all men's eyes, that one man was permitted to have power of five benefices to the slander of the Gospel and defraudation of Christ's flock of their lively food and sustenance."

But although Knox spoke thus strongly, he, against the advice of many, recommended that Cox and his party should be admitted into the full membership of the Church. This concession was ill repaid, for those who were thus favoured immediately began to devise ways and means for having their own aims realised, and the best way to accomplish this, they well knew, was at all hazards to get rid of Knox. After some vain attempts at reconciliation the Coxian party began to show their hand. They threatened Knox. Their threats he treated with contempt. But they had one weapon in their hand which they now determined to use. That "out-

rageous pamphlet" of his, *The Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth*, which had "added much oil to the flame of persecution in England," was now produced, and they formally accused him to the Frankfort Senate of "Nine articles of high treason against the Emperor, his son Philip, and the Queen of England."

The Senate had a good opinion of Knox, and they were not at all inclined to believe the charges without certain proof. The Emperor was at that moment at Augsburg, and afraid lest the matter should come to his ears they asked the offensive passage to be translated into Latin and submitted to them. Then, afraid lest they might be accused of harbouring traitors, they, through Whittingham and Williams, counselled Knox to leave the city as the most prudent course for him and them. On the night before his departure he preached to a company of friends "a most comforting sermon" in his lodgings, and on the following day they accompanied him three or four miles out of the city, wishing him God-speed "with great heaviness of heart and plenty of tears."

Knox went direct to Geneva, where Calvin was now supreme. In his opinion, and that of his friends, this little town of twelve thousand inhabitants, on the shores of Lake Lemman, was the ideal of a Christian community. It is doubtful, however, if the strict rule of Calvin was conducive to a healthy civic life. It aimed at suppressing vice rather than reforming the morals of the community. It is not

therefore surprising to learn that a tumult broke out on the 16th of May 1555, the object of the rebels being to put to death the foreigners in the city, the number of whom was very considerable. These Outlanders came to Geneva because, theologically, they were of the same mind as Calvin; and enjoying the franchise they supported him in his policy. Should they be got out of the way those who groaned under the tyranny of the Reformer would again obtain liberty. The tumult was put down, and the rebels were brought to trial; some were punished, others were banished; and the power of Calvin was again supreme.

The English colony that had now gathered in Geneva were granted a place of worship, and Knox was appointed their minister. He would seem, however, to have at this time stayed only a few weeks in Geneva, for by the month of August he had left for Scotland. It was now eight years since he had been in his native country, and we can well imagine his feelings on revisiting it, for many changes, both of a political and religious kind, had taken place since the day on which he was summarily shipped in a French galley and chained as a slave to the oar.

The two parties which had been at strife prior to Knox's departure in 1547 were still contending. France on the one hand and England on the other were fighting for the favour of Scotland; and Scottish statesmen were divided in their sympathies,

some courting the English alliance and others the French. Indeed, Scotland had become the battle-field of these two foreign countries. Protector Somerset invaded the country in 1547 with eighteen thousand men, laying waste the land and destroying the Religious Houses, the "fair Abbey" of Melrose being of the number. The Battle of Pinkie, which long continued to be a sad memory in the minds and hearts of Scotsmen, was fought on the 10th of September. The Regent Arran solicited the aid of France, and in June of 1548 six thousand Frenchmen landed in Scotland. The object of both countries was to win the hand of the young Queen of Scots; in the one case for King Edward, and in the other for the Dauphin. France was successful. Mary was taken to that country, and in due time married to the heir to the French throne.

It was the policy of the Queen Mother, Mary of Lorraine, to maintain the alliance with France, and to defend the Roman Catholic Church against the attacks of the Protestant party; and it was the policy of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to make Scotland an appanage of France. This scheme was frustrated, and not the least important factor in defeating it was the disorderly and brutal conduct of the French troops quartered in Scotland. Their behaviour was so inhuman and disgraceful that the Scotch revolted, and turned upon them with a bitter hatred. Many, accordingly, who had previously been friendly to

France, now favoured a political alliance with England, and this feeling, afterwards strengthened by the religious revival in favour of Protestantism, destroyed for ever the hopes of France, and carried through the revolution of 1560.

It was the ambition of the Queen Mother, in order to carry out with greater success her policy of an alliance with France, to become Regent, and the Earl of Arran, who was well meaning but weak, was bribed by the offer of the Dukedom of Châtellherault in France to resign in favour of Mary of Guise. In 1554 her ambition was realised, and she thought that she was now free to proceed with that fusing of France and Scotland into one which had been her aim ever since she became the wife of James v. Beaton's successor in the primacy was Hamilton, half-brother of the Regent. It was no part of his plans to support the Queen Mother in her policy. His aim, naturally, was to assist his brother in holding his own against Mary. He accordingly favoured the English alliance. Those, as a consequence, who were of the Reformed ways were not subjected, notwithstanding the martyrdom of Adam Wallace, to much persecution, and Mary in carrying out her policy could not afford to quarrel with the Protestant party either. It was her aim, as far as possible, to conciliate them, so that they might, when her scheme was ripe, give her their support. Thus from no love of the Protestant Faith, but owing to the stress of the political situation, both

Hamilton and Mary, representing the ecclesiastical and civil powers, were compelled to leave the Protestants alone.

The new religion was making very considerable progress in the country, and chiefly among the lower classes. It was only at a later day, when they saw hopes of plunder, that the nobility joined with any degree of eagerness in the Reformation. They had by that time seen the vast material benefits that had accrued to the English aristocracy by the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church, and being the poorest nobility, and also the proudest in the world, they saw hopes of plunder and of wealth in the religious movement that was affecting the country.

The leaders of the Roman Catholic Church were at last becoming alive to their danger. This can be seen by the various Provincial Councils that were held. One that met in Edinburgh shortly after Beaton's death petitioned the Regent to put down heresy, for, unless it was stamped out, it would undermine and destroy the Church. Another Provincial Council that was held in 1549 passed sixty-two statutes, which were prefaced by a remarkable confession, that "the root and cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the profane lewdness, the gross ignorance of Churchmen of almost all ranks. The clergy therefore were enjoined to put away their concubines under pain of deprivation of their benefices, to dismiss from their houses the children born to

them in concubinage, not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich the daughters with doweries, the sons with baronies, from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, profane swearers."

We cannot help admiring the frankness and good intentions of this Provincial Council. They were perfectly honest in their desire to reform the Church from within, but the corruptions from which it was suffering, and which they themselves enumerate, were evidently beyond remedy; and we are not surprised to learn that the instructions and recommendations drawn up for the reform of the clergy, and their guidance in the discharge of their duties, were entirely disregarded. The Church was too late in its attempt at reform, the only cure was to come from without; the axe was already laid at the root of the ecclesiastical tree whose overthrow and destruction were only a matter of time.

The most notable and laudable attempt on the part of the Church to purify its life, and to inspire its teachers with a sense of duty, was the famous Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton. The real author is supposed to have been John Wynram. It was written in the Scottish dialect, and gives a lucid and simple epitome of the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church. It incidentally throws light on the glaring defects of the clergy. It would seem

that parish priests were not able to read without stumbling, and we are not surprised to learn that their schoolboy efforts to decipher the Catechism were met by the jeers of their congregations. These same congregations were beginning to display that intelligence which has since characterised the Scottish people. The religious revival was awakening them, and they were beginning to read, and to think on the questions that the Protestant preachers had raised. Books we are told were in circulation, and by them the Reformed views were disseminated over the land. Ballads, too, satirising and ridiculing the Romish Church and the clergy, were being printed. Whenever an institution can be laughed at, its fate is sealed. The Roman Catholic Church had reached this stage, and the contempt of the people was prophetic of its approaching death.

Another factor in spreading the Reformation in Scotland during this period was the persecution by Bloody Mary of English Protestants. Many had to choose between banishment and the fires of Smithfield. Hundreds fled to the Continent, and a considerable number came across the border and sought refuge in Scotland. The two most notable men among these were William Harlaw and John Willock. Both were noted preachers, and one of them was a distinguished scholar. They laboured earnestly and successfully, and by means of their preaching the cause of Protestantism was greatly strengthened in the land. "And last came John Knox in the end of harvest."

CHAPTER VIII.

VISITS SCOTLAND.

IT will thus be seen that the time was not unfavourable for Knox's visit. Some suppose that he went to Scotland on the invitation of the leading men who favoured the Protestant cause, but there is no good ground for this opinion, and he himself gives no countenance to it. On the contrary, he distinctly declares that his visit was entirely due to the entreaties of Mrs. Bowes. "You alone," he remarks, "God made the instrument to draw me from the den of my own ease, you alone did draw me from the rest of my quiet study." As a matter of fact Knox came home to be married, and although there is no record of it, it is generally held that the wedding took place on his arrival at Berwick, where Mrs. Bowes and her daughter Marjory were then residing. The betrothal very probably took place before Knox left England for the Continent, and under the circumstances we can quite well understand Mrs. Bowes' "entreaties" and Knox's response.

He did not stay long in Berwick, for we find him

almost immediately in Edinburgh, and the reception accorded to him in the capital was not only a surprise but a great joy to Knox. In writing to his mother-in-law he says he was startled by the welcome he received among brethren who with "fervent thirst were night and day groaning and sobbing for the bread of life." "Oh! sweet were the death that should follow such forty days in Edinburgh as here I have had three;" and again, "If I had not seen it with my eyes in my own country I would not have believed it." On arriving in the capital he was received as a guest in the house of one James Syme, "that notable man of God," and there he preached to all who cared to hear him.

Fresh courage would be given him on finding among his hearers some of the best-known men in the country. A question was at this time troubling the minds of the new converts to the Protestant Faith, and it was one which in the eyes of Knox had a far-reaching consequence. It was as to whether they might attend the services of the Reformed religion and at the same time privately partake of the Mass. Knox had only one opinion about the matter. He at once made the absolute statement that "nowise it was lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol." A memorable discussion regarding this question took place at a supper-party in the house of Erskine of Dun. In some respects it was the most important supper-party that had up till that time been held in

Scotland, for it settled the character of the Reformation, disowned any compromise with the Romish Church, and declared that the new movement must be thorough.

The chief among those invited to meet Knox on this occasion, and to take part in the debate, were John Willock, Maitland of Lethington, and Erskine of Dun himself. These three were prominent public characters, and took a leading part in subsequent events. They were brought into very close contact with Knox during the years which followed his final arrival in the country, and it may not, accordingly, be inappropriate to give a passing glance at each.

John Willock was an Ayrshire man, and he began his public career as a Franciscan friar. On renouncing the Romish Church he fled to England, and afterwards took up residence in Friesland. In both countries he occupied important positions, and was noted for his piety, learning, and prudence. After the Reformation he became Superintendent of the West, and he held this position while he was at the same time a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England. We have already indicated the important part he played in aiding the new movement in Scotland during Knox's absence on the Continent. The latter held him in high esteem, and both co-operated in the most cordial fashion for the attainment of the end which they had in view.

Maitland of Lethington was, next to Knox, the

ablest man of the time in the country. Randolph, the English Ambassador, in a letter to Cecil draws his portrait thus: "Lethington hath a crafty wit and a fell tongue;" and at a later date he added, "He is more given to policy than to Master Knox's preachings." He was held in high regard by Mary of Lorraine, and also by her daughter, the Queen of Scots, under whom he became Secretary of State. Queen Elizabeth once described him as the "finest wit of any in Scotland," and Knox as "a man of good learning and of sharp wit and reasoning." He never really became a thorough convert to the new religion, but he judged of the movement entirely on its political side. He was one of the leaders of the English party, and it was because he saw in the Reformation a powerful agent, which could be used in support of his policy, that he gave it his countenance. As Mr. Andrew Lang puts it, "He was a modern of the moderns, cool, witty, ironical, subtle, and unconvinced." Knox and he had many an intellectual bout and trial of wit, and although they differed on many points they always maintained a qualified respect for each other.

Erskine of Dun was the one layman of that period for whom we feel the deepest regard. If any man was governed by unselfish motives in adopting and aiding the new faith, it was surely he, for there was nothing of a worldly nature that he could possibly gain by becoming a Protestant, and there was much that he might lose, even life itself. He was one of

those naturally able, level-headed, kind-hearted, patriotic, and God-fearing men, that have from time to time adorned the eldership of the Church, and Knox was fortunate indeed in having him on his side, for his name was of great influence among the best men in Scotland. Erskine, who was a man of means and of an ancient stock, belonged to Forfarshire; he was well educated, and had travelled extensively on the Continent. Strange to say the first glimpse we get of him is in the Bell Tower of Montrose, where, in early manhood, he struck a priest to death. The reason we know not. He was the first to introduce the study of Greek into Scotland; he stood by Wishart in his evil hour, and clung steadily to the Reformed Faith during the dangerous time that followed the murder of Beaton; and now we see him welcoming Knox and giving him every encouragement in preaching the Reformed doctrines in Scotland.

In the discussion to which we have referred the case of Paul was adduced, who, to conciliate the other Apostles, paid a vow in the Temple. Knox said there was every distinction between paying a vow and bowing before an idol, nor would he admit that Paul's conduct on this occasion was prompted by the Holy Spirit, and he drove his argument home by referring to the unhappy consequences which pursued the Apostle on this occasion. There could be no opposing masterful argument of this kind, and so Lethington exclaimed, "I see perfectly that our

shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing that they stand in so small stead before man."

In the opinion of some this discussion struck the keynote of the Reformation. It differentiated between the old religion and the new, showed how they were radically opposed, and made clear that between them there could be no compromise whatsoever. Knox in the discussion emphasised the position for which he had always contended, that the new movement was Church-Reforming, that it struck at the element of worship, brushed aside all image worship or anything that flavoured of idolatry. This, as we have seen, was the radical feature of the Reformed Theology as compared with the Lutheran, which struck as its keynote Justification by Faith. This, also, was the reason why Knox saw in one Mass a greater danger than ten thousand armed men marching down the streets of Edinburgh. He saw clearly that unless the worship of the Mass, with all that it signified, was stamped out, the new Scottish Church would be no better than the ecclesiastical "mingle-mangle" which he found and condemned in England.

After his stay in Edinburgh Knox went to the Mearns as the guest of Erskine of Dun. He stayed a month, and preached with great acceptance. The district was favourable to the Reformation, for was it not in Montrose and its neighbourhood that Wishart had done some of his best work? He afterwards accepted an invitation to Calder House, the residence

of Sir James Sandilands. The Sandilands were a notable family, strong supporters of the new movement, and at Calder House now, and at a later date, Knox preached not only to the members of the family but to many distinguished visitors from Edinburgh and elsewhere. To this house came Lord Erskine, the Earl of Mar, Lord Lorne, and Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews. The last of these, who made Knox's acquaintance in London in 1552, was born for great things. He was an illegitimate son of James v. by Lady Margaret Douglas, sister of Lord Erskine. His father meant him for the Church, and at the early age of five appointed him Prior of St. Andrews. He never, however, took Orders, preferring a political to an ecclesiastical career. Although now in his twenty-fourth year only, he had already given proof of those qualities which were soon to make him the leading man in the State, and the chief assistant of Knox, on the political side, in carrying through the Reformation. Unlike Maitland of Lethington, he put his religion before his politics, and in taking a leading part in the revolution which was impending he was absolutely sincere. His ambiguous position as a member of the royal family, near the throne and yet separated from it by an impassable gulf, made him reserved and cautious, and gave a colour to the charge of subtlety and equivocal dealing which has been made against him. By his ability, character, and devotion to the interests of the country he not only gained the



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highest position then open to him in the State, by becoming Regent, but, what is of more consequence, the affections of the people. He was known at his death, and has ever since remained in the hearts of all Scotsmen, as the "Good Regent."

Knox on leaving Calder House visited Ayrshire, where he spent three months of active and successful work. The Earl of Glencairn invited him to Finlayson, where he dispensed the Communion after the Reformed fashion. He again returned to Calder House, and once more repaired to Dun, every stage of his progress being marked by fresh adherents to the new opinions. The Church became alarmed, and summoned him to Edinburgh on the 15th of May to give an account of himself. Knox, accompanied by Erskine of Dun and other leading men, was determined to meet any charges that might be made against him. The Bishops and others who ought to have taken part in the trial failed to put in an appearance, and they contented themselves by excommunicating and burning him in effigy after he had left the country. Glencairn and others advised Knox at this time to write a letter to the Queen Regent, in the hope that she might be persuaded to favour the new religion. Mary of Lorraine accepted the epistle, and handed it with a joke to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, "Please you, my Lord, to read a Pasquil." Knox on hearing of this was roused to resentment, and in publishing the letter with additions and an introduction he gave free

vent to his indignation. It has to be admitted that his outburst of wrath and scorn reads much better than the original epistle. The fire and vigour of the former contrast favourably with the somewhat timid and formal tone of the latter. Knox did not shine as a courtier, his rôle was that of a Jeremiah.

Just at the moment when the work would seem to be progressing most favourably, Knox received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva "commanding him, in God's name, as he was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort." He did not feel at liberty to resist this appeal, and having sent on his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppe, he soon afterwards followed. It was rather a strong step for Mrs. Bowes to take, seeing that she was a wife and the mother of twelve children, but her departure may have made things easier at Norham Castle.

Knox's visit to Scotland at this time gave a great impetus to the Reformation; it drew together and gave a lead to those who were its prime movers, and before and after his departure he laid down some rules for their guidance. Those who were associated with him while he was in Edinburgh and in other parts of the country preaching the Reformed doctrines were, as we have seen, certain members of the nobility and gentry, and on the first blush it may seem strange that the chief movers in the impending revolution were found in that class. We naturally associate attempts of this kind with the

people. It may of course be true that the Commons of Scotland had not as yet attained to true consciousness, and that it was the Reformation itself which was to accomplish this for them ; besides, the people of Scotland had never hitherto taken action in matters of this kind. The country was practically governed by the nobles.

While this may be true, it is not at all unlikely, as has been alleged, that the nobles were troubled by an itching palm. The wealth of the Church they well knew to be enormous, and even before this date the revenues of the great abbeys and priories were held *in commendam* by laymen whose services to the State were thus rewarded. The Regent Arran, who was not supposed to be a political wiseacre, hit the truth when he said to Sadler that "unless the sin of covetousness brought them to it he saw no chance of reformation" through the nobles. What Hallam says of the English nobility was equally true of the Scotch. "According to the general laws of human nature they gave a readier reception to truths which made their estates more secure." Dr. Hume Brown is at considerable trouble to explain that those who afterwards were known as the Lords of the Congregation were unselfish men, entirely actuated by the highest religious motives. This may be true of Erskine of Dun and one or two more, but facts are against its general acceptance, and he really gives his case away when he asks, "What were

these men to gain by heading the Reformation? Would it not have paid them much better to have supported the Queen Regent in her policy of suppression?" It is only necessary to reply to this that by standing loyally to the Queen Regent they would have been no better off materially than they were before, and from the pensions that many of them were not ashamed to accept from the English Government it is clear that they were poor, and that what they chiefly desired was an addition to their resources. What greater temptation, then, could be offered to such men than the Church lands, which covered the half of Scotland? And when the hour of trial came they did not for a moment hesitate to seize the opportunity which it gave them to enrich themselves at the expense of the Church and Nation. Knox himself was deceived in them. If he co-operated with them to carry out his religious policy, they certainly took advantage of him to gain their own selfish ends.

But what were the people thinking and saying all this time? Had they no share at all in the movement? In the fourteenth century, when the followers of Wycliff came to Scotland, it was the commons and peasants of Ayrshire who were moved to revolt against the Papacy, and to imbibe the doctrines of a purer faith. George Wishart, too, found a ready response among the working men of Dundee and Montrose. Had these working men and peasants now become silent? We shall see on

Knox's return to Scotland that this was far from being the case, and we have evidence that, at the very time of which we are speaking, they were being stirred to throw off the rule of a Church which had become corrupt beyond all remedy. If the better educated looked with contempt upon the ignorant priests, who could not even read their own Church Catechism in the Scottish language, the common people laughed in the face of those clerics who tried to awe them by superstitions which were now exploded. Carlyle complains that no clear view is given of the travail of the common people at this time. What he wished to know was what they were thinking and not what their betters were doing. The information which he desired may not be so full as we might wish, but information there happens to be.

Knox in his *History* gives an amusing and significant account of an incident which shows the contempt with which the people were now regarding some of the sacred customs of the Church. A renegade priest inveighing against his brethren pours ridicule on the "curse" which had once been so effective. "When the vicar," he said, "rose on Sunday and cried, 'One hath tint a spurtell, there is a flail stolen from them beyond the burn; the goodwife on the other side of the gate hath lost a horn spoon, God's curse and mine I give to them that knoweth of this gear and restores it not,'" the people laughed in his face. This shows what they were thinking. The de-

nunciations of the Church had become a farce which provoked ridicule. "Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack," continues this same renegade priest, "to last for a whole year, to curse all that looks over our dyke, that keepeth our corn better than the sleeping boy who will have three shillings in fee, a sark and a pair of shoon in the year."

Another indication of the mind of the people is found in the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" of the brothers Wedderburn. These rhymes were printed on broad sheets and scattered over the country; they were hymns translated in great part from the German, and they reflect the aspirations of the middle and lower classes. The common people, whatever they may have become afterwards, were not at this time greatly enamoured of Doctrinal Theology, and if the Reformation among them had to be effected by such works as that of Knox on Predestination, for instance, they would even yet, we fear, be in the "puddle of papestry." If the songs of a people are an index to their life and history, then these "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" give us some idea of what the people were thinking. They were set to popular airs and were sung on Sunday and Saturday, and being moulded on the Reformed lines, throwing ridicule on Popish doctrines and pointing to the new faith, they did more to spread the movement than could ever have been done by the theological works of Calvin or, as some think, by the preaching of Knox himself.

Here is a specimen. It is a denunciation of prayer to Saints—

“To pray to Peter, James and Johne,
Our Saulis to saif, power haif they none,
For that belongs to Christ allone,
He deit thairfoir, He deit thairfoir.”

Purgatory, too, and the exactions of the Church in freeing the soul therefrom were also vigorously attacked—

“Of the fals fyre of Purgatorie,
Is nocht left in ane sponk ;
Thairfoir sayis Geddie woe is me,
Gone is Priest, Freir and Monk.

The reik [smoke] sa wounder deir they solde
For money, gold and landis :
Quhill half the ryches on the molde
Is seasit in their handis.”

Other leading doctrines of the Reformation, both of a destructive and constructive nature, found homely expression in these popular “Ballatis.” During the next two years they played their part in preparing the soil for the revolution which was accomplished in 1560. Knox on his next appearance had not to seek for an audience in the house of James Syme, “that notable man of God,” in Edinburgh, for in Perth, St. Andrews, and latterly in the capital itself, he found ready to his hand the “rascal multitude,” as he calls them, who were prepared, not only to listen to his preaching, but to carry that preaching far beyond the limits that he aimed at.

CHAPTER IX.

POLITICAL WRITINGS.

KNOX left Scotland in July 1556, and on the 13th of September he was formally admitted member of the English congregation in Geneva, along with his wife and his mother-in-law. At the annual election of ministers on the 16th of December, Knox and Goodman were re-elected.

The Reformer now entered upon the most peaceful and, in some respects, the most fruitful period of his labours. In Geneva he was the head of a congregation entirely to his mind, and he used an order of service composed on the lines for which he contended at Frankfort. A special church, the "Temple de Notre Dame la Neuve," was set apart for the joint use of the Italian and English refugees, and here Knox, with his colleague Goodman, conducted services and preached sermons absolutely devoid of any taint of Popery. The "Church Order" which they used was afterwards introduced by Knox himself into the service of the Church of Scotland, and continued for many years as the Directory of Public Worship in

the country. We shall refer to it later on, meanwhile it is enough to say that it was probably the first Service Book drawn up on Calvinistic lines ever used by an English-speaking congregation. Of course at Frankfort the Service Book of the French Protestants (1554) was used by Whittingham, but it was printed in Latin, and it never met with general acceptance.

Geneva at this time, in its civil, social, and religious aspects, presented a pattern which the exiles who gathered there would like to have seen copied by their respective countries. It was a theocracy with Calvin at its head. However serviceable it may have been at the time as a necessary agent in establishing the Reformation, we cannot, with the best intentions in the world, wish that it had been perpetuated. "In other places," says Knox, "I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place."

Knox's work must have been very congenial to him. His sermons would take up a considerable portion of his time, for he had to preach frequently, and among his audience were some of the most learned men in Europe. He must also have been hard at study acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew, and repairing those defects in his education which he himself regretted. Nor was his pen idle, for during his stay on the Continent he wrote many letters and pamphlets, and their contents, as in-

dicating his political and theological outlook, were more important and significant than anything found in any previous publications by him. Besides, he was in the midst of the most congenial society. The distinguished Reformers who from England and elsewhere found refuge in Geneva would be his daily companions. In his household was there not his wife Marjory Bowes, who earned the praise of Calvin as one of the "sweetest" of women. It may be true that his mother-in-law was a tax on his patience, for her religious morbidness, tending almost to melancholia, demanded the constant attention of her son-in-law, and not the least remarkable trait in his character was the resignation with which he bore her religious querulousness and tried to meet her spiritual difficulties at every point.

Calvin, of course, was the chief attraction, but Knox did not go to Geneva to learn from him. He cultivated his friendship because of intellectual and spiritual sympathy. Knox's mind, as we have seen, had been made up on all the great questions of the time before he ever saw Calvin, and so far as his political views were concerned he was a long way ahead of the man of Geneva.

"It was there, and at this time," says the late Professor Mitchell in his able and interesting Baird Lecture on the "Scottish Reformation," "it was there that Puritanism was organised as a distinct school, if not also as a distinct party, in the Church. There," he continues, "was first

clearly proclaimed in our native language those principles of constitutional government and the limited authority of the 'upper powers' which are now universally accepted by the Anglo-Saxon race. There was first deliberately adopted, and resolutely put in practice among British Christians, a form of Church constitution which eliminated Sacerdotalism and taught the members of the Church their true dignity and responsibility as priests to God and witnesses for Christ in the world." Carlyle's panegyric on Puritanism is well known. To it he attributes the moral and intellectual energy of England and Scotland. Compared with Anglicanism and Lutheranism it was "a faith or religion which came forth as a real business of the heart, indeed the only phasis of Protestantism that ever got to the rank of being a faith."

That is great praise, nor is it altogether unmerited, but the point which ought to be noted in this connection is the form which that faith took in Scotland as compared with England. In the latter country it remained a doctrine, which during the Commonwealth attained its highest results in the thoughts and actions of Cromwell and his followers. But in Scotland it became established as the national religion, grew into a form of Church government, and embodied itself in that Presbyterianism which has preserved it as a vital force in the life of the people. This, we think, was Knox's great achievement. Grant that the political circumstances of

the two countries were different, and that those of England rendered such an achievement on the part of Hooper, for instance, impossible, still Knox's triumph was none the less; and however we may view his work in itself, the fact that he successfully guided the religion of the country along the lines which he favoured, and got that religion legalised by the State, was no mean victory.

While the Reformer was thus enjoying his life and work in Geneva, a letter was brought to him from Scotland, in May 1557, demanding his presence there. This letter came from the leading Protestant nobles, Glencairn, Argyle, Erskine, and James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews. It indicated that the prospects of the Reformed religion were most hopeful, and that all that was now necessary was Knox's presence among them. This letter was laid before Calvin and his brother ministers, in accordance with the law of Geneva, and they "all with one consent said that he could not refuse that Vocation unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God and unmerciful to his country." Knox, however, would not appear to have been in any hurry to depart, for although he received the letter in May he did not leave until towards the end of October.

On arriving at Dieppe he was not a little disgusted to find two letters "not very pleasing to the flesh," probably inspired by those who afterwards became the Lords of the Congregation, stopping

his farther progress, alleging the time was not ripe for the projected revolution. Knox wrote to these same Lords, speaking his mind very freely to them, with the result that they drew up a "bond" or godly covenant, the first of the kind, to further the Reformation. He felt ashamed to go back to Geneva after the solemn farewells which had taken place, but there was no help for him, and return he did, to spend one more year of peaceful and happy labour there. It would seem all the same that he was not very eager to venture to Scotland at this time, for in a private letter to a Mrs. Guthrie he confesses as much, and gives as his reason the fear of heading a revolution which might end in serious bloodshed. Knox did not love civil war, nor did he ever encourage bloodshed. Quite the contrary. His aim all through was to carry out his far-reaching political and religious schemes by constitutional means if possible, and only when these failed to have recourse to arms.

It was during his forced stay at Dieppe that he wrote most of those important letters and pamphlets to which we have referred, so that his residence there, however disagreeable to himself, was fruitful in other respects. True, he did not neglect his special vocation, for he seized every opportunity of preaching in the town and rallying the small and somewhat disheartened congregation that he found there. He put new life into it. It grew in numbers and spirit, and afterwards took an important part in

the defence of Protestantism, under Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé.

We shall now take up his literary productions at this time, and discuss the political and religious programme which they forecast.

One result of the Reformation was to make men think. It forced them to consider their relations not only to the Church but to the State. It also gave them a new sense of their rights as responsible human beings. One of the first things that followed it was a transference of ecclesiastical power from the Pope to the reigning monarch. This took place particularly in Germany and in England. The power of the individual State as represented by the Crown was thereby increased. In England the King was put into the position formerly occupied by the Pope, and he thus became the head of the Church. A considerable section of the people, however, in almost every country where the Reformation became a force, carried its doctrines considerably farther, and demanded a fuller recognition of their personal rights as thinking agents. Hence there sprung up a body called Anabaptists, who were the free-thinkers and also the free-livers of the period. Rejoicing in their emancipation from the bondage of Roman Catholicism, they carried their principles to extremes, and revolted against all law and order, human and divine. Their liberty degenerated into licence.

The Reformers looked upon these sectaries with strong disapproval, for they saw them not only

violating the doctrines of the Christian religion but bringing the Reformation itself into contempt. How could statesmen, responsible for the government of a nation, favour a revolution which threatened to produce nothing but anarchy? Both Luther and Calvin set their faces against these extreme adherents of the new religion, and did their best to restrain them. The Peasants' War in Germany, which was the result of the teaching of these fanatics, caused general dismay, and no one was so forward as Luther himself in putting it down. But Knox was not driven into meaningless conservatism by the dread of such upheavals. We saw that he had been brooding over the questions which go to the very foundation of civil and religious right and liberty. He did not find much encouragement from Calvin and Bullinger in solving the problems which the new condition of things raised. But he was not the man to be influenced by anyone, let his authority be never so high. During these months of retirement in Dieppe, while fuming against the slight which the Scottish nobles had done him, and pondering on the political outlook, he put into writing, in the series of letters which he then and shortly afterwards despatched to Scotland, thoughts that were now thoroughly matured into convictions, and which were afterwards to be carried out, almost to the letter, in the revolution that was impending. In each of these letters a distinct question is raised and solved.

In the first, addressed to his "Brethren in

Scotland," the problem of the *Relation between Creed and Conduct* emerges. We have just referred to the abuses which followed on the Reformation chiefly in Germany, but the country of Luther was not exceptional in this respect. Those who can be classed under the general title of Anabaptists were found in England and Scotland as well. It had come to Knox's ears that some of those who in his native country had made the loudest profession of faith in the new religion had fallen away, and were bringing disgrace not only on themselves, but on their fellow-Protestants and on Protestantism itself. The opponents of the new religion were not slow to take advantage of this, and they began to ask if that religion could be divine which produced or was associated with such immoral conduct? This naturally put Knox and the leaders of the Reformed views in a very awkward position, for one of the chief grounds of their attack on the Roman Catholic Church was the shameless lives of those who ought to have set a higher example to the people. "The Romish Church bore corrupt fruit, therefore let it be cut down," but—and this was the difficulty—the Protestant religion was no better, seeing that the lives of some of its professors were equally corrupt.

To this Knox replied that "the life and conversation of man is no assured note, sign, or token of Christ's visible Church." But if that were so, what need was there for a Reformation at all? let the Roman Catholic Church remain. Knox then goes

to the root of the matter by declaring that, apart from conduct altogether, true belief is of vital importance. Whatever might be said of the lives of the members of the Catholic Church, the doctrines of that Church were corrupt beyond all remedy, and on that account the Reformation, which he was heading, was an absolute necessity. We do not for a moment dispute Knox's contention. The position which he maintains is one that has to be defended by the modern minister and missionary, for they are sometimes told that the lives of the heathen compare favourably with those of Christians. They, too, are asked, "What is the use of introducing the Protestant Religion into countries where the moral conduct of the people is in many respects so blameless?" We cannot separate Creed and Conduct all the same. Truth is truth whatever its outward fruits may be, and no case of special pleading, such as that we have just referred to, can be accepted as a reason for not proclaiming it. But the weakness which these early opponents of the Calvinistic theology discovered in that system, is one which has proved a weakness ever since, for there has always been a temptation on the part of those who have prided themselves on their "true views" to neglect the weightier matters of the law which make for righteousness. Their conduct has not always squared with their creed, and they have not infrequently been content with the latter to the exclusion of the former. It is this that brings religion into contempt even

now, and gives a handle to those who are unfriendly to it.

The second letter, the one which he addressed to the "Professors of the Truth in Scotland," discusses another problem, namely, the *Limits of Obedience*, or the *Lawfulness of Rebellion*. Knox, we saw, favoured the policy of carrying out the religious revolution by constitutional means if possible. That, however, could take place only in those countries where the Government or reigning prince was friendly; but in Scotland at this time both were opposed to the new religion, hence Knox's duty to guide the Professors of the Truth aright. The views which he advocates may be said to form the stepping-stone from his more conservative position of earlier days to the one which he shortly afterwards found himself compelled to adopt. He does not counsel open rebellion; on the contrary, he advises his readers to be obedient as far as possible to the powers that be, but—and here is the important point—if they found their brethren for conscience' sake being tyrannised over by an unregenerated authority they would be justified in defending them. While advising them to submit in all things not repugnant to God, "ye lawfully may," he says, "attempt the extremity which is to prove whether the authority will consent or no, that Christ's evangel may be truly preached, and His Holy Sacraments rightly ministered unto you and to your brethren, the subjects of that realm; and further, ye lawfully may, yea and thereto are bound, to defend

your brethren from persecution and tyranny, be it against princes or emperors, to the uttermost of your power."

The next production in which we find an expression of his opinions is in a "Letter to the Queen Regent with Additions," and in it he boldly *Justifies the Religious Revolution*. The original letter, we saw, was a formal and courteous production, but Knox had learned a few things since then, one of them being Mary of Lorraine's veiled hostility to the Reformation, and another her contemptuous treatment of his own production. We cannot help thinking that the sting in the "Additions" may be explained on personal grounds; all the same Knox now openly declares himself, and brushes aside the arguments of those who would characterise the uprising of a people in defence of their religion as "sedition." He quotes Isaiah against such reasoning, to the effect that "all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration which the foolish multitude so esteemeth; neither yet," he continues, "is every tumult and breach of public order contrary to God's commandment"; and in support of this he quotes Christ Himself, who came not to send peace but a sword, and the Prophets and Apostles who turned the political and religious world of their day upside down. There can be no doubt now as to the tendency of Knox's political thinking.

In the fourth of these publications a question is raised which has been more fruitful of controversy

than almost any other that has agitated the Church. We mean the question of the *Duty of the Civil Magistrate*. In his "Appellation to the Nobles and Estates of Scotland" Knox gives expression to views which are thoroughly Erastian. In setting before them their duty he says: "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 to Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates that the feeding of Christ's flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected 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 be justly 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 highly praised, most evidently declare." He then goes on, as is customary with him, to support this proposition by examples from the Bible, and he points to Moses, who united in himself both civil and religious power. He was primarily a magistrate in the full significance of that term, but God also commissioned him with the due ordering and observance of religion. This con-

ception of Knox of the relation between Church and State was afterwards embodied in the Confession of Faith of 1560, and it was inserted, even in stronger terms, in the Westminster Confession. From the days of Melville until our own the question has cropped up in various forms, but Knox and those who thought with him had no notion of a religion which was not national, and they never dreamt of any separation between Church and State. To divorce the one from the other they felt would be degrading to both. The union of the two gave stability and independence to the Church, and to the State sanctification.

The last of these letters, which has now to be considered, is in some respects the most important of all. In it he addresses directly the *People of Scotland*, or, as he calls them, "his Beloved Brethren the Commonalty of Scotland." This is the first occasion on which Knox speaks to them, and the fact that he now regards them as worthy of consideration shows the position which they were beginning to hold in national affairs. Froude's Lecture on the "Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Character" is well known, and Carlyle's remarks on the same subject are equally familiar. Both these great writers hit the mark in declaring that the Reformation created the Commons of Scotland. Previous to that time they had no voice, as we have already indicated, in the government of the country. As a political force they did not exist. The ruling

and governing class was the nobles, and the rest of the people were practically their retainers, who had no independence whatsoever.

But the Reformation brought these men to self-consciousness; they were made to think, to consider their relations as responsible individuals to Church and State alike. The books that were being brought into the country teaching the doctrines of the Reformed religion, the popular ballads and the preacher's voice, were putting a new life into the middle and lower classes, and preparing them for that part which they took in the Reformation, when all but they had practically deserted the cause. It was upon them in the end that Knox depended for carrying through the work to which he had put his hand, and now at the very beginning of the great task that awaited him he addresses the common people and gives them a conception of their manhood, their rights, their responsibilities, and their duties as citizens, not only of the Kingdom of Scotland but of the Kingdom of Heaven, which to them must have been a perfect revelation. Had Knox never done any more for his native country than this he would deserve its undying gratitude. Modern Scotland, with its teeming cities, its enterprise, its energy and its intelligence and wealth, is practically his creation.

This is how he addresses them: "Neither would I that ye should esteem the reformation and the care of religion less to appertain to you because you 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. . . . For albeit God hath put and ordained distinction and difference between the king and subjects, between the rulers and the common people in the regimen and administration of civil policies, yet in the hope of life to come He hath made all equal." Then he goes on to point out to them what their duty is in view of the present crisis. If in God's eyes they are of equal value with the greatest noble in the land, then they must be ready to discharge the duties which this equality demands. The practical task that lies before them is to maintain the true Church and to unite in the defence of it, and he hints that if the clergy fail to reform religion they should bring them to their senses by refusing to support them. He says: "Ye may, moreover, withhold the fruits and profits which your false Bishops and clergy most unjustly receive of you unto such time as they be compelled faithfully to do their charge and duties."

We know how the common people acted on this advice, and how after the lapse of twelve years only, the change in their character and condition became so marked that Killigrew, the English Ambassador in Scotland, wrote as follows to Cecil: "Methinks I see the nobleman's great credit decay in this country, and the barons, burrows, and suchlike take more

upon them." That was really so, and as the years advanced they still took more upon them, until the balance of power was reversed and they became, through their parliamentary representatives, the real governors of the nation.

These letters of Knox would no doubt play their part in helping on the Reformation. They would be passed from hand to hand among those to whom they were specially addressed, and all who were in sympathy with the new views would receive light and encouragement from them. They would also afford guidance to the leaders and give them a definite policy. The seeds of the revolution had now been sown, and it only required time and careful husbandry to bring them to full growth.

But the work which at the time created the greatest stir and caused the most noise has still to be mentioned. We refer to *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. The title is sufficiently striking, and on the first blush would seem to imply that Knox had but a poor opinion of the weaker sex. This, as we know, was far from being the case. Very few men have been so fortunate as he, not only in the number of their female friends but in their devotion. In England, in Scotland, and on the Continent he was surrounded by female admirers who constantly sought his advice, and when absent corresponded with him, laying before him their doubts and difficulties, and beseeching him for godly counsel. It is remarkable how sympathetic he

was in dealing with the tender consciences of these women, and at what pains he instructed and cheered them; indeed his letters to them form not the least interesting bit of his biography, and reveal a side of his character which is certainly not that of popular tradition.

But this blast of the trumpet was blown not against women, but against what he characterised as their "monstrous regiment," or rule. There can be no doubt that it was immediately inspired by what was taking place at that very time in England and Scotland. Here was he at Dieppe, eager to cross the Channel in order to aid the Reformation in Scotland and in England, but it was impossible for him to do it in either country. He was in this French seaport on the invitation of the leading men in his native land, and he was unable to proceed farther because of the government of Mary of Lorraine, who made it dangerous for him to appear in Scotland at that time. He had taken a solemn farewell of his congregation and friends at Geneva, and, entirely owing to these two women, Mary Tudor and Mary of Guise, he was compelled not only to delay his journey but to return to the Swiss town. His mind, too, we have seen, had been brooding over the rights of subjects in relation to their rulers, and the duty which they owed, in defiance of all authority, to their religion and their God. His schemes of reform grown to maturity he published in those letters which we have just discussed. Why, then, should he not bring

his whole argument to a point, and find the ground of all for which he was contending in the unjust and cruel government of these two queens?

Indeed, John Aylmer, one of the English exiles who wrote a reply to Knox's book, is candid enough to find a justification for the latter's vehemency in what was taking place at the time. "For I have that opinion," he says, "of the man's"—that is Knox's—"honesty and godliness that he will not disdain to hear any reasons nor be loth to be taught in anything he misseth. So this author," he continues, "seeing the torments of martyrs, the murdering of good men, the imprisonment of innocents, the racking of the guiltless, the banishing of Christ, the receiving of Anti-Christ, the spoiling of subjects, the maintenance of strangers, the moving of wars, the loss of England's honour, the purchasing of hatred where we had love, the procuring of trouble where we had peace, the spending of treasure where it was needless, and, to be short, all out of joint, he could not but mislike that Regiment from whence such fruits did spring."

Knox did not publish his book until the following year, 1558, and it came out anonymously. He explains this exception to his general rule of putting his name to all he wrote, by saying that he was going to blow the trumpet thrice, and that the name of the author would appear on the title-page of the third blast. But another reason which he does not mention may have influenced him, and

that was that neither Calvin nor Bullinger considered the course which he was taking to be expedient. It will be recollected that shortly after his first arrival in Geneva he had consulted these two leaders on this and other subjects, and while both approved generally of the abstract question regarding female rule, neither of them thought it advisable to interfere with existing Governments of which a woman was the head. Knox, however, was not convinced. He took his own way, but to prevent any *contretemps* in the happy relations that existed between him and his friends in Geneva he sent it forth anonymously. Calvin afterwards practically disowned the book. On sending a copy of his *Commentary on Isaiah* to Queen Elizabeth, he found that it was very coldly received, and he learned that the cause was his having permitted the publication at Geneva of Knox's *First Blast*. Calvin declared that he knew nothing about it for a whole year after it was given to the world, and hinted that if he had known he would have prevented it. Knox possibly never learned this, for his relations with Calvin remained unbroken to the end.

But he made a greater enemy than ever Calvin would have been by his publication, no other than Queen Elizabeth herself. Indeed, his work was most untimely, and, with regard to the end which he had in view, most unfortunate. Had he known that Mary Tudor would have died shortly after the

publication of his book, and that Elizabeth would succeed her on the throne, it would probably have never seen the light, for his policy was to bring about a union between England and Scotland, and nothing afterwards stood more in his way than his *First Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. Elizabeth was mortally offended by it, and could never afterwards tolerate Knox. On his final departure from Geneva she refused him liberty to pass through England, and were it not that she saw that the interests of her country lay in a friendly understanding with Scotland, she would never have favoured the policy which Knox advocated, but which, after all, was the wisest and best for both countries.

It is unnecessary to deal with the pamphlet as a whole, one or two sentences from it will give an indication of its general contents. "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation or city, is repugnant to nature, contumilie to God, a thing most contrary to His revealed will and approved ordinance ; and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." He then proceeds with great vigour, and not a little incoherence, as if the book after all were a hurried performance, to prove this by quoting the Bible, Aristotle, Justin, the Pandects, the Digest, Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Basil. "There, and nowhere else in his books," says Carlyle, "have we direct proof of how studiously

and profitably his early years up to the age of forty must have been spent, a man of much varied, diligent, solid reading and inquiry as we find him here, a man of serious and continual meditation we might already have known him to be." Still Carlyle regrets that this is the only one of his books which is accessible to English readers, for it is written not in the Scottish but in the common English dialect. It is not by any means the best of his books, far otherwise, in style, in argument, and in temper. Its value lies in testifying to the courage and self-reliance of the man, to his discharge of an imperative duty in defiance of all consequences, and, further, in the indication which it gives of his political policy; for beneath the question of the right of women to rule there was the far deeper question of the right of rulers to govern in defiance of true religion. If the "Regiment" of women was a violation of Scripture, and therefore should be put down, much more ought those rulers to be overthrown, whether they were men or women, who were governing contrary to the Word of God.

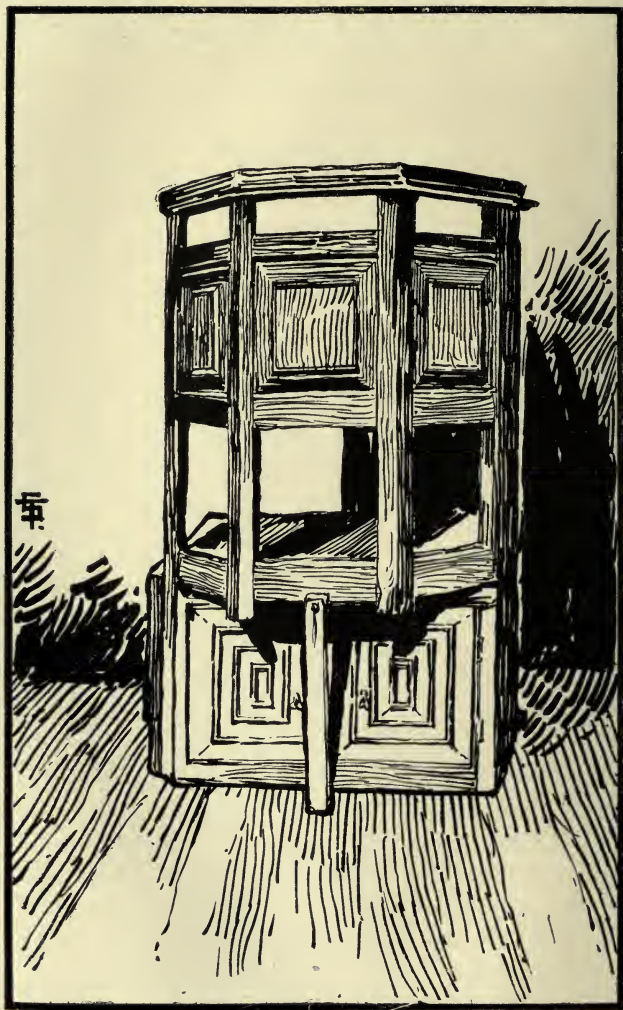
Here really lies the sting of the whole argument and its significance. The pamphlet accordingly is not an unworthy completion to that series of productions which Knox wrote in Dieppe. When they are taken together, and studied as a whole, they will be found to contain the sum and substance of his political thinking.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARING FOR SCOTLAND.

EVENTS were now hastening on, and the way was being rapidly paved for Knox's appearance in Scotland. He did not know that within a year Queen Mary of England would be dead and his native country ready to receive him. Still he must have been glad to get back to Geneva, for his wife and family were there ; his congregation, too, and his many friends would cordially welcome him. There is little record of his work during this period, but one or two events of a domestic nature happened which must have been of considerable interest. During his residence in Geneva two sons were born to him, Nathaniel and Eleazer. Whittingham stood as god-father for the first, and Miles Coverdale for the second. Only on two occasions afterwards do we find any reference to these sons, one in an account which he gives in his *History* of an interview with Queen Mary, and another in his last will and testament.

It would also seem that during this year his friend



JOHN KNOX'S PULPIT.

Mrs. Anne Locke, with her son and daughter, accompanied by a maid-servant, joined the Church of the exiles. Of all his women friends she was the one with whom he corresponded on a footing almost of equality, and his letters to her reveal, as we have seen, not a little of his mind and policy.

It is not generally believed that Knox took any part in the translation of the Bible, which was being done at that time by the English Reformers in Geneva. Among his fellow-exiles there were a number of eminent scholars who would be better able for the task. He was essentially a preacher and a man of action, but one work he must have begun during his last stay in Geneva, and that was his pamphlet on Predestination. It is supposed that he was interrupted in the task by the death of Queen Mary on the 17th of November 1558. This broke up the English congregation in Geneva. Everyone was eager to return to England, where, under the rule of Elizabeth, freedom to worship after the Reformed fashion would be granted.

It is possible that many of them would experience not a little disappointment in the forms of service and the Articles of Belief of the English Church, for these remained pretty much what they were in the time of Edward VI. The purity of doctrine and ritual which they enjoyed in Geneva was not to be permitted them in England, but they did not renounce their convictions all the same. These convictions spread, and, a few generations later, found

full expression in the religious and political revolution which sent Charles I. to the scaffold.

Knox also left Geneva, intending to go first to England and then to Scotland. His declared object in visiting England was to come face to face with his old congregations at Newcastle, Berwick, and "other parties in the North." It is not unlikely that he had a deeper object. It was a part of his policy to come to an understanding with England, and gain its support on behalf of the Reformation in Scotland. His residence in the former country, and the important posts which he held, enabled him to form acquaintances with its leading men. They knew his value and the weight of his character, and were prepared, should the coast be clear, to exchange opinions with him on the political and religious outlook.

He accordingly journeyed to Dieppe, intending to cross to England at the earliest opportunity, but he found his farther progress stopped, not, as on the previous occasion, by letters from Scotland, but by the lack of a letter from England. He wrote to Cecil asking for a passport, but both his request and his letter were ignored. He was now beginning to reap in a very real fashion the fruits of his *First Blast*. It had indeed, as he himself was forced to admit, "blown all his friends from him." It besides turned against him, among others, Queen Elizabeth, who ever afterwards regarded Knox as the incarnation of all that was detestable in

religion. She would have none of him in England, and for three months he had to cool his heels in Dieppe, writing meanwhile letters to Cecil of the strongest possible character.

But Knox could not be idle, he filled in his time by preaching to the Protestant congregation which he himself practically formed, and which in a very short time became one of the largest in any town in France. It was there at this time, also, that he probably finished his pamphlet on Predestination, the one theological treatise of any size and importance ever written by him. The subject was not of Knox's own choosing, nor was the task undertaken at his own desire. A request had come from England to the Reformers in Geneva asking them to prepare a reply to a certain Englishman who had written against the subject. The work was the production of an Anabaptist. We do not know its title nor its author. Knox calls it "The Careless by Necessity." The Anabaptists were, as we have seen, the free-thinkers of the period, and, like all free-thinkers, objected to dogma. They glorified the freedom of the will, and, true to their doctrine, the lives of many were as loose as their views. In these days of a more liberal theology we are apt to agree with the Anabaptists in their revolt against the hard-and-fast system of the early Reformers. It is quite true that we can do so with an impunity which they could not. Luther and Zwingli, Calvin and Knox, had broken away from the Roman Catholic Church, from

its creed, its worship, and itself as an institution and organisation, and the practical question faced them, "What are we going to put in place of all these?"

Had they followed the course adopted by the Anabaptists, and simply left their adherents to the freedom of their own will with regard to doctrine and worship, the Reformation would have collapsed. What they had to do was to form a strong theological phalanx which would act as a defence against all attacks from the outside; to prepare forms of belief upon which the people could take their stand. It was impossible for them to organise in a few months, or years, a great Church like the Roman Catholic, which of itself gave a strength to its members which the Reformers were not completely able to break down. Hence the absolute necessity which devolved upon the leaders of the new movement to discover a substitute for that Church, and they found it in the theology of their Confessions and Creeds, and particularly in the system of Calvin, which is as difficult to break down as was the Romish Church itself.

It is easy for us in these days to find fault with what we are pleased to term the narrowness and intolerance of the theological views of the leaders of the Reformed Church. But they could not afford to be broad and tolerant, although we can. It was what we term the "harshness" of their theology that made the Reformed Church itself possible, and has preserved it for us to this hour. Now the head

and front of that system is the doctrine of Predestination, and it shows the confidence which his fellow Reformers had in Knox that they asked him to prepare the reply desired by their co-religionists in England. The book was published in Geneva with the full authority of Calvin and his friends, to whom it gave entire satisfaction.

Predestination was a late arrival among the doctrines of the Reformed Church. Although presupposed in most of the early Lutheran and Reformed Confessions it did not appear prominently in them, but by the time Calvin wrote his Institutes it was advancing to a leading position. In the earlier editions of his famous work he deals with the subject somewhat briefly, but in the later editions he stated it at length, and wrote elaborate replies to attacks that were made upon it. During the time that Knox was in Geneva it formed the chief subject of controversy, and all the resources of the Reformed Theology were strained to vindicate it. It would be beyond our present purpose to discuss this doctrine at length. It finds a modified place in the Scots Confession of 1560, from which its most repellent features are absent, thus showing that though Knox could write a vigorous controversial pamphlet of some four hundred pages on the subject, he did not think it necessary or advisable to include its most doubtful and objectional features in the Confession which he prepared for his own Church. In the Westminster Confession these features appear in full elaboration,

and they are responsible for the strong desire on the part of many at the present moment to have that Confession recast or its terms of subscription relaxed.

But viewing the subject of Predestination in its broadest aspect there are few who will not be ready to admit that it is the only theological and philosophical explanation of the universe that can recommend itself to the mind of man. It places all under the sovereign rule and grace of God, it claims that nothing happens by chance, that the world and human life are ordered by design, that religion and history are subject to the law of development, that there is an end towards which the whole creation is moving, that there is a unity amidst all the differences that exist around us, and that "the whole round earth is every way bound by gold chains about the feet of God." This, indeed, is the most modern theory of the universe, it is the final word of the scientist, the historian, the moralist, and the philosopher, as well as the theologian. Determinism, as it is called, or in other words Predestination, is accepted by the profoundest thinkers of the day. Calvin and Darwin, Zwingli and Hegel, are at one on this point, and where they agree who will dare to differ? What has brought the Reformed view of the subject into disrepute is the doctrine of Reprobation, or the dualism which differentiates between the saved and the lost in the future world.

But the latest word of the Reformed Theology

has not yet, we are told, been spoken. The view of the world which prevailed at that time has changed, and with it has also changed the Reformed eschatology, whose ideal, says Dr. Hastie, "is an endless progression in the future life under conditions modified by the result of the present development, and carrying that development forward under new conditions of divine determination. The Reformed Theology has not yet fully solved this profoundest problem of all, but it is passing in this connection through a new period of vital development, and the issue shall be a deepened belief in the endless development of all created souls, till the absolute purpose of God shall be realised in an infinitely diversified spirit world, reconciled, perfected, and unified in eternal harmony through spiritual communion with Christ around the throne of God."

We should not blame Knox for his defective eschatology, it is enough for us to know that he held with a firm grasp a doctrine which has so much to commend it, and which is now, in one form or another, almost universally accepted by thinking men. He showed thorough familiarity with it in his reply to his Anabaptist adversary. We have travelled far from the points that were so bitterly discussed between them, and we should be satisfied that in the controversy he proved himself a champion of whom neither his country nor his colleagues had any reason to be ashamed.

Events had been proceeding at a rapid pace in Scotland from July 1556, when Knox left it, to the 2nd of May 1559, when he landed at Leith to be the head and front of the movement which was soon to be carried to a successful issue. The whole nation had, in the interval, become involved in the revolution that was agitating the country, and every force—political, religious, and social—was engaged in it.

The policy of the Queen Regent, which had all along been in favour of France, was strained to the point of breaking. Henry II. was anxious to involve Scotland in the war which, along with Paul IV., he was waging against Philip of Spain. It was necessary for success that England should be kept in check, and he looked to Scotland to effect this for him. He reminded the Scottish nobles of their engagement, ratified at Haddington, to aid him in the case of such an emergency, but when the Queen Regent solicited their support on his behalf they coldly refused. They had become suspicious of France, resented the promotion to the chief offices in the State of Frenchmen, and were in no mood to enter into a conflict with England. Mary of Guise, seeing their temper, abetted Henry in hastening on the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the Dauphin, in the hope of making Scotland an appanage of France. Eight Commissioners were appointed to represent Scotland at the ceremony, which took place on the 24th of April

1558, and of these only four returned. It was supposed that the rest had been poisoned. Henry, too, to make the French rights to the Scottish crown thoroughly secure, entered into a private treaty with the young Queen; and not content with all the advantages that he had already gained, he asked for the crown to be sent over to France in order to be placed on the head of the Dauphin. But an event took place on the 17th of November of this year which diverted the course of European politics, and in the end freed Scotland from the dominance of France; for on that date Mary Tudor died, and was succeeded by the Protestant Elizabeth. This gave hope to the friends of the Reformation, who looked to England for support, that the cause which they had at heart would now triumph.

It will be recollected that Knox, before he left the country in 1556, wrote a letter of "Wholesome Counsel" to his friends and adherents, directing and encouraging them to hold fast to their convictions, and to conduct worship in their own households, at least, should a more public place be denied them. In a letter which was sent to him by the leading Protestants in the country, a year later, to Geneva, it is pointed out that the good work begun was progressing. The Protestant religion was spreading, and the face of a Church was gradually appearing in the land. In his reply from Dieppe he lays before them their duty as the leaders of the people, and, partly owing to his advice and to the favourable

conditions which then prevailed, those whom he addressed formed themselves into a body, and signed a Covenant—the first of many of its kind in Scotland—binding themselves, at the risk of life and limb, to adhere to, and assist by every means in their power, the religious Reformation. They at the same time drew up resolutions laying bare the evils that were in the Church, and approving of the use of Common Prayers on Sundays and Holy Days.

The Lords of the Congregation, as they now for the first time called themselves, pressed on the advantages which they had already gained. They, through Sir James Sandilands, presented a petition to the Regent claiming the right of public and private prayer in the common tongue. Some of them also kept preachers in their household, for the twofold object of defending the ministers against the tyranny of the Romish Church and of instructing both themselves and their families in the truths of the new religion. It is a cause of no surprise, accordingly, to learn that Archbishop Hamilton and his clergy became alarmed at the progress which the new views were making, and that they had recourse, fortunately for the last time in the history of Scotland, to the only method for suppressing heresy known to the Romish Church. The victim on this occasion was Walter Mill, who was burned at St. Andrews on or about the 20th of April 1558. Pitscottie says that Mill “was warming him in a poor woman’s house in Dysart, and teaching the

commandments of God to her and her bairns, and learning her how she should instruct her house to bring up her bairns in the fear of God" when arrested. It was while performing this sacred duty that the poor old man was seized. The sympathies of the people were so strong in his favour that "neither a cord to bind him to the stake nor a tar barrel to burn him could be got for the buying." On being consigned to the flames, and while expiring, he uttered these pathetic and prophetic words: "As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature, but a hundred better shall arise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last to suffer death in Scotland in this cause." Immediately after his death a cairn of stones was erected on the spot to his memory.

The feelings of the people on this occasion show in what direction their opinions were tending. No one could remain any longer blind to the fact that the revolutionary party was backed up by strong popular sympathy and force. The Queen Regent, accordingly, felt that the time had at last come for making a determined effort to suppress Protestantism. She had for a considerable time tried to conciliate those who were favourable to the new views for the purpose of gaining their support in the prosecution of her policy, but the chief aim of that policy having now been attained by the marriage of her daughter to the Dauphin, she felt that there was no need

for temporising any longer. She must also have perceived that if she was to maintain her authority the new movement must be suppressed, for those who were heading it clearly aimed at the overthrow of her government.

She accordingly summoned to her presence the Protestant preachers. They, knowing the strength of their backing, were quite prepared to obey her, and supported by a great many friends and followers they appeared in Edinburgh. She was alarmed at their numbers and was anxious to have them dispersed, but before this could be done several made their way into the chamber where the Regent and the leading clergy were assembled, and one of them, James Chalmers of Gadgirth, addressed her as follows: "Madam, we vow to God we shall make ane 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? No, Madam, it shall not be," and therewith every man put on his steel bonnet. There was heard nothing on the Queen's part but "My joys, my heart, what ails you? Me means no evil to you nor to your preachers." With these and suchlike fair words, as Knox, who gives a very graphic account of the interview, remarks, "she kept the peace at that time."

But perhaps the incident which shows the extent and character of the religious revolt more than any other, is the treatment accorded to St. Giles, the

patron saint of Edinburgh. In the previous year his image had been stolen from the church and cast into the Nor' Loch, and this year the clergy, in order to celebrate his day with due honour, had to borrow money to buy a new one. The Queen herself honoured the occasion and took part in its festivities, but she retired to dine at the house of Sandie Carpetyne "betwixt the Bowes," in time to escape a great tumult, for the populace attacked the procession, made short work of the idol, and chased the priests as hard as they could run to sanctuary. It may be true that the lower classes are always ready to take part in a riot, but the treatment meted out on this occasion to young St. Giles clearly shows the way the wind was blowing, for when the religious observances of a Church can be treated in this fashion it is a clear sign that that Church is doomed.

The Protestants, in order to bring matters to a point, petitioned Parliament through the Queen Regent, claiming absolute freedom of worship, and on her declining to accept their petition they determined to approach Parliament themselves. But the social discontent which characterised the movement has still to be mentioned. There is a popular belief that the Reformation in Scotland was entirely carried through by those who called themselves the Lords of the Congregation. Undoubtedly they took a leading part in its inception, but unless the movement had been national it would

never have reached its dimensions nor attained its results. The common people, and even the lower classes, had their share in its accomplishment. Nor was the revolution entirely religious, as some think, or partly religious and partly political only, as others imagine; it was social as well, and in this we see its not least hopeful sign. Indeed, that element in it which then, for the first time, found articulate expression is the one that has had least justice done to it, and, at the same time, it is the one which perhaps was the deepest of all. The condition of the working classes and of the poor was miserable in the extreme, and that condition was due in no small measure to the Church, which ought to have made every effort to improve it.

This is brought out in what a recent historian has declared to have been the most remarkable document produced by the Reformation, "The Beggars' Summonds," which on the 1st of January 1559 was stuck on the gates of all the Religious Houses in Scotland. It was a striking and significant paper, purporting to be from "the blind, crooked, beggars, widows, and all other poor," accusing the clergy of having "falsely stolen the wealth given by the pious for the service of the poor," and concluding with the threat, "We have thought good, therefore, to warn you that you remove forth of our said hospitals betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, certifying you if ye fail we will at the said term in whole number, with the help of God and

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 hath stolen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpful to the poor." It is not known who wrote this document. It is written with a strong hand, and breathes the spirit of revolution. It must have been the production of someone who was in the secret counsels of the leaders of the movement, for it in a sense reveals their plan. The menace with which it ends was fulfilled almost to the letter.

A Provincial Council of the clergy was held about this time. The ecclesiastical authorities evidently saw that unless something were done speedily, in the way of drastic reform, the Church would be overthrown. The recommendations which it made were, for the Romish Church, searching and far-reaching, and if they had been carried out a generation or two earlier the religious revolution might never have been attempted; but it was now too late, and the Queen Regent, seeing that it was quite impossible to regain the sympathies of the Protestants for the Church, turned once more to her policy of suppression, and shortly before Easter issued an order for the observance of that festival after the Roman manner, strictly forbidding the preaching of unauthorised persons. The Protestants, in alarm, made a representation to her through the Earl of Glencairn

and Sir Hew Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr, to whom she replied in memorable words: "In despite of you and of your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland albeit they preached as truly as ever did St. Paul." On having her previous promises recalled she replied in words that have become historical, "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than it pleased them to keep the same." At last the die was cast, and the preachers were summoned to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS.

KNOX'S arrival in Edinburgh (2nd of May 1559) was the signal for renewed activity on both sides. The Queen Regent was in Glasgow, and on the third day after his arrival she ordered him to be "blown loud to the horn." It will be remembered that after his departure in 1556 he was excommunicated and burned in effigy, and outlawry was involved in the sentence then passed. He remained only two nights in Edinburgh, for hearing that the brethren had assembled in force in Dundee he hastened to join them. "I am come," he writes to his friend Mrs. Locke, "I am come, I praise God even in the brunt of the battle, if God impede not I shall present myself" before the Queen and Council, "there by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify His godly name who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries."

The Protestants who had assembled at Dundee were incensed by the preachers being summoned to appear before the Queen Regent at Stirling on the

10th of May, and they determined to march in a body on Perth, Knox accompanying them. It being their object to avoid every sign of rebellion, they sent Erskine of Dun to lay their demands before the Regent. She promised to delay the summons, but almost immediately afterwards she broke her promise and proclaimed the preachers as outlaws. "The multitude," says Knox, "on learning this was so inflamed that neither could the exhortation of the preacher nor the commandment of the magistrate stay them from destroying of the places of idolatry."

We here touch on a question that has been much and even hotly debated: Whether the Protestant preachers, and notably Knox, were responsible for the destruction of the numerous rich and beautiful Religious Houses that then adorned Scotland? One fact at least is clear, that the beginning of the iconoclastic work was due to the perfidy of the Queen Regent, whose breach of faith in the case of the preachers incited the populace to their task of destruction. Still there can be no denying the fact that Knox, and those who thought with him, preached against image worship of every kind, and he himself states that immediately before the first considerable attack on the Religious Houses of Scotland was made, he had from the pulpit been stirring up the people against idolatry of all sorts. Indeed, it would seem that the very next day after the preachers were outlawed he himself delivered a vehement discourse against idolatry. At its close a priest, in contempt,

attempted to celebrate the Mass. Among the audience was a young boy who rebuked the priest for thus violating the Word of God. The latter "struck the child a great blow, who in anger took up a stone, and casting at the priest did hit the tabernacle and broke down an image, and immediately the whole multitude that was about cast stones and put hands to the same tabernacle and to all other monuments of idolatry." That was the beginning of a general attack on the Religious Houses of Perth, and the "rascal multitude," as Knox calls them, rejoicing in the opportunity for riot which the occasion gave them, very soon demolished the three most notable ecclesiastical buildings in the city, including the Charter House, an edifice of "wondrous cost and greatness"; so thorough was the work of destruction that only the walls remained of these glorious buildings. This was the beginning of trouble, and all over the country sacred edifices that had been erected at great labour and much expense shared the same fate as those of Perth.

It should not be forgotten that years before this Hertford and his English army laid waste the Abbeys of the South of Scotland, and even previous to the arrival of Knox we learn of tumults in which the ecclesiastical buildings of the country suffered. Kirkcaldy of Grange, whose testimony on all matters is that of a plain, blunt soldier, states, in writing to Percy, what would seem to have been the policy of the Reformers with regard to this matter. "The

manner of their proceedings," he says, "is this: They pull down all manner of Priories and Abbeys which willingly receive not their Reformation; as to Parish Churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry." This policy, severe enough, is not so drastic as many would have us to believe. Parish Churches were to be left intact, their vain adornments being swept away; and all the great Religious Houses were to remain untouched, except where the holders of them defied the rising authority.

Now, considering Knox's conception of the new movement, which was Church Reform, we cannot see very well how he could have done otherwise. His protest, as we have seen, was against the worship of the Romish Church, that worship being contrary to the purity of Scriptural teaching, and consequently, in his eyes, idolatry. If the work to which he had put his hand, and for which he had suffered greatly, risking fearlessly for its sake life and limb, was to be accomplished, it could only be by ridding the Parish Churches and great Religious Houses of all that in his eye defiled or made a lie. We are aware that on more than one occasion he did his very best to restrain the mob from ruthlessly tearing down edifices that he would have spared, but, as everyone knows, when the passion for destruction seizes the lower orders there is no withholding them, and the excesses which they indulged in were but a repetition of the acts of destruction which characterised the movement in France, Switzerland, and

Holland. There are few who do not regret the vandalism of the period. There was then destroyed what can never be replaced; but it may be better after all that these great edifices, with all their æsthetic beauty, should be but desolate ruins, than that the purity of worship which we now enjoy should, for their sakes, have been sacrificed.

The Queen was so enraged at the conduct of the Protestants in Perth that she vowed "utterly to destroy Saint Johnstone, man, woman, and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it in sign of a perpetual desolation." It was the aim of the Protestant party to avoid every appearance of rebellion; they were anxious to carry through their reforms by constitutional means if possible, and have recourse to arms only as a last resort. They accordingly at this juncture issued four Manifestoes, in which we clearly see the hand of Knox. The Reformer on this occasion, as indeed at every critical moment in the history of the Reformation, stood out as the one man of light and leading. He saw the significance of the hour, and directed the fortunes of his party. In these Manifestoes he stated the case of the Congregation, and disabused the minds of his countrymen of misrepresentations regarding their intentions; for the Queen Regent had been busy poisoning all whom it might concern, hinting that it was Rebellion, and not Reformation, that they were contemplating.

The first of these Manifestoes is addressed to the

“Queen’s Grace Regent,” and it roundly states that “unless this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom we will be condemned to take the sword of just defence against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience’ sake,” and hints that in her present course of conduct she was not acting in conformity with the wishes of the young Queen of Scots and her husband the Dauphin. The second, which was addressed to “D’Oysel and the Frenchmen in her Service,” indicates that unless they cease taking part in the present persecution a feud would be created between France and Scotland that would “last as long as Scotchmen should have power to revenge such cruelty.” In the third of these addresses, the one to the “Nobility of Scotland,” Knox calls upon them to rise to the height of their great responsibilities, and threatens them with excommunication if they fail to obey his summons. “Unless ye join yourselves with us,” he says, “as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our society ; the glory of the victory which God shall give to His Church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you.” The last was addressed to the “Generation of Anti-Christ, the Pestilent Prelates and their Shavelings within Scotland,” and he warns them that unless they “cease betimes from their blind rage they shall be entreated as murderers and open enemies to God.”

These letters found their way, as was intended, all over Scotland. The one addressed to the Nobility

fell into the hands of the Earl of Glencairn, among others, and he was so stirred by it that he declared : "Let every man serve his conscience, I will by God's grace see my brethren in St. Johnstone, yea, albeit never a man should accompany me I will go, and if it were but with a pike upon my shoulder, for I would rather die with that company than live afterwards." The Earl's boast was no vain one, for he immediately rallied round him the sturdy Protestants of Ayrshire and the West, and to the number of two thousand they made a rapid march through "desert and mountain" to the relief of their brethren at Perth. This quickened the conciliatory mood of the Queen Regent, for she sent Representatives to the Lords of the Congregation to learn their demands. Knox and his friends declared that they were not aiming at rebellion, but simply desiring freedom to worship God according to their consciences. The following were the terms which the Protestants were prepared to accept: They would leave the town on condition that all who were of their party should be allowed perfect freedom of worship, and that no French garrison should be quartered on the citizens. These terms being accepted, the Protestants were allowed to leave Perth with a free pardon. Of the three Commissioners who represented the Queen on this occasion, two were Argyle and the Lord James. Knox rebuked them sharply for their defection, and they solemnly promised that if the Regent broke her pledges they would instantly

desert her and throw in their lot with the Protestant party.

It was not long before the opportunity presented itself for fulfilling this promise. On the 29th of May, the date fixed for the occupation of Perth by the Queen Regent, the Protestants entered into another bond, the chief note of which was that they pledged themselves to put down all idolatry. Thereafter the majority of them journeyed to St. Andrews, and on the march they carried out, too literally perhaps, the agreement which they had come to; for different churches on the route bore witness afterwards to their zeal for purity, among them being those of Crail and Anstruther, in which Knox preached.

The Queen Regent, almost on the very day on which she entered Perth, broke her pledges by quartering Scottish soldiers in the pay of France on the citizens, by restoring the old religion, and by her cruel treatment of the Protestants. Many of the Nobility and others, among whom were Argyle and the Lord James, immediately left her and joined Knox and the body of Protestants who had already arrived at St. Andrews.

In St. Andrews, as in Perth, Knox acted the leading part. It was his intention, he says, to preach in the famous Cathedral City on Sunday the 4th of June. On coming to this understanding with himself he could not be aware of the determined effort that was to be made to prevent him. That effort, as we shall see, proved futile, and Knox's purpose was



THE CHURCH TOWER, DUNDEE.

carried out. We can imagine his feelings on visiting St. Andrews, for the first time, since his forced embarkation as a prisoner in the French galleys. He had undergone much suffering since then, had seen many lands, and taken a leading part wherever he went in advocating by word and pen the doctrines of the Reformed religion. But he never during all his wanderings forgot his native country, and he must have felt exultant at the mere hope of fulfilling the vow which he had made to his friend James Balfour, when, as a prisoner, he came within sight, in the French fleet, of the steeple of the parish church in which God publicly opened his mouth as a preacher—that he would in that same church witness again before he died to the grace and glory of God.

Archbishop Hamilton, who was at Falkland, hastened to St. Andrews with three hundred armed men to prevent Knox from discharging this vow, for he well knew the Reformer's power, and was afraid that if he were allowed to preach to the citizens of St. Andrews it would go hard with the old Church. Indeed the Archbishop threatened that in case "John Knox presented himself to the preaching place, in his town and principal Church, he should make him be saluted with a dozen of culverins whereof the most part would light upon his nose." The Reformer's friends were intimidated by this threat, for they were not in great force in the city; but Knox would listen to no half-hearted counsels, and, brushing aside their scruples and fears, he kept his word and

preached a sermon on "the ejection of the buyers and sellers from the Temple." The result of this discourse was similar to that of those preached in other churches, for "the Magistrates, the Provost and Bailies, as the commonalty, for the most part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition." St. Andrews, when Knox entered it, was not altogether whole-hearted for the Reformation, but before he left the majority of its citizens sided with him; and some years later, when he had to leave Edinburgh, his life being in danger, he found friendly shelter within its walls. Argyle and the Lord James, who now joined the Protestants in St. Andrews, were accompanied by a considerable following; others joined them, and their numbers became so great that Knox is forced to exclaim that it appeared "as men had rained from the clouds."

The Regent, with her forces led by the Duke of Châtelherault and D'Oysel, marched on St. Andrews. The Lords of the Congregation went out to meet them. Neither side was eager for battle. Indeed, one of the remarkable features of the whole Revolution was the disinclination of both parties to shed blood. The forces that opposed each other were pretty equally matched, so far as numbers were concerned, and what those of the Protestants lacked in discipline was more than made up in enthusiasm and loyalty. The Regent could not depend upon her army, for many of her soldiers favoured the new religion. Both

sides accordingly courted delay, and a truce of eight days was agreed upon in the hope that terms might in the interval be arranged.

It was at this juncture that Knox made a proposal for soliciting the aid of England. He himself tells us that the matter was first discussed in a private conversation between him and Kirkcaldy of Grange. These two had been early brought together, and although their paths had diverged, and would diverge again, they ever continued to have a sincere regard for each other. They, probably, of all who took part in the rising had least to gain from its success, and the unselfishness of their motives could not fail to be perceived by all their associates. They had nothing of that local patriotism which distorted the vision of most Scottish politicians. They were not possessed by an irrational suspicion or dread of England; they both saw that only by an understanding with that country could success be attained; for Kirkcaldy, as a soldier and general, must have been impressed by the military weakness of the Protestant party, and Knox looked forward to the union of the two countries as his chief hope of their salvation from the tyranny and superstition of the Romish Church, and the progress and establishment of the true religion. Knox, besides, from his long residence in England, the important posts he held there, his intimate knowledge of its political tendencies and acquaintance with its chief men, was especially fitted to pave the way for such a union.

In this conversation Knox "after many words burst forth, 'If England would foresee their own commodity they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel.'" He was also convinced that "if the hearts of the Borderers of both parts can be united together in God's fear our victory shall then be easy." Indeed it was to unite the hearts of these same Borderers that he craved permission when at Dieppe to pass through England on his way to Scotland. He subsequently wrote to Cecil: "My eye hath long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms." At a later date this same policy is seen in his desire to see Queen Elizabeth married to the Earl of Arran, the next heir to the Scottish throne. Knox's visions were those of a true patriot and far-seeing statesman as well as of a Religious Reformer. He did not live to see the fulfilment of his dream, which was reserved for a later day; but he paved the way for, and took the first step in, that union of the two Nations which is now the joy and strength of both.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES.

THE contending forces did not long remain facing each other at St. Andrews. The Queen Regent marched by Stirling to Edinburgh and then to Dunbar, which she made her headquarters for the time being. The Protestants made Edinburgh their objective, and on the way relieved Perth, which was held by the Queen Regent. It was after its relief that the Abbey and Palace of Scone were burned down. This was not the work of the "rascal multitude," but of certain of the Protestants of Dundee and Perth. The leaders of the Reformation, Knox included, did everything in their power to restrain the mob, but without effect. It must have been in reference to this that Knox shortly afterwards wrote the following letter to Cecil, incidentally deploring, and at the same time apologising for the violence that accompanied the new movement: "The common bruit I doubt not carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The

truth is that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove Idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent because the adversaries be stubborn."

On arriving at Edinburgh the Protestants found the churches already "purified" of all their images and "monuments of idolatry." The Congregation were only thirteen hundred in number, and the majority of the citizens were against them, but in a very short time their strength was augmented to six thousand by the appearance of the Earl of Glencairn. This nobleman was a great tower of strength to the Protestant party. He aided it not only by his ability and prudence but also by the powerful influence which he exercised over the Western Counties. There was now no retreat possible for either party. The Protestants had gone too far to hope for anything by yielding; they had staked their lives on the issue, and should they fail they could only hope for banishment or death. There was but one course open to the Queen Regent. Her government had been disowned, and she could only secure peace by conquering her opponents. To become a Protestant was beyond the range of possibility for a daughter of the House of Guise. She knew that she had much to hope from delay, and that prolonged inactivity would be fatal to her opponents. She accordingly began to spread

defection among their ranks by encouraging the report that the Lord James was aiming at the throne and that they were engaged in a rebellion.

The Congregation could not long hold together, because those who formed it were only soldiers for the hour, and no active service being demanded of them they retired in great numbers to their own homes. Were it not for Knox it is not at all unlikely that the Protestant party would at this time have entirely broken up, but he held them together, and, being now minister of Edinburgh, he preached discourses which kept steadily before them the great cause for which they were fighting, and kindled their enthusiasm on its behalf. The Queen Regent, hearing of the thinning of the ranks of the Congregation by dispersion, marched on Leith, which opened its gates after the firing of a single shot. The Protestants looked to Lord Erskine, the Governor of the Castle, for support, but he had pledged himself to the Regent, and threatened to fire on them and the city unless they came to terms. They had no option, and an agreement was come to by which they should surrender Holyrood Palace and quit Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. The Protestants, on the other hand, were to be permitted full liberty of worship, no French garrison was to be admitted within the city, which was to be left to its own discretion in the matter of religion. The ban of outlawry against their preachers was also withdrawn, so that they practically gained all that

they in the meantime were contending for. The Congregation left Edinburgh on the 26th of July, Knox accompanying them, and shortly after they left they entered into another bond, pledging each other not to be cajoled by the Queen Regent into a desertion of the Protestant cause.

Willock was left behind to represent Knox as minister of Edinburgh, and he earned the praise of his colleague by his staunch adherence to the Reformed religion and his vigorous defence of the same by his preaching in St. Giles'. No special record of the order of service at this time in use is left us, although Kirkcaldy of Grange, in the letter to Sir Henry Percy to which reference has already been made, states that the Service Book which was followed was the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. This book never attained to an assured position in the Church, nor did it continue long in use, for Knox would have none of it, but it served its purpose for the time being in giving guidance to the preacher and forming a basis of union for the people. Willock's was no easy task, for the majority of the citizens of Edinburgh were still Catholics, and the French soldiers delighted to disturb his service by marching up and down the floor of St. Giles' and jeering at his preaching.

No sooner had the Congregation reached Stirling than they made plans for gaining the support of England. Knox, we have seen, had discussed this matter earlier with his friend Kirkcaldy of Grange.

It was a weary business, and its chief advocate, Knox, had to stand many a gibe at the slowness of the negotiations, and was told that they would no doubt be brought to a conclusion when it would be too late. The interest of England in a union with the Congregation was becoming every day clearer, and the sudden death of Henry II. brought home to Elizabeth and her Council the desirability, if not the necessity, of coming to terms with the Protestant party. It was the policy of France, even before Henry's death, to get possession of Scotland; and France's supremacy being secured over the Northern country, the next step would be to extend that supremacy over the Southern as well. The accession to the French throne of Francis II. increased England's danger still more, for his young Queen was the niece of the Guises, whose voice was now all powerful in the Councils of the French Government. Strong Catholics, they wished to see a revival of the old religion in Scotland and in England. Their niece was not only Queen of France, but Queen of Scotland as well, and, regarding Elizabeth as illegitimate, they wished to press Mary's claims as the next heir to the English throne.

Elizabeth and her Secretary Cecil understood all this perfectly well, but two difficulties stood in their way. The first was that peace reigned between France and England, and the second that they were not assured of a complete breach between the Protestants and the Queen Regent. The old feuds

between Scotland and England were not as yet altogether healed, and at any moment a hatred of the "old enemy" might stir the Scotch to acts of hostility. Besides, Elizabeth was very loth to abet subjects in their revolt against their sovereign, for in doing so she might be cutting a stick with which to break her own back.

The Congregation, having determined to open negotiations with England, looked upon Knox, who was at this time acting as their Secretary, as the man who should take the first step. We have referred to his qualifications for this task, although diplomacy cannot be regarded as one of them. He was bold in speech, and, when occasion demanded, sufficiently prudent in action, but his methods were too direct and open to suit the wily men who guided the policy of Elizabeth. Throgmorton, the English Ambassador at Paris, pressed on Cecil the claims of Knox, and wrote saying that notwithstanding his authorship of *The First Blast*: "Yet forasmuch as he is now in Scotland in as great credit as ever man was there, with such as may be able to serve the Queen's Majesty's term, it were well done not to use him otherwise in mine opinion than may be for the advancement of the Queen's Majesty's service." Knox wrote to Cecil expressing a desire to see him, so that they might come to an understanding face to face. But Elizabeth's Secretary was in no mood to endanger the relations of France and England by granting an interview to the one man in Scotland

who was making the government of that country impossible ; besides the Secretary knew full well that to grant Knox's request would be to incur the implacable wrath of his own mistress, for there was no man so much detested by Elizabeth as the Reformer. She had little love for his Calvinism and less for his Puritanism ; besides he had committed the unpardonable sin of writing *The First Blast*. The authorship of that book she would never forgive him.

It shows Knox's courage that he took pen in hand and wrote direct to Elizabeth herself, one of the most extraordinary letters that ever he produced. It was on the 20th of July that he concocted this famous production, for it must have been a laborious task. Taking the high ground of a Servant of Jesus Christ and a preacher of His Holy Evangel, he discharged his conscience towards her, reminding her how she "had declined from Christ in the day of His battle for fear of her life," and while expressing attachment to Elizabeth's own person, and the sincerest regard for her many virtues, he would not recede one inch from his old position in regarding the regiment or rule of a woman as "repugnant to nature, contumelious to God, and contrarious to His Revealed Word." Elizabeth's power to help Knox in the present crisis did not affect that opinion one bit, but still as one or two women, notably Deborah, had in the providence of God been raised up to do Him special service, so God had raised up Elizabeth

from "the dust to rule above His people for the comfort of His Kirk."

This letter was enclosed in his epistle to Cecil, and the Secretary, who was a prudent man, wisely omitted to deliver it. The Lords of the Congregation also wrote at the same time on their own behalf. They despatched two letters, one to Elizabeth and another to Cecil. The latter they knew to be a friend of the Reformation, and they opened their heart and mind to him with singular frankness. They proposed to form a lasting union with England to "the praise of God's glory and the comfort of the faithful in both realms," and they hinted that unless the Regent came to their way of thinking, that complete breach between her and them, which Cecil desired, would take place. Their letter to the Queen had less of religion in it and more of politics; they knew that she valued her crown more than her Bible, so they hinted at what might happen to England if their venture failed. "If in this battle," they say, "we shall be overthrown, we fear that our ruin shall be but the entrance to a greater cruelty." Elizabeth knew this as well as they did, and in due time she came to their succour.

Although Knox failed in the end to induce Cecil to grant him an interview, he journeyed to England with that object. He was to have met the Secretary at his country house at Stamford, but the Reformer did not get farther than Berwick. Here he met

Sir James Crofts, the Governor of that town, and submitted to him the proposals of the Congregation. If England took up their cause, they would form a mutual league against the French. Their reasons for desiring such a league were two, the Reform of Religion and the restoration of their ancient laws and liberties. Sir James Crofts, it is alleged, believing Knox to be unsuited for the mission which he was now attempting to discharge, advised him to return home, saying, "I think it not expedient that in such rarity of preachers ye be any long time absent from the Lords." But the fact is that Crofts himself was suspected of playing false to his country, and in any case it was the desire of Cecil that Knox at this time should not venture far into England.

He returned to Stirling with some difficulty about the 6th of August, for the Regent, hearing of his mission, had given orders to seize him. Cecil's reply to the Congregation was not very satisfactory. He advised the Lords to follow the practice of the English nobility and enrich themselves at the expense of the Church. The time was not yet ripe for acting on that advice; in due course they would take it to heart with a vengeance. Cecil, however, was better than his word, for ere long Sadler was entrusted by Elizabeth with three thousand pounds to distribute as he thought best in the interests of England.

Knox at this time was touring the country,

preaching everywhere, and spreading the doctrines of the Reformed religion all over the land. So far carnal weapons had not availed him and his friends to any appreciable extent. His own voice, as the English Ambassador afterwards remarked, put more courage into them than "five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears"; and thus in a letter to Mrs. Locke, of date 2nd of September, he writes: "We do nothing but go about Jericho blowing with trumpets as God giveth strength, hoping victory by His power alone." St. Andrews was at this time his headquarters, and from it he sallied forth, sounding this same trumpet of the Evangel and rousing all who heard it to fresh activity in the cause of the Reformed Faith.

Consternation befell the Congregation on the announcement that a thousand French soldiers had landed in Leith; and being accompanied by their wives and children it looked as if they intended to stay. The feeling among Scotsmen now ran very high. The popular antipathy against the Regent and her French allies was roused, and the clamour was so loud and disaffection so widespread, that in self-defence she published a Manifesto laying her case before the world. She likened herself to "a small bird which being pursued will provide some nest, so her Grace could do no less than provide some sure retreat for herself and her company." This sentence is very well turned, but her nest must have been of very considerable dimensions and of

extraordinary formation, for it was strongly fortified, and contained three thousand French soldiers armed to the teeth. The Congregation, most likely by the pen of Knox, replied to this Manifesto, and the sufferings which the poor realm of Scotland was enduring at the hands of the Regent are described in the strongest and most vivid terms. Taxes had been increased, the coinage debased, Frenchmen promoted over the heads of Scotsmen, and the country was being overrun by foreign soldiers, who sacked "the barnyards newly gathered, the granaries replenished, the houses garnished, and by force put the just possesors and ancient inhabitants therefrom to shift for themselves." The Congregation in this Manifesto appealed to the patriotism of the nation, and tried to rouse their countrymen to a sense of the danger that was now more than imminent.

The Protestant party was strengthened at this time by the adhesion of the Earl of Arran. This young man was the heir of the House of Hamilton, and, after Mary, stood next to the throne. He was instrumental also in winning over his father, the Duke. This considerably added to the prestige of the Congregation in the eyes of Elizabeth, and would no doubt also have its influence upon the country at large. Arran's future was very different from what most men expected. At this time no bounds could be placed to the possibilities of his career. Not only the Scotch but even the English throne was believed to be within his reach; the

latter by his marriage with Elizabeth herself. The Regent fortified Leith; the Congregation protested. Eight hundred more Frenchmen landed in the country, action must be immediate, so the Protestants determined to march on Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XIII.

END OF THE REVOLUTION.

IN considering the position of the opposing parties we find that the Congregation though strong in numbers were poor in resources. Their good men were for the most part "country fellows," untrained and undisciplined. It was the 16th of October before they could join their leaders in their march on Edinburgh, for the harvest was late that year. In a few weeks their farms and crofts would again demand their attention, for they would require to prepare the ground for the harvest of the following year. Unless immediate action could be taken there was every prospect of a fresh dispersion. Nor could the Lords of the Congregation hold out any prospects to them; they had no money. Knox knew this, and in a letter to Cecil he pleads for financial support: "For albeit," he says, "that money by the adversary party largely offered could not corrupt them, yet should extreme poverty compel them to remain at home; for they are so super-expended already that they are not able to bear out their

train, and the same thing I write unto you again requiring you to signify the same to such as tender the furtherance of this cause." The Regent, on the other hand, had a compact and well-equipped army, protected in Leith by walls and forts, and duly supplied with all the materials of war. The struggle indeed on these terms was hopeless, and this the Congregation very soon found out.

They began with a war of Proclamations, which came to nothing. The only possible good these could do was to keep the Lords of the Congregation formally right. On the 21st of October, only five days after their occupation of the capital, the Protestants took the extreme step of deposing the Queen Regent. The course of events necessarily led up to this, and the Proclamation which was published vindicating their action was composed with great deliberation and very deftly done. The remarkable feature about it was its practical omission of any reference to the Reformation of Religion. The reason put forth was the unconstitutional government of the Regent, the tyranny of the French, the robbery of the people and the degradation of the country. The appeal was not to the religion but to the patriotism of the people.

Mr. Andrew Lang, contrasting this Proclamation with its predecessors, traces in it the hand of Maitland of Lethington. That astute politician had not as yet thrown in his lot with the Protestant party, although he was soon to do so. Some think that

Knox was put into the background and that his views were overruled. We do not think so. He was not such a fanatic as to wreck the Reformation by refusing to take advantage of any move in the game that would help his cause. The appeal to religion had already gathered round the revolutionists a very considerable proportion of the nation, and it was only common prudence, in this Proclamation, to appeal to other sections of the nation, even to Catholics who felt indignant at the present degradation and threatened subversion of their country. Besides, the Protestants were eagerly soliciting the assistance of Elizabeth, and they had to consider the ground on which she would be most ready to give her support. We can well believe that this Manifesto was issued with Knox's approval, and we have no reason, except the opinion of inimical historians, to think otherwise.

It may have seemed a bold thing for the Congregation to depose the Regent, but from Knox's well-known opinions, already discussed, there will be no surprise felt at his action in the matter. He and Willock were consulted, and they gave the proposal their heartiest approval. Knox would have no scruples whatsoever in supporting the action of his lay friends. He was, as we have seen, a pupil of John Major, who declared that a "free people first gives strength to a King whose power depends upon the whole people," and that "a people can discard or depose a King and his children for misconduct just

as it appointed him at first." These views had been advocated by Knox, and when the time came he did not hesitate to put them into force. We do not think them revolutionary now, though they were far in advance of the opinions generally held in his day. Upon them every free government, our own included, is now based.

There is one statement in this Proclamation which has caused some surprise. That is where the Protestant Lords declare that they depose the Queen Regent by the authority of their lawful sovereigns. This, on the face of it, was taking a good deal for granted; but the explanation is found in the fact that these men naturally held that their lawful sovereigns would govern lawfully, which the Queen Regent was not doing, and it was at the same time an indication that, whoever the sovereign or governor might be, they would be quite justified on the authority of the Constitution to do unto him or her what they had now done to the Regent. In our judgment this taking the name of their lawful sovereigns in vain was the most significant feature in the whole Proclamation, and was prophetic of the vindication of the rights and liberty of subjects in relation to all rulers whatsoever.

The Protestant party soon discovered that the subjugation of Leith was no easy task. The support which they asked from England was not granted, if we except an instalment of one thousand pounds which Elizabeth sent them. This, unfortunately,

never reached their hands, for it was seized by the Earl of Bothwell on its way. Fresh misfortunes followed. The French, making a sortie from Leith, drove the army of the Congregation down the Canongate into Edinburgh, and a further defeat on the 5th of November made them feel that their position was unsafe and hopeless. "From that day," says Knox, "the courage of many was dejected, with great difficulty could men be retained in the town; yea some of the greatest estimation determined with themselves to leave the enterprise, many fled away secretly, and those that did abide appeared destitute of counsel and manhood."

The one man who did not lose heart was Knox himself: his labours at this time were far beyond his strength. Along with Willock he preached daily in St. Giles' to crowded congregations, stirring their enthusiasm and holding together the different members of a party that constantly seemed on the eve of a final and fatal disruption. His wife, who had joined him, assisted him in his secretarial work. "The rest of my wife," he says, "has been so un-restful since her arriving, that scarcely could she tell upon the morrow what she wrote at night." His movements were closely watched, and a large sum promised for his head; but in spite of all he lost "no jot of hope or heart," but in the darkest hour of his party's fortune encouraged them with his own optimism.

It was at this time that he wrote a letter to Sir James Crofts which has been made the subject of

sharp criticism. A recent historian joyfully seizes on it in proof of his contention that the morality of Knox the preacher was inferior to that of Crofts the politician, and a biographer of the Reformer bemoans it as the one blot on his public career. It does not seem to us so terrible after all. When the Congregation were in their darkest hour Knox appealed to Crofts for help. Knowing it was the object of Elizabeth not to offend France, he suggested that the soldiers whom he sought to be sent across the border might be regarded by the English as rebels to their realm. Elizabeth, who was in the habit of making promises which she never intended to fulfil, and of refusing what she had fully made up her mind to grant, would regard this counsel as venial in the extreme; and when we consider the craft that was practised on all hands, by almost everyone who held important political posts, Knox's suggestion cannot appear so dreadful.

It was at this time that Maitland of Lethington joined the Congregation. Knox welcomed him because of his proved ability and influence, and also for the relief that he would bring, because Lethington undertook the duties of secretary for which by nature and training he was better fitted than Knox. The Lords of the Congregation, against the advice of Maitland, determined to quit Edinburgh, and they left amidst the jeers of the populace. "The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics, everyone pro-

voked other to cast stones at us, and thus as a sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed." But it was Knox again who revived their drooping spirits, for after they arrived at Stirling he preached a sermon which was long remembered by everyone who heard it, for he declared, "Whatever shall become of us and our mortal bodies I doubt not that but this cause (notwithstanding the enmity of Satan) shall prevail in the realm, for as it is the eternal truth of the Eternal God, so shall it finally prevail though it be resisted for a season. It may be that God shall plague some because they do not relish the truth, though from worldly motives they pretend to favour it, yea God may take some of His dearest children away before their eyes see greater calamities, but neither the one nor the other shall so hinder this cause but that in the end it shall triumph." A council of the Congregation was held shortly after they came to Stirling: the journey of Maitland to England to win over Elizabeth to their cause was its object. It was determined that Maitland should go, and this decision was the turning-point in the fortunes of the Congregation.

Shortly after the despatch of Maitland the Congregation determined to divide themselves into two companies, one of which should make Glasgow its centre and the other St. Andrews. To the former city went Châtelherault, Glencairn, and Argyle,

and to the latter the Lord James, Arran, Lord Ruthven, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and Knox. The Reformer acted as secretary to his party. He would appear at this time to have taken less active interest in the revolution than during its earlier periods. The reason was that the Lords of the Congregation were now basing their action on the threatened invasion of France. The Reformation of Religion was put into the background. It was their desire to draw into their net as large a number as possible, and for this purpose they made it of different meshes. Towards the close of the year they met in Stirling for the purpose of considering a letter from Maitland, who wished to receive further instructions regarding his mission to England. The Queen Regent heard of this gathering, and a force was sent under D'Oysel to attack it. The Congregation heard of the movement and made their escape. The French followed up their advantage and pursued them almost to the very gates of St. Andrews. Their march was stoutly contested, the Lord James, Arran, and Kirkcaldy particularly distinguishing themselves. "For twenty and one days," says Knox, "the first two lay in their clothes, their boots never came off, they had skirmishing almost every day, yea some days from morn to eve." The Queen Regent thought that her triumph was at hand, and exclaimed, "Where is now John Knox, his God! My God is now stronger than his, yea even in Fife."

Although Knox could take no part in the actual

warfare that was being waged, he was by no means idle. He had up to this time, while in St. Andrews, employed his leisure in the writing of his *History*, and when the fortune of his party seemed almost hopeless he again rose to the occasion, and in Cupar preached a sermon that put fresh heart into them. Maitland was also busy, and his patient diplomacy was about to be crowned with success. He was the one man in Scotland fitted for the task which he was discharging. He was friendly with Cecil, a favourite with Elizabeth, and a lover of his country. He believed in a union with England, and he brought all his well-known and exceptional talents to bear upon its accomplishment. Elizabeth hesitated, changed her mind, but at last yielded. Hence was it that the French, while engaged with that section of the Congregation that occupied Fife, were surprised when crossing the river Leven on the 23rd of January 1560 to see a fleet in the Firth of Forth. They took it to be the promised fleet expected from France, but their fond hopes were dispelled on finding that two ships which were being despatched to them with supplies were seized. They then discovered that the vessels were English. D'Oysel beat a hasty retreat towards Stirling. The country rose up behind him, and he was hotly pursued by those who had suffered so harshly at his hands. He rested not until he reached Linlithgow, and did not feel himself safe until he found shelter behind the fortifications of Leith.

This was only one result of Maitland's mission, the other was the despatch to Scotland of an English army. But before this could be finally agreed on it was necessary that a bond should be entered into between the Lords of the Congregation and their English allies. For this purpose Norfolk was sent to the north of England, and it was proposed that a meeting should take place between him and representatives of the Congregation. The party under the Duke of Châtelherault arranged to meet Norfolk at Carlisle, but Knox disapproved of this. He wrote a strong letter to the Duke, accusing him at the same time of slackness in the cause. It was accordingly agreed that a meeting should take place at Berwick-on-Tweed, and on the 27th of February an Agreement was come to by which England and the Lords of the Congregation mutually bound themselves against the French. The forces of the Queen Regent, to the number of over two thousand, made one supreme effort to overthrow the Congregation. Their attack on St. Andrews having failed they marched on Glasgow. The Protestant party in that city fled to Hamilton, and the French after working their will on Glasgow returned to Leith. The Queen Regent, whose health was declining, and whose outlook was now becoming almost hopeless, received permission to leave Leith and take refuge in the Castle of Edinburgh.

The Protestant leaders made strenuous efforts to rouse the whole country. With this object they issued a fresh Proclamation, in which no mention

was made of the Reform of Religion. Their appeal was only partially successful, and with the forces at their command they joined the English who had now arrived at Leith. The joint armies numbered between nine thousand and ten thousand men. It was a new experience in the history of both countries to see their armies united in a common action. Men could hardly believe their eyes on seeing the Scotch and the English soldiers amicably entertaining each other. Indeed it was the suspicion in the minds of many Scotsmen that Elizabeth had some sinister object in view which kept them from joining the Congregation. They were afraid that the English, supposing the French were driven out of the country, would take their place. Even the Congregation had a dread lest they might be overreached and terms be agreed on by friends and foes alike, which in the end might prove injurious to them. It was perhaps more for the purpose of keeping themselves right in the eye of the Constitution, than from any hope of being successful, that a final appeal was made to the Regent to dismiss the Frenchmen and govern according to the laws of the realm. Nothing of course came of this last effort.

The allied armies now attempted to penetrate the fortifications of Leith, but with very unfortunate results. They were repulsed with considerable loss. Knox relates some stories that were spread abroad, retailing the conduct and words of the Queen

Regent after one of these repulses. "Now will I go to the Mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen," he reports her to have said; and again, when the French laid the dead bodies of the Scotch and English along their wall, she is alleged to have exclaimed: "Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw." Some doubt is cast on the truth of these reports by the fact that Edinburgh Castle was too distant from the walls of Leith to enable anyone to distinguish very clearly between dead bodies and living ones, and the poor Queen Regent's health must have been too low to permit her to view such scenes or to remark upon them with sarcasm.

Emissaries were passing to and fro between the French and English camps for the purpose of breaking up the compact between the English and the Scotch. The Protestant leaders, afraid lest dissension might be sown among their own ranks, drew up a new bond of mutual adhesion which Huntly and Morton among others signed. These two earls were powerful additions to their ranks, and the fact of their going over to the Protestant party showed in which direction the tide of success was beginning to flow. None of the combatants were at all anxious to prolong the struggle, indeed they were all eager for peace. The French Government had quite enough on its hands at home. Elizabeth grudged the expense, and the Congregation were afraid of the dispersion of their followers. The death of the Regent, which took place on the 10th

of June, brought matters to a crisis, and six days later Commissioners arrived from England and France for the purpose of drawing up terms of agreement.

The portrait which Knox draws of Mary of Guise is by no means flattering. "Unhappy from the first day she entered into the kingdom unto the day she departed this life," is his judgment; and he adds, "God for His great mercy's sake rid us from the rest of the Guisian blood. Amen, amen." From his point of view the judgment which he thus passes upon her life is defensible enough. She represented to him that "seed of Anti-Christ" which he believed it was his commission to uproot and destroy. It should not be forgotten that this very year, in the month of March 1560, many French Protestants, some of them men of distinction, had been done to death through the instrumentality of her brother the Cardinal, and that he, with Francis II. and his young Queen, Mary Stuart, looked from their palace windows at the torments of these poor wretches. Nor could Knox ever forget the cruelty which he had suffered at the hands of the French, or the degradation of his country of which they were the cause. He associated the Queen Regent with all the evils, religious and civil, which Scotland had endured for the past generation. It was through her mainly that a nation whose friendship with Scotland was ancient and close had been turned into an enemy. In her defeat and death he

saw the overthrow of all that his soul hated. It was not an age when men did things by halves; the struggle in which he was engaged was a deadly one, and his thorough conviction that he was fighting the battle of the Almighty justified him in triumphing over the defeat of those who were opposed to him.

But notwithstanding all this we cannot help thinking that Mary of Guise was not less blameworthy than misguided and unfortunate. Her attachment to her own family was so strong that she governed Scotland in their interests and in the interests of France. If she had thought less of her brothers and more of her own daughter she would have guided the affairs of the nation very differently. She alienated from herself not only the Protestants, but every rank and section of the people, by making Scotland an appanage of France. To serve her own ends she allowed the Congregation to grow in numbers and in influence, and to serve her own ends again she tried to destroy them. One cannot help feelings of regret for her, a foreign princess and a widow, surrounded by a nobility that was governed by strong and uncontrollable passions. She had tact and diplomacy, and was not without kindness of heart, but her ideal was false. She herself suffered for her errors, and left a heritage for her daughter which that unhappy Queen was quite incapable of managing aright.

The Treaty was signed at Edinburgh on the



CRAIL CHURCH.

6th of July, and by it the French were to leave Scotland, the fortifications of Leith were to be destroyed, a general pardon was to be granted, a Parliament was to assemble on the 10th of July and all its Acts were to be as legal as if it were presided over by the Queen herself. It is not quite clear what part Knox played in the last stage of the struggle. He was in Edinburgh during the siege of Leith, and from the account which he gives of it in his *History* it is evident that he was an eye-witness of much that took place. His sermons in St. Giles' and his commanding influence with the Congregation would all tell on the course of the conflict. He was necessarily debarred from taking part in the actual warfare and in the negotiations that led up to the final settlement. During the last stage it was the civil rather than the religious element that was adduced as the ground of the revolution, but it was he, and no other, who set the force in motion which in the end triumphed.

CHAPTER XIV.

RECONSTRUCTION OF CHURCH.

NO time was lost in putting the main clauses of the Treaty into force. On the 15th of July the French sailed from Leith, and almost immediately thereafter the English left for their own country. The occasion was one not only of national but of deep religious importance, and Knox seized it in order to commemorate in a worthy fashion the great deliverance that had been vouchsafed to his country. Four days after the departure of their allies the "whole nobility," he tells us, "and the greatest part of the Congregation, assembled in St. Giles' Church in Edinburgh, where after the sermon made for that purpose public thanks were given unto God for His merciful deliverance." Knox does not say who the preacher was, but there is every likelihood that it was himself. No report is given of the sermon, but the prayer is found in his *History*. In the petitions which he offered up, Old Testament incidents are freely referred to in illustration of the position of the Protestant Church in Scotland at that time.

Much fault is found with Knox and the early Reformers for founding the superstructure of the new faith on the Old, rather than on the New, Testament. But it should not be forgotten that the national movements of the time found striking parallels in the history of the Jewish people. The religion of Christ was not national in the same sense as that of Moses. It was universal rather than local. It was not bound up with, nor did it touch, the different spheres and interests of the national life. This, it seems to us, reasonably accounts for the fondness of Knox for Old Testament incidents and experiences; he found them reproduced in the struggle which his own country was passing through at the time. Cheap and ignorant abuse has been freely heaped on the head of the Reformer on this account, but a little knowledge of the times in which he lived, and of the character of the work which he had to accomplish, ought to free the minds of even prejudiced readers and students of this common cant. The Prayer of Thanksgiving which he offered up contains one clause of political import. He calls upon the Almighty to aid them in proving true to their alliance with England; "the instrument," he declares, "by which we are now set at this liberty, to which we in Thy name have promised mutual faith again, let us never fall to that unkindness, O Lord, that either we declare ourselves unthankful unto them or profaners of Thy holy name."

Very soon thereafter steps were taken for the

ordering of the Church. The first thing to be done was to distribute such ministers as there were over the country. The chief cities and towns were of course first supplied. Knox himself was appointed to Edinburgh; and St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith had preachers assigned to them. Five superintendents were also nominated. The Parliament which met on the 10th of July, and which was again prorogued to the 1st of August, was soon to reassemble, and for the purpose of leading up to the important work which it had to do Knox preached a series of discourses in St. Giles' on the prophecy of Haggai. "The doctrine," he says, "was proper for the time." That may have been so, but the effect of it was to give the first indication of the blow that was to dash one of his dearest hopes. "In application whereof," he continues, "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 mocking, 'We must now forget ourselves and bear the barrow to build the house of God.' God be merciful to the speaker," who, we are told, was Lethington.

A petition at the same time was drawn up, to be presented to Parliament by the barons, gentlemen, burgesses and others, calling upon the legislature to abolish the old religion and to establish the new. Of the many exposures which, up to this date, had been made of the corruptions and abuses of the

Romish Church, this assuredly is the strongest. It attacks the lives of the clergy, their doctrinal errors, the idolatry of the Mass, and the supremacy of the Pope, whom it roundly declares to be "that Man of Sin." The reading of this petition produced divers opinions. The nobility had no objections to the Reformed doctrine, but from worldly reasons, as Knox mentions, they abhorred "a perfect Reformation, for how many within Scotland that have the name of nobility are not unjust possessors of the patrimony of the Church." They had no desire to disgorge the Church lands which they had already, under various pretexts, seized, and having an eye on what still remained they were determined to put off as long as possible a settlement of that part of the Church question. Instructions, however, were given to the ministers to draw up "in plain and several heads the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain," and which they desired the present Parliament to establish. This task was willingly undertaken, and within four days they presented a Confession of Faith which was accepted "without alteration of any one sentence."

The Parliament to which this Confession was presented was by far the largest and most important that had assembled for years. Many who had a right to vote were present for the first time. They were the smaller barons and lairds and representatives of the burghs. Some objection was taken to their presence, but it was brushed aside. They were there

because of their single-minded interests in the Reformation. The great nobles were there because of their interest in the patrimony of the Church. The composition of the House shows the progress which the new religion had made in the country, and how it was quickening the life of the commons and people of Scotland. Men of small degree, but with the right to vote, were there for the first time within seventy years, and their presence was an indication of the larger representation of the Scottish people that would, in the coming years, through the new birth in which they had participated by the revival of religion, be found in the national Parliament.

I.

The Confession of Faith.

The Confession of Faith which Knox, with the assistance of his five colleagues, John Wynram, John Spottiswoode, John Willock, John Douglas, and John Row, prepared, was publicly read, first in audience of the Lords of Articles and afterwards in audience of the whole Parliament. The Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld were present, and certain of the ministers put in an appearance in expectation that objection would be taken to some of its clauses. In this they were agreeably disappointed. The representatives of the old Church kept silence, and only one or two of the lay members, among them the Earl of Athole, made any

opposition, for which they could produce no better reason than "we will believe as our fathers believed." The doctrine of the Confession was unanimously approved of, and ratified by the whole body of the Estates.

Knox was not a stranger to the task that he had thus been suddenly asked to discharge. We saw that while in England he had a hand in the final revision of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.; and when on the Continent, both at Frankfort and Geneva, he had been engaged in preparing Confessions for his congregation. In addition, it was the age of Confessions. They were so numerous and so formidable that Roman Catholics called them in derision "Paper Popes." Their authority was great, and they governed the minds of those who accepted them much in the same way as the Vicar of Rome ruled his Church. In these days there is a widespread feeling that it might be better if there had been fewer Confessions, and if their treatment of the doctrines of Christianity had been less full, elaborate, and minute. Many are oppressed by the burden of belief which the symbols of the Church lay on their spirit, and the difficulty of shortening or of simplifying them makes that burden all the heavier. We are apt to criticise and condemn somewhat severely our Protestant forefathers for having put the free spirit of Christianity into bonds and fetters which we have not the power to break, but we should remember that there can be no Church with-

out a Confession, and that in the days of the Reformers it was absolutely necessary, for the very existence of the Church, to have subordinate standards which all the members could accept as a bond of union, and round which they might rally.

Comparing this Confession of Knox with some that went before and came after it, we cannot help admiring its free spirit, and the frankness and joyousness almost with which it expresses the doctrinal convictions of those who drew it up. Dr. Hume Brown complains of Knox's Mediævalism, and declares that in method he was no better than the Schoolmen. He surely cannot have read this Confession with a quite unbiassed mind, for we can imagine nothing less mediæval in form and matter. It is much more modern in conception and style than the Westminster Confession of Faith which replaced it. The very first sentence of the preface reveals the spirit in which it was undertaken. "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." That is not how men speak who intend to produce a tame and stilted performance; it is the utterance of those whose hearts are full and who are desirous of proclaiming to the world the convictions for which they have suffered.

Nor can we help admiring the spirit in which they regard their completed task. It is one of charity. "If any man will note in this our Confession any

article or sentence repugnant 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 writing, and we of our honour 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." A recent historian is kind enough to suggest that this was only a phrase in the mouth of the Reformers, and not to be taken seriously. In this he shows less charity than those he is accusing of the lack of it, and Knox's controversy with the Jesuit Tyrie, the very last work published by him, in which he answers the charges of his opponent point by point, is surely proof enough that he and those who drew up the Confession with him meant what they said.

Dr. Mitchell points out that although four days only were allowed for presenting the Confession, instructions to prepare it were probably given as early as the month of April, at the same time that the nobles and barons asked Knox, when signing one of their "godly bonds," to draw up the Book of Discipline. The matter would thus be gradually arranging itself in his mind even though not a word were written, and when the time came for putting the Confession as a whole into shape he would be quite prepared for doing so. Randolph, the English envoy, wrote to Cecil two days afterwards, "I never heard matters of so great importance neither sooner

despatched nor with better will agreed to. . . . The old Lord Lindsay, as grave and godly a man as ever I saw, said, 'I have lived many years, I am the oldest in this company of my sort, now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day where so many nobles and others have allowed so worthy a work, I will say with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*.'

Whatever may be said about this and other Confessions of the Reformation time, it should never be forgotten that they bore witness to religious thought which found expression in conduct. There was nothing mediæval about them in that respect. They were not the mere quibbling of Schoolmen, but the assured beliefs of those who were persuaded that their salvation, here and hereafter, depended upon the acceptance of these beliefs, and also upon the measure of success with which they carried them out in their daily life. Their duty to God they did not feel to be perfectly realised until it found expression in service to man.

It is impossible, and perhaps on the whole unnecessary, to deal in detail with the first Confession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, but one or two outstanding features of it must be referred to. We cannot, for instance, agree with Dr. Mitchell that with regard to the doctrine of Election Knox's Confession is as explicit in content and purpose as the Westminster Confession itself. On the contrary, the way in which the first Confession of the Reformed Church handles this difficult subject makes

it much easier for the modern man. The Confession's treatment of it is general, and it declines to enter into details and to forecast the unknown future; problems which offered no difficulty to those who drew up the Westminster Standards. While putting in the forefront the sovereignty of God, it does not fail to emphasise His Fatherhood. Indeed, in the very chapter which treats of Election the filial relationship of the believer towards God is duly notified, and again and again throughout the document similar references occur, freeing Knox's Confession, at anyrate, from the charge of sternness, and of glorying only in the terrible judgments of the Almighty.

Knox's doctrine of the Church is perhaps the most outstanding feature of the whole Confession. It may interest those who find in our Reformer's teaching nothing save hard-and-fast and, to them, repellent Calvinism, to know that this doctrine was held by Zwingli the earliest theologian of the Reformed Church, and that Knox's theology on the whole had taken definite shape long before he had seen Calvin or probably read many of his books. "Those who drew up the Confession of Faith of 1560," says the late Professor Hastie, "laid it down that the true Church of which they were members was essentially grounded in an Invisible Church, which had existed in the world from the beginning of all true religion, and was coextensive with all true religion. And in so far as this Invisible Church, the true Kingdom of

God, the holy communion of saints, became visible, it was distinguishable by certain clear and perfect notes whereby any branch of it could be easily and certainly recognised : namely, first, the true preaching of the Word of God as the highest, divinest truth known to man ; secondly, the right administration of the Sacraments as the sealing of that truth on the hearts and lives of men ; and, lastly, ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered as God's Word prescribeth 'whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished.' " Such was the large and comprehensive conception of the Church accepted and advocated by John Knox, and indeed it was upon this idea of the Invisible Church that "the leaders of the Reformed Church took their stand and did their imperishable work for God and the world. It is a Church that embraces in its fold the saved and purified spirits of all time, the spiritual elect of the race, even the saintly souls that had whitened into the pure radiance of eternity amid the foul corruptions of the idolatry of Rome."

This large and generous conception of the Church was held by the Reformed Churches everywhere ; they cultivated intercommunion, for they regarded themselves as members of the one Church. It is after a revival of this ideal that many are striving at the present moment. The exclusiveness, or, as it might be justly enough phrased, the ecclesiastical snobbery of certain of the Reformed Churches was a later growth. It took its rise in the Church of England,

under Laud, and since his day it has gone on increasing.

Nor can we help admiring the broad way in which Knox deals with General Councils and Ceremonies. While paying every respect to the judgments of Councils, he does not by any means accept them without examination. He will test their actions by the Word of God. Nor does he admit that any order of Church Government can be accepted as divine or can be regarded as binding for all time. Episcopacy and Presbytery he puts on this footing; and as for Ceremonies, "such as men have devised, they are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed when they rather foster superstition than they edify the Kirk using same." This is surely a saner deliverance than that of some moderns, who on the one hand condemn the narrowness of the Reformer, and at the same time regard as of divine institution articles of Church millinery and forms of ritual which, in the words of Knox, are "such as men have devised."

It is alleged by some, who base their statements on the information which Randolph sent to Cecil on the 7th of September 1560, that before the Confession was publicly presented it was remitted privately to certain Lords of Parliament, and revised by Wynram and Lethington, who went the length of recommending the omission of a chapter, that on "Obedience and Disobedience due from Subjects to Magistrates." Professor Mitchell does not believe

that anything of the kind took place, and holds that the chapter which treats of the Civil Magistrate is the original and only chapter written on the subject. In it Knox, following the other great theologians of the Reformed Church, regards the State as a divine institution, maintained under the Providence of God for the well-being of man and the manifestation of His own glory. If God is to be found in nature, much more should He be found in man, and especially in man's ordered life under civil government.

It followed, therefore, as a necessity, that with this conception of the State there should be a union between it and the Church ; for the Church regarded the State to be like itself a divine institution under the universal headship of Christ, and the State saw in the Church an institution which was possessed by a spirit fitted to maintain and promote its own highest well-being. The co-ordinate relation of Church and State, which is a distinctive note of the Church of Scotland as the Established Church of the land, was first of all conceived by John Knox, and by his wise and far-seeing statesmanship put into the form which from then till now has never changed nor varied.

At the present moment, when the tendency all round would seem to be towards shorter and simpler creeds, it is not surprising to hear a desire expressed that we should revert to the Confession of John Knox, for the other doctrines with which it deals,

such as the authority of the Scriptures, the unity and attributes of God, the effects of the Fall, the nature and work of the Holy Spirit, and the Sacraments, are treated in much the same frank and free spirit as those we have more fully discussed. We can therefore quite understand this modern tendency, although those who support it may not be able altogether to endorse the high eulogium passed upon Knox's Confession by Edward Irving. "This document," he declares, "is the pillar of the Reformation Church of Scotland, which hath derived little help from the Westminster Confession of Faith; for, though the latter was adopted as a platform of communion with the English Presbyterians in the year 1647, it exerted little or no influence upon our Church, and was hardly felt as an operative principle either of good or evil until the revolution of 1688, so that the Scottish Confession was the banner of the Church in all her wrestlings and conflicts, the Westminster Confession but as the camp colours which she hath used during her days of peace,—the one for battle, the other for fair appearance and good order." Irving was in the habit of reading it twice a year to his own congregation in London, for he felt there was "a freshness of life about it which no frequency of reading wore off."

But there are one or two features in Knox's Confession, apart altogether from its conception of the doctrines of the Church, which would make a return to it practically impossible. It contains

certain vituperative clauses and expressions that refer to the pre-Reformation Church which would not be at all to the taste of the modern mind. The Roman Catholic Church is characterised as the "pestilent synagogue," the "filthy synagogue," and the "horrible harlot and kirk malignant"; and in the last chapter the language of Revelation xiv. 11 ("the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night who worship the beast and his image") is adduced to point to the doom of those who delight in superstition and idolatry.

Many critics, of course, seize upon these and similar expressions as the chief notes, not only of the Confession but of the teaching of the Reformers as a whole. They make considerable capital out of such language, and feed the popular mind with their comments thereon. But such critics ought to remember what has already been pointed out, that Knox and his colleagues were engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and that the terrible corruptions of the Romish Church, which they saw with their own eyes, but which we only know, after the lapse of long centuries, by hearsay, impressed them so profoundly as to make such language to their minds more than justifiable.

This Confession was the doctrinal standard of the Church for nearly a hundred years, until it was replaced by the Westminster Confession, and it has never been abrogated. Upon it, as Edward Irving

points out, the theology of the Scottish Church was founded. It is not responsible for the narrower views and less liberal practices which prevailed during the earlier half of the seventeenth century, and which led up to the Westminster Confession of Faith. Had the type of theology of the first Confession of the Reformed Church of Scotland been more closely followed, and had the influence of English sectaries been resisted, the religious spirit, doctrinal teaching, and ethical principles of the Church of a bygone age would commend themselves more to our mind than they now do, and would have saved the Church of Knox from many of the troubles and trials which since his day have time and again grievously afflicted it.

The same Parliament which ratified the Confession passed three Acts which abolished the Church of Rome so far as it could be abolished by legislative enactments. By the first of these Acts the power and authority of the Pope were destroyed; by the second condemnation was passed on all doctrinal practices contrary to the new Confession; and by the third the celebration of the Mass was prohibited. The penalties involved for disobeying the last enactment were: to hear the Mass was to incur confiscation, to say or hear it for the second time exile, and for the third time death. This also may seem harsh to many, and contrary to the more tolerant spirit that prevails in our time, but it should not be forgotten that Scotland had just passed through

a political revolution as well as a religious reformation, and that the elements which respectively belong to such movements were so bound up as to make it impossible to separate them. In considering the laws passed by nations that have just gone through some great civil crisis, and which are much harsher and sterner than those decreed by the Scottish Parliament of 1560, we say that they were necessary, that had not the supreme power asserted its authority the fight for freedom would have been fought in vain. If we thus justify the acts of Cromwell, why should we condemn the deeds of Knox? And, as a matter of fact, however stern the enactments which the Scottish Reformers countenanced may seem, they were more honoured in the breach than the observance.

Acute minds have recently been exercising themselves about the reason why the Scottish people accepted at the Reformation the Calvinistic type of theology. Mr. Lang rather superciliously declares that it suited the national spirit because of its cheapness, and Dr. Hume Brown maintains that it was agreeable to the national mind because of its metaphysics; but the vast majority hold that it was Knox, the pupil of Calvin, who by his strong will and personality imposed it upon the people. We believe that all three reasons are beside the mark. The Scottish Reformation was not transacted in a day or hour. In the end it may have been sudden and complete, but, like all great movements, it was a growth.

The seeds were sown in the fourteenth century by the followers of Wycliff. They were nourished by the blood of Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, and by the sacrifice of pure and noble spirits who suffered exile and death rather than deny the truth. Knox himself and his fellow-Reformers had spared neither time nor labour in teaching the people, and rousing them to a sense of their spiritual birthright. Books and pamphlets, hymns and ballads, all saturated with the life of the Reformed Faith, had done their part. The fetters of superstition, of ignorance and idolatry, by which the nation had been bound, were being gradually loosened; the yoke of Rome was being thrown off; a new spirit was possessing the people, they were attaining to self-consciousness; and after having learned, studied, and examined the truth, so far as their abilities and opportunities permitted, they of their own accord embraced the type of theology which is found in Knox's Confession; and so strongly attached to it were they, even from the very first, that Randolph, who sounded them as to the possibility of arriving at a uniformity with England, wrote to the effect, that however much they might like such a uniformity they would not for its sake give up those special features of their own creed, worship, and policy, to which they were deeply attached.

It is very cheap to sneer at Calvinism, but it should be remembered that the theology of

Knox was not technically Calvinistic; it was the theology of the Reformed Church, and the real founder of that theology was Zwingli, and not Calvin. Besides, Scotland had only other two types of theology to choose from, Lutheranism and Arminianism. We know the types of national life which these two religions have produced, and we also know the type Calvinism has produced; and if religion be the dominating factor in a people's life, as we hold it to be, very few will be prepared to maintain that the mould into which Calvinism has cast Scotland is inferior to that into which Arminianism has cast England and Lutheranism Germany. Those who condemn the religion of their own country should be consistent, and condemn their country at the same time, for we fail to see how they can separate the one from the other.

II.

The Book of Discipline.

The next meeting of the Scottish Estates did not take place till January of the following year. Knox in the interval was not idle. Along with the same men who had assisted him in preparing the Confession of Faith he was busy drawing up what is known as the First Book of Discipline. This task, we have seen, had been allotted to him in April of 1560 by the Protestant Lords, and the commission

had been renewed and the work completed by the autumn of that year.

The events which marked the period that lapsed between the close of the first Parliament of Protestant Scotland and the second could not have been altogether of a reassuring nature to Knox. Mary and Francis steadily refused to ratify the Acts of the Parliament to set up the Reformed religion. Knox did not, however, attach much importance to this, for the Parliament was a free and properly constituted one; and, besides, it mattered not to him whether the Queen assented or not, for the new faith he believed to be the true doctrine of God, and it was the Creed of the people. Queen Elizabeth, although outwardly friendly, was unwilling to form a closer alliance between Scotland and England than what existed, for she refused to marry the Earl of Arran, a union on which the Scottish nobles had set their heart.

The sudden death of Francis II., the husband of Queen Mary, lifted a load off Knox's mind, for he had the fear that she was only waiting until she returned to Scotland in order to overthrow Protestantism and re-establish the Romish Church; but with the death of Francis, Mary's power in France would cease, and with it would vanish the influence of the House of Guise. The danger then from that quarter was not so imminent, but an event of a more personal and domestic nature happened to Knox at this time, in the death of

his wife, Marjory Bowes. We have only occasional glimpses of her, but these are all of a favourable character, and we can well believe him when he says that he was in "no small heaviness" by reason of her death. Little time was given him to mourn his loss, for the preachers, he remarks, "vehemently exhorted us to establish the Book of Discipline by an Act and public law." The Church had got its creed, but it was without a policy. The ministers were permitted to preach, but they were without assured sustenance. Something must be done, and done speedily, for they affirmed that "if they suffered things to hing in suspense, when God had given unto them sufficient power in their hands, after they should sob for it but should not get it."

The Book of Discipline is admitted by competent authorities to be the most important production of the Reformation time in Scotland. Compared with the Confession of Faith it is more of a native growth, and bears the stamp of original conception. Books dealing with the government and policy of the Reformed Church had seen the light in Germany, France, Switzerland, and England. Knox and his colleagues had these books before them, and made use of such parts as suited their purpose. But their work, all the same, has many special features for which they themselves were responsible. They give an outline of their views regarding the future of the Church which is broad and judicious, and which, if carried out, would have put a new face on Scottish

religious and national life. The Book of Discipline consists altogether of nine heads, but we think it better in place of following these in detail to arrange their contents according to subjects. Though the book as a whole possesses a unity of conception, the arrangement is not altogether such as one could desire.

The first three heads deal with topics, such as the Sacraments, that are fully discussed in the Confession of Faith, and it is not necessary to refer to them in this connection. The first main subject treated is the government of the Church. The Reformers make it perfectly clear that to their mind presbyter and bishop, as used in Scripture, are convertible terms; and although Presbyterianism, as we know it, was of later growth, the lines originally laid down in the Book of Discipline inevitably led up to it. The office-bearers of a permanent character, recognised by Knox, were the pastor, the doctor, the elder, and the deacon. The chief place, of course, was given to the first, and his main function was preaching. The elder and deacon were to be chosen annually from the most godly men in the Church, and the duty of the former was to assist the minister in the exercise of discipline, and, generally, in the management of the affairs of the Church. But it would seem that he was to keep an eye not only on the flock, but on the pastor himself, and was even enjoined to reason with him if he failed in his duty.

It is probable that in this we see a reaction against

the Roman Catholic Church, where the clergy were altogether independent, and being without any check on the part of the laity they sank to the lowest level. The duty of the deacons was to collect and distribute the funds for the poor. Other two classes of office-bearers find a place in the Book of Discipline, but it is perfectly clear that their office was only of a temporary nature. These were the readers and superintendents. The need for both arose from the ecclesiastical conditions of the time. There were only a few Reformed ministers for the hundreds of parishes that existed, and it was accordingly impossible to find a pastor for every cure. Knox and his colleagues could not contemplate the idea of the majority of parishes being without some spiritual guide, so they instituted these two orders until such time as a sufficient number of ministers could be reared to meet the spiritual wants of the whole country. To those parishes where there were no minister a reader was appointed, and his duty was to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures in the parish church. He very often acted as schoolmaster, and he might in time develop into a minister by taking advantage of the weekly meetings which were held in those districts which afterwards became Presbyteries, and at which the Scriptures and the doctrines of the Church were freely discussed and handled.

The superintendents were also appointed because of the exigencies of the time. It would hardly have done to have left a vast number of parishes to the

spiritual care of the readers, who were not educated men or fully qualified to act in all things on their own responsibility. They could not preach, nor administer the Sacraments, but it occurred to Knox that he might adopt a system which was first of all recommended by John Alasco, and appoint superintendents for each of the ten or twelve districts, or provinces, into which the country was divided. These men, while nominally stationary in one town, were appointed to preach as often as possible in every parish kirk within their province, to see to the exercise of discipline, the administration of the Sacrament, preside at meetings and Synods and at the examination and admission of readers and ministers, and generally to supervise the religious and ecclesiastical life of their district. They did not hold a position above their brethren, for an ordinary minister could discharge their duties, and they might, like the rest of their brethren, be taken under discipline and, if necessary, deposed. Like the readers, their office ceased whenever a sufficient number of ministers was forthcoming to take charge of every parish in the land.

It has been remarked that in the Book of Discipline the one court which is conspicuous by its absence is the Presbytery. The General Assembly, the Synod, and the Session were recognised by Knox, and although the Presbytery had not as yet taken shape, we have seen how it gradually sprung into being. It was a gradual and necessary creation, and in 1581

Scotland was divided into Presbyteries. It is now, next to the General Assembly, the chief court of the Church, and the Synod, which in the days of Knox was of so much importance, has shrunk almost into a shadow. The Kirk Session in later times became the governing body in the parish. It has been stripped of many of its original functions, but it still holds an honoured place in the constitution of the Church. The General Assembly is the one court that has never varied in popularity and power. Not only is it the last court of appeal, but it is the legislative body from which spring all ecclesiastical enactments. Its representative character has kept it in favour with the people, and its free and open discussion of the important questions which come before it has enabled it to maintain its high position.

The next main subject discussed is the discipline and organisation of the Church. This, in some respects, is the most significant and characteristic part of the whole document, and the lines laid down were more perfectly followed than those of other parts of the book. It was the aim of Knox to recreate in Scotland the primitive Church, in doctrine, in worship, in government, and in discipline. In all these respects the Roman Catholic Church had sunk to a very low level. No impartial observer, on comparing the Apostolic with the Romish Church, could see much, if any, resemblance between them. Knox was perhaps deficient in historical perspective, and

failed to appreciate the causes which led to such degeneracy. He may also have overlooked the good which the pre-Reformation Church had done during those long centuries, how it had kept religion alive and imparted the spirit of Christianity to the nations of Western Europe.

It is easy for us to think of all these things now. We stand at so great a distance from the time of Knox, and are able to take a full view, but we must remember the state of matters which faced him. If we were brought into actual contact with similar religious corruptions our attitude could not be very different from his. We have seen from our review of the Confession of Faith that the exercise of discipline is regarded as one of the marks of a true Kirk. It had existed in the Early Church; in the Romish Church of Knox's day it was unknown. The Reformer's idea of the Church was the same as the politician's conception of the State. It must be an orderly institution, and there can be no order without discipline. Laxity in the ecclesiastical is as fatal as in the political sphere; and it was quite in keeping with Knox's thoroughness and statesman-like qualities that he should determine that the Reformed Church of Scotland should be a well-governed and disciplined body. The regulations he laid down had for their aim the preservation of the Church from the intrusion of the vicious, the preventing of the evil from contaminating the good, and the bringing sinners to repentance.

The Kirk Session and Presbytery records have been ransacked, to discover the methods which were employed by the Church to effect these ends. Choice extracts have been culled, and delicious tit-bits of discipline published, for the delectation, chiefly, of English readers; and stern Presbyters have been held up to scorn for their narrowness and for the superstition which made them parties to the infliction of grotesque penances and the burning of witches. Here, again, we have to reason with those whose chief delight it would seem to be to make capital out of the practices of their forefathers. No one can defend the burning of witches any more than one can defend many of the absurd and inhuman practices of earlier and later times, but it would be folly to expect that the Church should be so much ahead of the times as to anticipate the gentler code which regulates our conduct. The belief in witchcraft was popular and widespread, and was held by the Romish Church as strongly as by the Protestant. It was a superstition of the times. The surprising thing is that the Reformation Church should, almost at a bound, have outgrown so many of the gross superstitions of the Romish Church, and should have displayed so great enlightenment and attained to so great freedom. The age of Knox is indeed a new heaven and a new earth compared to the previous century, and it is surely the most perverted criticism to condemn him and his immediate successors for not having fully

realised the measure of truth and charity of which we now boast. It is not at all unlikely that the unhistorical student of a coming age, may turn round on ours, and condemn us, for what we may regard with complacency and even approval.

Such critics ought to consider what the condition of Scotland would have been if Knox had not put into force his Church discipline. Are they prepared to advocate that the laxity which prevailed before the Reformation should have been permitted to continue? Do they believe that the nation would have reformed itself without the warnings, checks, and incitement which the discipline of the Church gave? If they are not prepared to take up this position they have no case. Besides, as a matter of fact, we know what the ecclesiastical discipline of the Reformed Church has accomplished for Scotland, and if that discipline can now be relaxed it is a sign that it has done its work. When that work is fully completed, and we have a perfect Church in a perfect State, but not till then, can it be entirely abolished.

If the discipline of the Church seems to us in some respects to have been severe, there were compensations. Greater liberty was given to the members than they now possess, and they enjoyed privileges which are denied to the laity of our day. They chose their own minister, and they had the opportunity at the weekly meetings of airing their gifts and giving voice to their opinions. Basing his policy in this

particular instance on a certain passage on prophesying in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, the members of the Reformed Church were, with their ministers, invited to meet once a week to discuss the questions which then agitated the religious mind. "Every man," it is stated, "shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge to the comfort and consolation of the Kirk." May we not see 'in these early conferences the beginning of that interest in, and knowledge of, theological subjects which for generations characterised the Scottish nation. Latent talent would be revealed, the doctrines of the Church would be spread, and the most capable men among the laity would be discovered and their services utilised for the benefit of the Church. The very fact of these meetings and discussions is also an answer to those who maintain that Calvinism was forced upon the people. Much more likely is it that the particular form of the Protestant Faith which became the note of the Scottish Church was freely accepted by the people. They chose it of their own accord, and the task of Knox and his colleagues was to interpret it to the popular mind.

The late Dr. John Service, one of the most original thinkers that the Church of Scotland produced during the last century, held that the privileges which the Church of Knox's day enjoyed ought to be restored to its members. He did not approve of the custom, which now universally prevails, of the laity

sitting at all the services in silence. He believed that at one diet of worship, at least, the opportunity should be granted of expressing their opinions, discussing the sermon, revealing their doubts, and asking for that guidance in their difficulties which the minister or some other member of the church might be able to afford. This was regarded as an original suggestion on the part of Dr. Service, but we have seen that it emanated first from the brain of the Apostle Paul, and was, after the lapse of centuries, caught up by John Knox and embodied in his policy of the Church. We seriously think that it might be revived in our day with very great advantage to all concerned. Inside the churches there are many to whom the privileges of such a meeting would be of inestimable value; and outside the churches there are men belonging to all ranks, classes, and professions, who are earnest-minded, sober, and upright, but who shrink from becoming members of the Church because of certain doubts and difficulties that might be dissipated and dispelled if, on the floor of the church, they were allowed to thrash out, in a respectful and serious manner, the views and the questions that disturb them. The great cry of our day is the lapsing from the Church and the refusal of others to join it. It seems to us that if the Church trusted the people more, and granted them those privileges which are theirs by right, the relation between it and the whole body of the people would be closer.

That part of the Book of Discipline for which Knox has received the greatest praise is the one which deals with education. The leaders of the Reformed Church on the Continent and in England were equally interested in the subject, and had devised means by which it might be furthered; but none of them reached the high ideal which Knox conceived, for his scheme embraced the whole nation, and provided training for the young from their earliest years until such time as they were ready to take their place as fully educated members of the Commonwealth.

Beginning with elementary schools, which should be found in every parish, he arranged for secondary schools in every town and cathedral city; and these in turn were to lead up to the Universities, which were to be so equipped as to prepare the students for the learned professions and the highest offices in the State. After the rudiments of education were taught the pupil passed on to the study of grammar and the Latin tongue, and in the higher-class schools or colleges to logic, rhetoric, Latin and Greek. These higher grade schools, as they might be called, prepared the pupil for the University, where his education would be completed. The wealthier parents were to pay the expenses of the education of their sons, and funds in the shape of bursaries and scholarships were to provide for the education of poorer children. No parent could dispose of his children as he liked. Education was to be compulsory.

“All must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.” The schools were to be inspected every quarter by competent examiners, and the sharper boys were to be selected and made to continue their education, so that “the Commonwealth may have some comfort of them.” Three of our four Universities, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, were then in existence, but their resources were limited. Provision, however, was to be made for their full equipment, and a detailed scheme of study for each College and Faculty was drawn up.

We have travelled a long way in many things from the days of Knox, but the scheme of education which he conceived for the nation has not yet been fully carried out. The resources which he thought would be at his disposal were denied him, and for that reason the plan broke down; but the very fact of the conception was in itself an inspiration, and the love for knowledge, of which the Scottish people had never been destitute, was fired by the new religion and the proposals and zeal of the Reformer. The Church did its best, and it is owing to it that the parish schools of Scotland became famous, that the young of the nation were taught, and that the people were known all the world over for their intelligence and enterprise. In these days of boasted enlightenment and rapid strides in the institution of educational agencies, it might be well to reflect on the simple, consistent, and noble scheme of Knox.

The last part of the Book of Discipline which we have to consider is the provision that was to be made for the poor. Fancy pictures have been drawn of the easy and comfortable life which the less-favoured members of the Commonwealth enjoyed under the Romish Church. It is popularly supposed that their existence was one of peace and plenty. "The Beggars' Summonds," which has already been referred to, is proof sufficient of the absurdity of such notions ; and the poems of Sir David Lindsay, in which the exactions of the Church are exposed and the tyranny of the priest satirised, confirm the main charges which that revolutionary manifesto made against the Romish clergy. If there is one part of all Knox's writings, or a single act in his whole life, which reveals the innate humanity of the man, it is his single-minded concern for his poorer brethren ; and the policy which he devised for their relief is perhaps his most lasting monument. It is no wonder that the peasants and commons of Scotland rallied round the new religion, for they perceived that its spirit was one of divine charity, and human brotherhood, and that it aspired to carry out in practice the tender compassion of the Master for the infirm and destitute. Knox would make no terms with the sturdy beggar, he would compel him to work, but every poor person who was unable to labour was to be provided for by the Church of his own parish. The proprietors of the land were also invoked to deal with their tenants in a more lenient

fashion than had been the wont of the Papists, who "spoiled and oppressed them"; and the rumour that some of these lay proprietors were no better than their clerical predecessors kindled Knox's indignation. It reflects the highest honour on the ministers of the Reformed Church that in their policy they thought not so much of themselves as of the youth and the poor of the nation. Their patriotism was equal to their religious devotion, and their ambition was to see in their native land a Christian Commonwealth.

The first question that will occur to most minds is, What means had Knox at his disposal for carrying out the great scheme which the Book of Discipline contained? A national Church, a national system of education, and ample provision for the poor, meant a large annual expenditure, and Scotland of itself was too poor at that time to provide for all these schemes. But Knox was no visionary. He saw where the money was to come from, and up to the last he believed that it would be forthcoming. The revenues of the Disestablished Church were enormous. Competent authorities maintain that it possessed half the wealth of the country, and Knox and those who acted with him believed that this wealth would be nationalised and devoted to the great purposes which he sketched in his policy of the Kirk.

Unfortunately only a fraction of what he reasonably calculated on was ultimately granted, and the major part of his proposals necessarily fell to the

ground. Indications of the manner in which the scheme would be accepted by the Estates were given before their meeting on the 15th of January 1561. The Book was ready before that time, and was privately examined by many of the nobles and others interested. "Some approved it," says Knox, "and willed the same to be set forth by 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. Everything that was repugnant to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage 'devout imaginations.'" Accordingly when the book came before the Convention it was "vehemently debated," and never became law. Several of the nobles subscribed it on condition that the clergy of the old Church were to retain their benefices, provided they maintained Protestant ministers in their respective districts.

As a matter of fact the nobles, Protestant as well as Catholic, saw in Knox's scheme the frustration of all their hopes. There is no doubt whatsoever that many of them favoured the Reformation because of the promise which it gave of adding very materially to their rent rolls. Even previous to the Reformation the authorities of the Church, seeing what was impending, disposed of much of the Church lands, which they held in trust, to their own relatives and friends; and when these lands after the Reformation passed to the Crown, they were freely gifted to

greedy barons, some of whom had already laid hands on them, and an Act of Parliament was passed by the interested parties themselves ratifying the legal theft. To have agreed to the Book of Discipline would be sounding their own death-knell as large and wealthy proprietors, and their concern for themselves being much greater than for religion or education, or the poor, they determined to grab what they could, and not to let go their hold. Knox was grievously disappointed and indignant. He thundered from the pulpit against "the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church." "Nothing," he cried, "can suffice a wreche"; and again, "the belly has no ears"; and he declared that there "were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than they were who had greatest rents of the Church."

There are those who think that Knox's whole policy was a failure because he was not able to carry out the great scheme adumbrated in the Book of Discipline, and to transfer for the noble purposes sketched therein the wealth of the ancient Church. But let it be remembered that the Parliament of that day was not the representative body which it now is. It was composed chiefly of interested parties, of the noble and powerful, whose hearts for a long time had been set on the patrimony of the Church, and the last thing they contemplated was the giving up of what they had already seized or being denied what they had their eyes on. Knox fought valiantly in

the interests of the nation, but he had no voice in the deliberations of the highest court in the realm, and he was only one man against many. It has been suggested that he ought to have appealed to the people, that he should have thrown himself upon their sympathy and support and threshed out the great cause in their hearing. He was quite capable of doing this, for it was mainly by popular preaching up and down the country that he stirred the people and accomplished the Reformation. But it ought to be remembered that although he might have secured the support of the nation it would have availed him nothing, for the people had not the power of sending representatives to Parliament, and to have moved them greatly would have meant a second revolution. It is not difficult to foresee what the results of such a movement would have been. We can only conceive it as national chaos.

III.

The Book of Common Order.

The third of the documents which mark the Reformation period is the Book of Common Order. It was really the first in time, though the last authorised by the General Assembly. Its use was sanctioned in 1564, and it remained in authority in the Church until 1637. The history of the book is interesting. It took its form at the hands of Knox in 1554, when he was minister of the English Church

at Frankfort. His congregation worshipped in the same building as the French exiles. The latter had sought refuge in England during the reign of Edward VI. They had their origin as a Protestant congregation in Strasburg, where Calvin himself was for a short time their minister. He was succeeded by Farel, and their pastor during their stay in England was Pollanus. He drew up a liturgy for their use, and Knox for conformity's sake compiled a Prayer Book on similar lines. Owing to the failure of the attempt at a larger union with the English exiles in other parts of the Continent, the scheme fell through, but Knox adopted his book when he went to Geneva, as minister of the English congregation there, and for this reason it is called in the First Book of Discipline the "Order of Geneva."

It was in use in the Scottish Church before it was authorised by the Assembly of 1564, as the references to it in the First Book of Discipline, already mentioned, clearly show. It was not the first liturgy which found its way into the hands of Scottish Protestants. This honour belongs to the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. It was used some years before the Reformation in private houses, and in those gatherings at which the believers in the new faith met for common worship. But Knox's book gradually superseded it. The Reformer himself, we know, by no means approved of King Edward's Prayer Book. There were certain

features of it to which he strongly objected, and even when in England, as minister at Berwick and Newcastle, he did not feel himself bound down to the slavish use of it; considerable freedom was allowed, and Knox in dispensing the Lord's Supper employed a service of his own. Indeed, the book was not intended to be altogether binding on the ministers of the Church of England, and Scottish Protestants would no doubt use it with considerable freedom.

The Book of Common Order fell into disuse through the action of Archbishop Laud and those who supported him in trying to foist an alien and Anglican liturgy on the Scottish people. Everybody has read of the violent scene in St. Giles', when Jenny Geddes threw her stool at the head of the officiating clergyman, who dared to say "a Mass in her lug." This set fire to the opposition that sprung up all over the country, and the Bishops, finding that it was impossible to have the book accepted of the people, yielded; but they, at the same time, ceased to use the Book of Common Order which had been in force in the Church for nearly a century. Thus it was owing to the action of the Episcopalians, and not of the Presbyterians, that the Church of Scotland lost its liturgy. This should not be forgotten when Anglican wit makes merry over the alleged baldness, irreverence, and unattractiveness of the Presbyterian service. If there is anything in that service which does not reach the high

standard of our Anglican neighbours, they ought to remember that it is their ecclesiastical forebears who are to blame. But the Church has to a large extent redeemed its past, and the Euchologion, prepared by the Church Service Society, is now used as a directory for public worship, with the result that the services of the Church of Scotland, in simplicity, orderliness, and reverence, compare favourably with those of any Church in Christendom.

While the Book of Common Order is remarkably complete, and not only has services for the conduct of public worship, but forms and prayers for almost every occasion, it was never meant to be absolutely binding on the officiating minister. It was intended very largely to be a directory, and was used as such. Its rubrics make this perfectly clear. For example, in the prayer of thanksgiving consecration in the Communion the rubric runs: "The minister giveth thanks either in these words following, or *like in effect*." This last clause indicates that free or extemporary prayer was allowed and encouraged; and from the testimony of Calderwood, Row, and others, we know that this was the common practice. It may be interesting to note the order of service for public worship on the Lord's Day. "When the congregation is assembled," so runs the rubric, "the minister useth one of these two confessions or *like in effect*." "This done the people sing a psalm altogether, in a plain tune, which ended, the minister prayeth for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit *as*

the same shall move his heart, and so proceedeth the sermon. The minister after the sermon useth this prayer following or *such like*." "Then the people sing a psalm, which ended, the minister pronounceth one of these blessings, and so the congregation departeth."

This Book of Common Order would be of invaluable service to the Reformed Church in its earlier years. It was absolutely necessary that guidance should be given for the services of the Church. The ministers themselves required it, and the happy combination of set forms and liberty to extemporise would at once prevent irregularities, and free the ministers from that strict adherence to printed matter which in the Romish Church had become almost idolatrous. It would be of great help also to the readers, for in the numerous country parishes where there was no minister they had to conduct the service, and it would be impossible for them to do so without the aid which it gave. The people as a whole would benefit by its use. It would be in their hands, and read by them and their families; and seeing that it contained a Confession of Faith, selections from the Psalms, Hymns, a Catechism, and Prayers for Family Worship, it would build them up in the faith and give them that instruction in the truths of the Christian religion which, as young converts to Protestantism, they so much required. There can be no doubt that the Church suffered greatly during the two centuries that elapsed from the abolition of

the Book of Common Order to the comparatively recent revival in liturgies, the full benefits of which we are now experiencing. The time perhaps has not come for the General Assembly to impose on the Church any Prayer Book, either in existence or that might be framed, but there can be no doubt that some such book in general use and in the hands of the people, even as a directory, would be of inestimable value in developing the religious life and devotional feeling of the Church as a whole.

CHAPTER XV.

RETURN OF MARY.

THE time had now arrived when the two chief persons in the State were to be brought face to face. Queen Mary landed at Leith on the 20th of August 1561, and shortly afterwards she was to have her first interview with the man who for the next six years was to be her chief opponent. Knox and she had been studying each other's characters at a distance. When it became clear that the time could not be long delayed for her appearance in Scotland, she began in her French home to study the political situation in her native country, and the leading men with or against whom she would have to act; and Knox, who had succeeded after a supreme effort in establishing the Protestant religion, had grave suspicions that the advent of the young Queen would interfere with all his plans and hopes.

Mary's idea of government was radically opposed to that of Knox. She believed firmly in the divine right of princes, and expressed her views to the

English Ambassador, Throgmorton, when she said, "God doth command subjects to be obedient to their princes, and commands princes to read His law and govern thereby, themselves and the people committed to their charge." Knox's conception of the authority of princes and of the obedience due unto them by their subjects was, as we know, very different. "Princes," he declared in Mary's own hearing, "were often the most ignorant of God's true religion," and subjects are only bound to obey them when their commands are in accordance with God's holy law. We are not, therefore, surprised in learning that she regarded the Reformer as the most dangerous man in her kingdom, and vowed before she put a foot in it that she would either banish him from Scotland or refuse to dwell there herself. She even went the length of trying to prejudice him in the eyes of Elizabeth by sending her a copy of his *First Blast*; while Knox attempted to do a similar disservice to her by warning Elizabeth against Mary's overtures, hinting that her object was not so much to have his book refuted as to make her path easy to the English throne. "Mary," he says, "would not take so much pains unless her craft in so doing shot at a further mark."

The question of the Queen's religion was discussed by the Protestant chiefs before her arrival in Scotland. Knox foresaw very serious trouble on this head, and was firmly convinced that the peace and welfare of the country could only be secured by

compelling the Queen to conform to the laws of the land. The politicians among the Protestant party, however, even at this early date, contemplated a compromise, and the Lord James, while opposed to her celebrating Mass, publicly declared that they could not prevent her having it "secretly in her chamber." Knox foresaw the social and religious upheaval that would follow from even so seemingly modest a compromise, but being unable to see his own views carried out he was forced to submit and wait.

In his *History of the Reformation* he gives a graphic account of the Queen's landing at Leith and her arrival at Holyrood. It was a dull and dismal morning. "The very face of heaven did manifestly speak what comfort was brought unto this country with her, to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness 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." Knox's forebodings were not without reason. The Queen and he were two antagonistic forces, and however powerful each might be, ultimate success depended very largely upon the attitude that would be taken up by Knox's old friends, the Lords of the Congregation. Prior even to this time he was conscious of a growing slackness on their part. In the closing stages of the revolution, which ended in the establishment of the new religion, those who at one time put the cause of Protestantism in the front substituted for it



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
After an old Print.

political reasons. They declared that they were fighting for the liberty of the nation, for just government, and for the expulsion of the French from the country. Knox, while naturally accepting the new situation thus created, for the purpose, it was alleged, of securing the support of England, never wavered in his conviction that religion was the ground of contention, and that it would be a betrayal of his highest trust to say or do anything that would endanger its sure progress.

As events developed, this breach between him and the Protestant Lords became wider, and, as final results showed, he was right and they were wrong. The policy which they pursued ended in failure, and Knox's cause triumphed. Mary's great object even from the very first was to secure the English throne, and this ambition was her undoing. She was not many days in the country until she saw that the men of most weight were the Protestant Lords, and she deemed it diplomatic to be friendly with them and to use them in carrying out her schemes. The Lord James and Maitland of Lethington, in particular, became her chief advisers. They, too, were anxious for a union with England, and although they did not anticipate its accomplishment by the means which Mary cherished, they made use of her to further their plans. Knox would have none of this deception and double dealing. He could not believe that any good could come of it, and he censured the weak compromises of the Protestant

politicians, but they, confident in their own wisdom, heeded him not.

The very first Sunday after her arrival saw matters brought to a crisis. On that day preparations were made for the celebration of the Mass in Holyrood Chapel. The news spread quickly, and men began openly to speak, “‘Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.’” The Lord Lindsay, with the gentlemen of Fife and others, plainly cried in the close, ‘The idolater priest shall die the death according to God’s law.’” A tumult was imminent, and were it not for the Lord James, “the man whom all the godly did most reverence,” the tumult might have ended in a riot and rebellion. He took it upon him to keep the chapel door, and assured the mob that no Scotsman would be allowed to enter. Mary and her French courtiers and servants might please themselves, but no countryman of his would touch the idol. His two brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Robert, took the frightened priest under their protection and conveyed him safely to his chamber.

This was surely an indication of what would ultimately happen unless the Queen and her advisers acted reasonably. But Mary Stuart, like the rest of her race, was not so disposed. She carried her fortunes in her own hands, and, by rushing wildly against the most cherished convictions of the best portion of her subjects, courted ultimate ruin. On the very next day, at a meeting of her

Secret Council, composed mainly of Protestants, an Act was passed to the effect that in religion things were to remain as the Queen had found them. This meant that the Court religion was to be Roman Catholicism and that of the nation Protestantism. No compromise on the part of her advisers could possibly be weaker. It meant one of two things: an open conflict between the Queen and Knox and their respective parties, or the thin end of the wedge for the ousting of the Protestant religion and the introduction of Popery. The one man among the Protestant aristocracy who took a firm stand in this matter was the Earl of Arran. He made a public protestation to the effect that "no liberty should be given to the Court to offend God's Majesty and to violate the laws of the land," but the Earl stood practically alone.

The supporters of the Protestant religion, the Lords "called of the Congregation" as Knox sarcastically terms them, were coming at this particular time in considerable numbers to Edinburgh to present themselves to the Queen. On hearing that the Mass was permitted they professed at first "great indignation, but after that they had remained a certain space they were as quiet as the former." The Queen was evidently bewitching them. Her youth, beauty, and vivacity, her charm of mind and manner, the novelty of having as their monarch this fair princess, were evidently more than the Scottish lords and barons could withstand. They yielded to her influence, and

were prepared to sacrifice even their religious convictions for her favour. Mary knew her power and made the most of it. Knox's old and tried friend, Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, graphically and forcibly stated the situation when he said to Lord Ochiltree, who was one of the latest arrivals, "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 off you yet, but I fear that after that the holy water of the Court be sprinkled upon you that ye shall become as temperate 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 was past. I think there be some enchantment whereby men are bewitched."

But there was one man who was not bewitched, and that man was John Knox. He immediately prepared himself for battle. There was no public press in those days, but there was the pulpit; and the pulpit of St. Giles', over which Knox had supreme control, was the best rostrum in the country. He was the one man to be reckoned with, and, grasping at once the significance of the situation, he inveighed in the strongest possible manner against the conduct of the Queen and the Court, and declared that "one Mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion."

Knox, in afterwards referring to this occasion,

expresses regret that he did not act with more firmness and courage and put his thoughts and words into force. He had great influence in the country, and the commons and peasants would have rallied round him, but his sober judgment saved him. The whole power of the Court and nobility would have been against him, and the conflict could only have had one end. He must have seen that at the time, and it was characteristic of him, then as always, that however vehement his words might be his conduct was always prudent and cautious. Many of the Protestant Lords must have heard this sermon, and reports of it would speedily be carried to the Queen. Whether it was on her own initiative or by the advice of her Council is not quite clear, but Knox was summoned to Holyrood to have his first interview with Mary Stuart.

This invitation was a direct tribute to the power and influence of Knox, for its real object was to win him over. The Lord James, who was the only other person present at the interview, and who must have been privy to the command sent to Knox, ought to have known the character of the Reformer better than to have believed that even the Queen could seduce him from his convictions. The interview that followed has drawn to it the eyes of men from then till now, because of the important subject discussed and of the conflicting opinions expressed, but chiefly on account of the two great personages who took part in it. In Mary and Knox we have

two types. The former was animated by what may be termed the Hellenistic spirit, and the latter by the Hebraistic. Mary was a child of nature, fond of pleasure, with no serious earnestness or strong feeling about religion. Knox, on the other hand, felt that he was acting not on his own responsibility, but as a servant of the Divine; that the truth committed to him must be held sacred at all hazards, and that not only was he bound to declare it on every occasion, but to resist to the death any who might dare to impugn it. These two forces have, in the history of the world, frequently come into conflict, and the victory has invariably been on the side of the Hebraistic spirit. Moral earnestness, sincerity, the fear of God and no other fear, have never failed to give purpose, strength, and endurance to those who have fought the battle of the eternal verities.

Mary began by accusing Knox of disloyalty and encouraging rebellion against her mother, and took him to task for his authorship of *The First Blast*. She declared that in England he had been a disturber of the peace, and hinted that he was even in league with the powers of darkness. Knox defended himself against these charges, and explained that if Scotland was satisfied with a female ruler he was "as content to live under her Grace as Paul was to live under Nero." But the heart of the subject was only reached when she charged him with denying to princes the right to dictate to their subjects the

religion which they should believe. "Ye have taught the people," she said, "to receive another religion than princes can allow, nor can that doctrine be of God seeing God commands subjects to obey their princes."

Knox's opinion of princes was not of the highest, for, with the exception of Edward VI., he had not come into contact with any who impressed him very favourably, so he replied "princes were often the most ignorant of God's true religion"; and as for obedience to them, that is only lawful when they issue such commands as are conformable to the law of God; indeed, if they act contrary to that law it is the duty of subjects not only to disobey but forcibly to restrain them. "For there is neither greater honour," he added, "nor greater obedience to be given to kings or princes than God has commanded to be given unto father and mother; but so it is, Madam, that a 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 or 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? It is even so, Madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them." These views are common-places now, but they were certainly very revolutionary then, and we are not surprised when Knox tells us

that on hearing them Mary stood aghast. "At these words," he says, "the Queen stood as it were amazed for a quarter of an hour."

It must now have become perfectly clear, not only to the Lord James but to the disputants themselves, that reconciliation between views so antagonistic was utterly impossible. Mary on recovering from her angry surprise said, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me." "God forbid," he answered in words which conveyed his inmost convictions, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them, but my travel is that both princes and subjects obey God, who commands Queens to be nurses unto His people. And this subjection," he added, "unto God and unto His troubled Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon earth." "Yea," said she, "but ye are not the Church that I will nourish, I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for I think it is the true Kirk of God. Ye interpret the Scripture in one manner and they in another, whom shall I believe?" "Ye shall believe God that plainly speaketh in His Word," answered Knox; and at the close of his exposition of how the Scriptures condemned, among other things, the Mass, she struck in, "Ye are too hard for me, but if they were here that I have heard they would answer you."

If Mary's object was to gain Knox to her side, she took the wrong way of doing it. Whatever

diplomacy she may have had she certainly managed to conceal it on this occasion. In truth her diplomacy was neither very deep nor far-seeing. It was clever but not convincing. The gulf between her and the Reformer must now have seemed to both impassable. She may have taken Knox's measure. He certainly took hers, for on being asked by several of his intimates what he thought of the Queen, he answered "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me." The "crafty wit," we have to acknowledge, is not very conspicuous in her management of the interview, and as for her "indurate heart" it was certainly invulnerable to the doctrines of the Reformed religion. There was something metallic in the charm of Queen Mary which robbed it of much of its power. That "softness" in woman which Goethe and Byron maintain to be her distinctive trait was certainly not the outstanding feature in the character of Mary Stuart.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RULERS OF THE COURT.

SEVERAL events now happened in quick succession which must have confirmed Knox in his fears that the Protestant Lords, even the Lord James himself, would yield to the influence of the Queen, and possibly endanger beyond recall the prospects of the Reformed religion. On the 21st of September the Magistrates of Edinburgh commanded the statutes of the town to be publicly read. These included the banishment from the city of all Papists. On hearing this Mary committed the Provost and Bailies to the Tolbooth, and commanded the election of other men in their place. Again on the 1st of November, "All Saints Day," there were great Popish ongoings at Holyrood, and a conference took place at the Clerk Register's house between the Protestant Lords and the leading ministers regarding Mary's right to hold such celebrations. It was agreed to appeal to Calvin; but this was only to gain time, and in the meantime Mary, through her Council, carried her point.

In December, at the third Meeting of the General Assembly, further attempts were made by those whom Knox called the "Rulers of the Court" to subject the Church and the new religion to the authority of the Queen. It had been the custom of all who were members of the Assembly to meet together, but on this occasion the Lords refused on the ground that the ministers had secret conferences with the other members of the Assembly. This was denied. But the real purpose of the Lords was to destroy the freedom of the Church, for through Lethington, who acted as their spokesman, they denied that the Church had any right to hold Assemblies without the sanction of the Queen. This was aiming a blow at the liberty of the Church which would be fatal, and Knox resisted it with all his power. "If the liberty of the Church," he contended, "should stand upon the Queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured not only to lack Assemblies, but also to lack the public preaching of the Evangel." It was agreed to permit a representative of the Queen to be present at their deliberations if she so desired.

The attitude of the Rulers of the Court to the Book of Discipline, which then came up for discussion, was a fresh indication that the "holy water of the Court" was doing its work. Those who, little more than a year ago, had willingly signed it, declaring that they "would set the same forward to the uttermost of their powers," now publicly disowned

it. "Some even began to deny that ever they knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline." The fact is the nobles were beginning to enjoy the fruits of their robbery of the ancient Church, the lands which they had grabbed they found to be very pleasant, and they were eagerly looking forward to fresh seizures. That explains the change in their attitude. Some provision must, however, be made for the Protestant clergy, who up to this time had received nothing, or had been supported by the "benevolence of men." The Lords were nothing loth to come to some arrangement, for they saw the chance of gifting a portion of the Church's patrimony to the Queen. The Crown had no claim on the Church lands, but still the opportunity was too good to miss; so two-thirds of the patrimony of the Church was to remain in the hands of the Catholic clergy, or, in other words, of the greedy aristocracy who had appropriated it, and the remaining third was to be divided between the Queen and the ministers.

Knox made this unholy division the subject of his Sunday's sermon, in the course of which he said, "Well, if the end of this order pretended to be taken for sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment faileth 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 a third must be divided betwixt God and the Devil. Well, bear witness to me that this day I say it, or it be long the Devil shall have three parts of the third,

and judge you then what part God's portion shall be."

Knox made no secret of his belief that the Protestant Lords, particularly Maitland of Lethington and the Lord James, were largely responsible for the Queen's policy at this time. He was practically deserted by his former friends who had worked with him in establishing the new Religion; but he lost no jot of hope or heart, and by every means in his power, chiefly by his sermons in St. Giles' and his influence in the country, he tried to counteract their efforts. An opportunity occurred at this time, of which he readily took advantage, for strengthening his own party and weakening, as a consequence, those who were now working against him.

The Earl of Bothwell, who had a long-standing feud against the Earl of Arran, sought Knox's counsel for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation. The Earl visited Knox in the latter's study in his house at the Netherbow, and it was during the conversation that then took place that the Reformer mentions the old feudal relation that existed between his family and the House of Bothwell. Knox's efforts were crowned with success, and Arran and Bothwell, ostensibly at least, became friends. In the union of these two men, Protestants both, and of their families and partisans, Knox perceived an influence that might hold in check the policy of the Protestant Lords and Queen Mary. A short time afterwards he endeavoured to make

that influence all the stronger by arranging an interview at a supper-party in his own house on a Sunday between Arran's father and Randolph, Elizabeth's representative at the Scottish Court. The aim of Knox's diplomacy was to bind together the leading Protestants in the country, or as many of them as were not affected by the "holy water of the Court," and to join them in turn in a friendly union with England. This diplomacy was of course based upon the Protestant religion. It was a single-minded and strong policy, for it was founded upon the abiding element in man's nature. Knox's hopes, so far as Arran was concerned, were doomed to disappointment, for that young man speedily quarrelled with Bothwell, accusing him at the same time of treason. It soon became clear that Arran's mind was deranged, and from that moment he became a negligible quantity in Scottish politics.

Knox had a more formidable weapon in his armoury which he now used. The General Assembly was not, at that time, the strong body which it afterwards became, but it represented the best minds and the purest spirit in the country. It also had law on its side in its contendings, and the Rulers of the Court knew that in resisting its demands, which had been sanctioned by the Parliament of 1560, they were acting illegally. This Assembly met on the 29th of June 1562, and it prepared an address to the Queen in which we clearly see the hand of Knox. Its chief demand

was that the Book of Discipline should be made law. To yield this point would be for the Court and its advisers to give up everything that the Church was contending for. It would mean the final abolition of the Romish Church, and the establishing of the Reformed Church on such a basis as would enable Knox and his party to resist with success the policy of the Court, and the ambition of Mary to reinstate the Romish religion in its old position in the land. Lethington objected to the wording of this address. He did not think it respectful in tone nor commendable in expression, and he suggested that it should be revised before being presented to Queen Mary. He had his way, and toned it down by his "painted oratory," as Knox terms it, to such a degree as raised the suspicions of the Queen. "Here," she exclaimed, "are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are." Lethington now, as always, was sitting on the fence and riding for a fall. He tried to please both parties, and he satisfied neither. Distrusted by Knox, he was suspected by Mary.

Shortly after this, on the 11th of August, the Queen left Edinburgh for the north. Knox, ever on the outlook, suspected that some scheme inimical to his cause underlay the journey. She intended to go as far north as Aberdeenshire, and there was the seat of the Earl of Huntly, whom Knox regarded as the strongest peer in the country. "Under a prince," he says, "there was not such

a one these three hundred years in the realm produced." He was a pronounced Roman Catholic, and Knox was afraid lest Mary intended to join forces with him and attempt a Catholic rising.

The signs were not unfavourable for such a movement. The Huguenots in France were suffering at the hands of the Catholics. The Guises were again in the ascendant, and steps were being taken for that great union of the Catholic princes and kingdoms which was to realise the dream of Mary's heart—sovereignty over England. Knox accordingly left Edinburgh soon after the departure of the Queen, and journeyed to Kyle and Galloway, where the Protestant cause was the strongest. His efforts were very successful, for he rallied together the leading supporters of the new religion, and induced them to sign a bond for the defence of their faith. He had also an interview with the Master of Maxwell, the Keeper of the West Marches, who in turn communicated with the Earl of Bothwell, all for the purpose of keeping a watchful eye on the Queen's movements and for the preservation of the peace.

Knox's object was to prevent at this stage any conflict between the two parties, and he was determined not to be tempted by any movement which might be made by his opponents. His labours in the west and south were relieved by a lively dispute with the Abbot of Crossraguel. The discussion took place in the Provost's house at

Maybole. It lasted for three days, from eight in the morning till the evening. The debate was entered on with every formality. There were present the Earl of Casillis and forty others, twenty being friends of either disputant, notaries who reported the proceedings, and as many others as the house could hold. Knox afterwards published the discussion, which does not throw much fresh light on the subjects under dispute. The one result of it was the Abbot's giving himself away by grounding the Mass on the sacrifice and oblation of Melchizedek. Knox had no difficulty in proving that to base the Lord's Supper on so weak a foundation, or to see any real relation between the two, was a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Knox must have been agreeably surprised by the course of events in the north. Huntly, in place of joining forces, joined issues with the Queen and was defeated. It is suggested that this result, instead of pleasing, displeased the Queen, for the great Earl's defeat took place at the hands of the Lord James, who now became the Earl of Moray. It is hinted that Mary would have been more gratified if the other side had proved victorious, and that as events turned out her policy miscarried. There may be something in this, for she only tolerated, but never trusted, Moray, Lethington, and the other Protestant Lords. She used them because she could not do without them. The time was not yet ripe for dispensing with their counsels,

but she was evidently just waiting her opportunity for their dismissal.

Matters before very long were brought to a crisis between Knox and the two men who were the leaders of the Court policy. These were Moray and Lethington. Knox and the former had continued since their first acquaintance to be on good terms with each other, and latterly when the Lord James threw in his lot with the Reforming party they became fast friends. There was no Scotsman of the time for whom Knox had a greater regard, and he looked upon him as the political hope of the cause which he had so close at heart. He viewed with distrust and disappointment the course which his young friend was following, but he had not by any means lost hope that he would fulfil his early promise. Even so late as February of 1562, at the marriage of Moray to the Earl Marischal's daughter in St. Giles', Knox, who performed the ceremony, when addressing the newly married pair hinted that if the bridegroom fell away it would be his wife's fault. "Unto this day," said the preacher, "the Church hath received comfort of you, in the which if hereafter you shall be found fainter it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature." It was about a year afterwards, in May of 1563, that the rupture which lasted for a year and a half took place between the friends.

Mary, since her arrival, had never summoned a meeting of Parliament. She was afraid lest the

demand of the Protestants might be conceded, or that, if she resisted, a civil war would ensue. The Protestant Lords, again, were well aware that Knox and his followers would insist for one thing on the ratification of the Book of Discipline, and other matters which they knew the Queen would never agree to. But a meeting of Parliament could not very well be delayed much longer, and the question was, How to have it and at the same time avoid granting the demands that would be put forward on behalf of the Reformed Church? The zeal of the Protestants had cooled considerably since the arrival of the Queen, still, should the attendance be at all equal to that of the Parliament of 1560, when so many of the smaller barons, lairds, and representatives of burghs were present, a majority might be found against the Court and its policy.

How to prevent the attendance of these men was the problem that now occupied the attention of the Rulers of the Court; nor was it absent from the mind of Mary. She accordingly played a card which indicated an intention so strongly in favour of the Protestant religion that the fears of its strongest advocates were allayed; and thinking that all would go well with their claims at the approaching meeting of Parliament, many of them absented themselves.

The law that had been passed against Catholics had about this time been put in force by the Protestants themselves, and Mary made herself its champion. Forty-eight persons who had defied the law against

the celebration of the Mass, among whom was Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, himself, were tried before the Court of Justiciary on the 19th of May, and the majority of them were committed to ward. This surely was a certain sign that the Queen was conciliating the Protestants, and that in the Parliament which was about to meet she would sanction the whole policy of the Church. Knox, however, was not deceived. He saw clearly the intention of the Queen and Court, and he was both disappointed with, and indignant at, the lukewarmness of his friends in not attending and supporting by their voice and vote the just demands of the Church.

Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 26th of May with great ceremony. She was at this time at the very height of her popularity. She had so far committed no fatal blunder, and hardly any indiscretion. She had, at anyrate, done nothing to raise the suspicion and distrust of the bulk of the people. She was received by the populace with cheers and with cries, "God bless her sweet face!" and when she addressed her Parliament one said to another, "This is the voice of a goddess and not of a woman." All this was very displeasing to Knox. His mind was bent on other and more serious things, and he flung out at the weakness and vanity of the sex, their light-headedness as well as light-heartedness. He could not foresee that other day, only three years hence, when poor Mary would be

seen riding down the same street in tattered garments amid the jeers and derision of the citizens.

The great question for Knox was, Would the Book of Discipline be accepted or not? He was told to be patient, that this was not the time to bring it forward. "Wait till the Queen's marriage, which cannot be very far distant, when she will be asking favours at our hands; that will be the time to press your cause. In order to have her own petitions granted she will be ready to accede to yours."

Parliament accordingly would have nothing to do with the Book of Discipline, and Knox turned at once upon the man whom he trusted to see the thing carried through. That man was the Earl of Moray. Knox felt his disappointment bitterly. "The matter fell so hot," he says, "betwixt the Earl of Moray and some others of the Court and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spoke 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 further intromission or care with his affairs." Thus it was Knox who formally broke with Moray. "Seeing that I perceive myself frustrate of my expectation, which was that you 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. If after this ye shall decay (as I fear ye shall), call to mind by what means God exalted you."

Moray, next to Knox, had the sanest mind of any Scottish politician of the time. He no doubt sincerely believed that the path which he was following would lead to a mutual understanding and agreement between the Queen and the Congregation. He wished to be loyal to both, but his outlook was not so large as Knox's; he did not know so well the trend of European politics or fully appreciate the policy of the great Catholic States and party. Knox was convinced that it was only by making a firm stand that Protestantism would flourish, and that no concession or conciliation would gain the Queen to their side. As events turned out he was found to be right, and Moray for a time suffered dearly for refusing to follow the guidance of his older and wiser friend. Had the Protestant Lords followed the advice of Knox, and insisted, when the Queen set foot in Scotland, on making her conform to the new religion or abdicate, it would have been much better both for Mary herself and for the country. But the weak policy of insincere compromise could have only one end.

It was not long after this that Knox and Lethington, the second of the two men who ruled the Court, came to close quarters. These two had frequently engaged in intellectual bouts, from the time when in Erskine of Dun's house in Edinburgh, at that famous supper-party when the question as to whether the Mass might be said in private was debated, until June of 1564, when the same two

discussed at very great length certain other questions which went to the root of religious belief and civil government. Lethington was a child of the Renaissance. He may have been an anti-Romanist by conviction, but he had no enthusiasm for religion. He probably believed that the Reformed Church was better than the Romish, but he had no fancy for Creeds and Confessions, and was not at all inclined to put himself into the bonds of theological dogmas and formulas. He was a man of the world, and was quite prepared to use any Church or man as a pawn in the game of politics. Knox was, of course, a man of a very different build. He belonged to the prophetic order, was governed by strong convictions, and, in obedience to what he accepted as divine commands, he was prepared at all times to do and dare in the cause of righteousness and truth. His patriotism, too, was equal to Lethington's own, which was perhaps the most redeeming feature in the latter's character, and in fighting for his convictions he believed that he was contending for the best interests of his country.

The distrust of the Lords and Congregation in each other was steadily growing, and a final breach could not be long delayed. This happened at the Assembly of 1564, when the courtiers refused to attend. Nor would they consent to be present until a conference had taken place between them and certain of the leading ministers regarding matters that required clearing up. This was agreed to on condition that

nothing final should be arranged until the matters under dispute were voted on by the Assembly. At the Conference the discussion, as usual, ranged itself into a contest between Lethington and Knox. The first point raised referred to a clause in Knox's prayer for the Queen, which was to the effect, "Illuminate her heart if Thy good pleasure be." "In so doing," said Lethington to Knox, "ye put a doubt in the people's head of her conversion." "Not I, my lord," replied Knox, "but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me to doubt of her conversion." "Whereunto rebels she against God?" asked the Secretary. "In all the actions of her life," was the reply. Two particular instances are singled out. She will not give up that idol the Mass, nor will she attend the preaching of the Gospel. "When," asked Knox, "will she be seen to give her presence to the public preaching?" "I think never," answers Lethington, "as long as she is thus entreated." Lethington, of course, believed, in a way, in the possibility of Mary's conversion, and we have no doubt he was trying to find some *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism which the Queen might follow. But Knox knew of no such "way," and said so.

Among the other questions discussed was the obedience due by subjects to rulers. Knox's views on this question we know full well. In the course of the argument Lethington thought that he had confuted Knox when he said, "Then will ye make subjects to control their princes and rulers?" to which

came the reply, "And what harm should the Commonwealth receive, if that 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?" The Rulers of the Court were anxious that the Reformed Theology might be stretched so as to admit the celebration of the Mass, especially on the part of a princess, to be no sacrilege. If this compromise could be agreed to Mary might still follow her Romish ways and be a Protestant Queen. Knox, of course, could not see this, and when Lethington admitted that the "idolater was commanded to die the death" he practically gave up the argument. The Mass was idolatry, and how then could the idolater, even though she were a Queen, hope to escape?

The discussion ended, as it usually did, in favour of Knox, for Lethington, being professedly a Protestant, was bound to accept his premises. How then could he escape the inevitable conclusions?

CHAPTER XVII.

KNOX AND MARY STUART.

BUT the individual who was most opposed to Knox's policy was the Queen herself. Being a Catholic she did not frequent his preachings, and not being a hanger-on at the Court he did not have any intercourse with her, but on four separate occasions she sent for him with the object of winning or brow-beating him into subjection. The first of these interviews has already been referred to, and we now enter upon a consideration of the others.

We know Knox's opinion of the Queen, which he confided to his familiars on leaving Holyrood after his first meeting with her. He had not in the interval changed his mind, and her doings, of which he had frequent information, did not raise her in his estimation. Knox's house in the Netherbow stood midway between the Castle and the Palace. It was situated at the junction of the High Street and Canongate, and was thus in the very centre of the life and traffic and gossip of the capital. Glimpses are given us through the pages of his *History* of his mode



JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE.
After an old Print.

of life there. We can picture him busy at his books in that little study overlooking the public thoroughfare, and made comfortable for him by the Town Council, at whose expense he was housed. Thither resorted all classes and conditions of the populace. On a Sunday evening he entertains to supper the Duke of Châtelherault and the English Ambassador. His house is invaded by refractory citizens who desire him to intercede on their behalf with the Magistrates; or it is the Earl of Bothwell who visits it to seek his aid in patching up a quarrel with the Earl of Arran. Women with troubled consciences resort to him for spiritual guidance, and others whose domestic affairs are disarranged ask him for worldly advice. We can see him stepping on to the Netherbow and wending his way to the great Church of St. Giles', interchanging friendly courtesies with the citizens, who revere him as their greatest and best man. Knox kept his hand on the pulse of public life through correspondents on the Continent and in England, who kept him well posted in every religious and political movement; and he also watched, with the keenest interest, the policy of the Protestant Lords, and was thoroughly well informed as to the ongoings of Queen Mary and her Court.

What he had heard of the doings at Holyrood was not to his mind. He did not at all approve of the French ways of the "four Maries," and the Queen herself fell far short of his ideal of regal womanhood. Knox may have been harsh in his judgments and

criticism of the Queen; he forgot that after all she was only a young girl, a Catholic, brought up in France, and by nature fond of pleasure. To his mind, however, the times were serious and her position responsible; and, as his habit was, he discoursed in the pulpit, under a thin veil, of those questionable doings of which he knew by hearsay, and did not hesitate to denounce what to him appeared ungodly and foreboded mischief and sorrow. Randolph, who kept Cecil well informed of all that was being said and done, writes: "Knox is so full of mistrust in all the Queen's doings, words and sayings, as though he were either of God's privy council that know how He had determined of her from the beginning, or that he knew the secrets of her heart so well that neither she did, nor could have, for ever one good thought of God or of His true religion."

But Knox's mistrust was far from being unfounded, for at this very time she was in correspondence with her uncles and the Pope regarding the restoration of the Catholic religion in her kingdom, and an encounter had just taken place between the Catholics, under the Duke of Guise, and the Protestants, which ended in the massacre of men, women, and children. When news of this reached Edinburgh, the dancing at Holyrood was prolonged to an unusually late hour. This festivity of the Court may have been accidental, but Knox did not think so, and on the following Sunday he inveighed against her conduct and stormed

at the "ignorance and vanity and the despite of princes." Mary sent for her untractable subject. The Queen, he tells us, was in her bedchamber. On this occasion she was not alone, for there were present the Lord James, the Earl of Morton, Lethington, and others. The Queen in a "long harangue or orison" taxed him with inciting her subjects to regard her with disfavour, and to make her odious in their eyes. But Knox affirmed that she had not been rightly informed, and in order to instruct her as to what he really said he repeated the main points of his sermon. This we presume was the first Protestant discourse that the Queen had ever listened to. Mary at once acknowledged that his words had not been correctly repeated to her, but all the same "your words are sharp enough as ye have spoken them."

She then suggested that if there was anything in her conduct that he did not approve of, he should come to her and tell her of it privately. "I am called, Madam," was the unhesitating reply, "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 would be infinite. . . . To wait upon your chamber door, or elsewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my mind in your Grace's ear, or to tell to you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience nor the vocation whereto

God hath called me to suffer it, for albeit at your Grace's command I am here now, yet cannot I tell what other men shall judge of me that at this time of day I am absent from my Book and waiting upon the Court."

Mary must have been amazed, if not staggered, at Knox's attitude and words. Her first interview with him, and her knowledge of his character, would no doubt prepare her somewhat for the position which he took up. It was her object to conciliate the Protestants, and particularly Knox, and her part in the interview was directed to that end. But Knox was not to be conciliated, and he was confident that it was impossible to conciliate Mary. They were different types, and there could be no agreement between them, so she dismissed him curtly with the words, "Ye will not always be at your Book," and turned her back on him. Knox says of himself in one of the most striking passages in his *History*: "The said John Knox departed with a reasonable merry countenance, whereat some Catholics, offended, said, 'He is not effrayed.' Which heard of him, he answered, 'Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman effray me, I have looked on the faces of many angry men and yet have not been effrayed above measure.'"

Knox's next interview with the Queen was in Loch Leven Castle, which was to have many mournful memories for her in after years. The occasion was the "warding" by the Protestants of those Catholics

who had broken the law by celebrating or countenancing the Mass. Mary pleaded with him to use his influence in having the stringent measures relaxed. For two whole hours she laboured with him, but without success. The Papists were suffering from having broken the law, the law must be enforced, and if the Queen would not do it, then some of her subjects must do it for her. "Will ye," asked Mary, "allow that they shall take my sword in their hands?" Knox was ready with Scriptural parallels to show that this was no impossible thing. Samuel slew Agag, Elijah the prophets of Baal, and why should not John Knox or some other slay Archbishop Hamilton if need be, with or without royal sanction? At this point the Queen broke off the conference with much displeasure.

It would seem that Knox communicated to Moray the result of the interview, and he, anxious to conciliate Knox for diplomatic reasons, induced his sister to grant the Reformer another meeting. In the conversation which followed we find Mary at her very best. At her request Knox waited on her while out hawking, west of Kinross. It was early morning, for she was active in her habits; she received him graciously, as if nothing had happened the night before. Lord Ruthven had offered her a ring. What did Mr. Knox think of it? "I cannot love him," she added, "for I know him to use enchantment." She had heard that Knox was going to Dumfries to make Alexander Gordon, a former

Bishop, Superintendent of the Kirk at Dumfries. If he knew him as well as she did he would never promote him to that office nor to "any other within the Kirk"; and, by the way, her half-sister Lady Argyle and her husband the Earl, as she had reason to know, were not on good terms. "This," she added, "is one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came to this realm, and I must have your help."

Knox became interested. He had made peace between the couple before, and Lady Argyle had promised to make him, and no other, her confidant and spiritual adviser. "Do this much for my sake," said the Queen, "as once again to put them at unity"; and so she dismissed him with the promise, "I shall summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice." Knox fell under the spell, but only for the moment. She wished to gain time for the meeting of the impending Parliament. The Protestant members must be kept away at whatever cost. She managed her point with them, but Knox soon recovered himself, and saw with increased anger the trend of her policy.

We have seen that Knox was bitterly disappointed with the Parliament, at which he expected the Book of Discipline, among other things, to be ratified, and as his custom was he referred to the matter from the pulpit of St. Giles' on a subsequent Sunday. The "most part of the nobility" were present, and he rehearsed in their hearing "the mercies that had

attended their steps till the great victory that was sealed by the Parliament of 1560." A retrospect such as the following must have stirred the hearts of many who listened to him. "In your most extreme dangers I've been with you. St. Johnstone, Cupar Moor, and the Craigs 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."

He animadverted on the part which the Queen had taken in resisting their demands, and could not tolerate the idea that anyone, even a queen, should stand in the way of the realisation of God's purposes. "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." Knox had heard rumours regarding the Queen's marriage to the heir to the Spanish throne. He was a Roman Catholic of the deepest dye, and such a union would mean the destruction of all that Knox had already accomplished and still hoped for. The Reformer accordingly expressed himself in no unmeasured terms regarding such a project. This was too much for Mary, and she accordingly summoned him for the fourth and last time to Holyrood. Knox by his outspokenness had offended friends and foes, but a sufficient number of ardent admirers rallied round him and accompanied him to the

Palace. None, however, were allowed to pass with him into the Queen's presence but Erskine of Dun. Mary was thoroughly roused, and in a "vehement fume" poured forth reproaches on the preacher's head. Knox himself has described the interview in one of the most memorable passages in his *History*, and by quoting it in full we shall give both a specimen of his style and an illustration of the relation that existed between him and Queen Mary:—

"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 wait upon the courts of princes, or upon the chamber 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, Madam,' said he. '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. Whensoever that the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful (infidel) husband, they do as much as within 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 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 the 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, 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."

So far Knox had distinctly the best of the encounters, and, however much disappointed, Mary was too shrewd to let her feelings be known. She was evidently determined, should the opportunity ever arise, to have Knox silenced, if not condemned, by her Council. What she may have conceived as his ultimate fate we do not know; banishment perhaps, or even something worse: and at last the Reformer would seem to have put himself into her power. While the Queen was in the west, during the autumn of 1563, the Mass was celebrated at Holyrood. As the law at that time stood this was only allowable in the Queen's own presence. The Protestants on hearing of what had taken place sent two of their number to inquire into the matter, and take the names of those who were present at the service. Mary, on hearing of what had occurred, promptly issued orders that two of the Deputies who had made themselves particularly offensive should be tried on the charge of forcibly entering the Queen's Palace. The Protestants on learning this commissioned Knox to despatch a circular letter summoning the brethren to appear in Edinburgh on the day of trial. If the Mass were to be permitted anywhere and everywhere the cause of Protestantism he felt was lost.

Although it might seem a bold step to summons a meeting, the doing of it was only an assertion of

the liberty of the Church, and of the members of the Commonwealth as a whole, to assemble for purposes which were clearly lawful. Knox's letter fell into the hands of the Queen, and she had him at once summoned before the Council on a charge of treason. A full account of the trial is given in his *History of the Reformation*, and his description of it more than equals, in its graphic details, that of any of the other interviews which he had with the Queen. This, however, was more than an interview. Knox's very life hung in the balance, and if the votes of the Council were cast against him he might well regard himself as a dead man. Moray and Lethington, previous to the trial, endeavoured to persuade him to acknowledge his fault and to throw himself on the Queen's mercy, but this he distinctly refused to do. The Secretary then tried to inveigle him into a statement of the grounds of his defence, but Knox perceived his craft and declined to be entrapped. When the citizens of Edinburgh heard of what had happened they followed Knox in a great crowd to the Palace, and filled the outer court and stairs leading to the chamber where the trial was to take place.

There were assembled the chief men in the State, and all the officers of the Court; Knox stood alone and unsupported, to defend himself as best he might. The Queen was unable to conceal her feelings. She believed that her hour of triumph had come, and she forgot that dignity which was due to herself as

a woman and a princess. "Her pomp," remarks Knox, "lacked one principal point, to wit womanly gravity, for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table, bareheaded, she first smiled and after gave a gaulf of laughter, whereat 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 and grate never a tear himself. I will see if I can gar him greet.'"

Lethington then stated the charge, and Knox admitted the authorship of the letter, which he was asked to read. When he finished, the Queen, "looking at the whole table, said, 'Heard you ever, my Lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter?'" Lethington then took up the case, and asked Knox if he was sorry for having penned such a letter. The reply to this was a disquisition on the difference between lawful and unlawful convocations, and the exposition was so forcible that even Lord Ruthven confessed that Knox had done no wrong. The Reformer followed up the favourable impression which he was evidently making by declaring that what he had done was by the authority of the Kirk. Even the nobles present, Catholic as well as Protestant, were beginning to see that if no meeting could take place except when summoned by the Queen, or with her consent, not only the freedom of the Church, but that of the whole Commonwealth would be gone.

As to the charge of cruelty which the Queen declared he had made against her, Knox replied that it was the Catholics who were distinctly pointed at and not the Queen; and he carried the whole Council with him when he described the ruthless tyranny of the Romish Church, and the sufferings that would follow should that Church again be in the ascendant. At this point one stopped him with the remark, "You forget yourself, you are not now in the pulpit." To which came the memorable answer, "I am in the place where I am demanded by conscience to speak the truth, and therefore the truth I speak impugn it whoso list." After this what could be said? Even Lethington perceived that Knox had won, and so, after whispering with the Queen, he said, "Mr. Knox, ye may return to your house for this night." "I thank God and the Queen's Majesty," said the other; and with a parting shot at the Secretary he added, "And, Madam, I pray God 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."

When Knox had departed the vote was taken, and he was unanimously acquitted. Even Sinclair, the Bishop of Ross, who had handed Knox's letter to the Queen, voted in his favour. Mary in her passion turned upon him, and with biting sarcasm said, "Trouble not the bairn, I pray you, for he is newly

wakened out of a 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." The meeting then dissolved; and Knox, in a kind of appendix, adds, "That night was 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."

There is no passage in the life of Knox that has so strongly affected the popular imagination as the conflict between him and Queen Mary. The various interviews that he had with her, and the trial of wit and logic that took place between them, form one of the most outstanding features not only in his life but in Scottish history. And what has caused these incidents to live and so powerfully to affect the public mind is the fact that underneath them all lay the great question of civil liberty. There is undoubtedly something striking, and even picturesque, in this brave man of the people fearlessly standing before his Queen and more than holding his own with her. Surprise has been frequently expressed at him, and him alone, being able to resist the glamour of royalty and the beauty and charm of Queen Mary. He would very likely have succumbed to her influ-

ence, like the rest of the Protestants who visited the Court, were it not that he was contending for something far above any human or worldly interest. He was the champion of true religion, of pure worship, and of God's eternal truth, and if he yielded, all these, he felt, would be lost. In their defence he was ready to sacrifice his life.

Bound up with them also, he firmly believed, were the spiritual and civil interests of his country. Should the cause he championed be lost, not only would despoil be done to the Almighty, but misery entailed on the realm and people of Scotland. Knox's countrymen have ever felt this, even those of them to whom he is only a popular tradition, and who cannot put into words the thoughts that possess them. They believe in him as their greatest man, and honour him as the vindicator of their rights and liberty as children of God and members of the Scottish Commonwealth.

More than enough has been said about Knox's seeming lack of courtesy towards his Queen. It should be remembered that he only conversed with her when she sent for him, and that he had to defend himself, always single handed, against charges, some of them of the most serious nature. His speech had to be plain and strong, and we must admit that his words are sufficiently civil. It was really the Queen who tried to browbeat him and not he the Queen. Mary Stuart would have shown much more respect for herself if, after the first interview with Knox,

she had left him alone. A few minutes' conversation ought to have been sufficient to show her the kind of man he was; and in summoning him so often to her presence, and in revealing in the discussions that took place much that was womanly weak and un-womanly violent, she did herself a disservice, both at the time and in the eyes of posterity.

There was another matter which deeply offended Mary, and that was the marriage of Knox, on Palm Sunday 1564, to Margaret Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree. The bride was of the "blood," and was thus related to the Queen, though distantly. If Knox took upon him to interfere with Mary's matrimonial enterprises the Queen "fumed" not a little at the contract which he was about to form. What surprises one now is that Knox should have thought of marriage at all. He was a widower with two young children, and his domestic affairs were superintended by his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes; besides, he was now getting well on in years. Marrying and re-marrying, then as now, did not always follow the lines laid down by disinterested parties; and at the present day marriages take place, especially in the higher ranks of society, with a greater disparity between the ages of the bridegroom and bride than what existed between those of Knox and his wife. When the Reformer Farel married, at the age of sixty-nine, a girl younger even than Knox's bride, Calvin, on being appealed to, wrote: "Dearest brethren, I am

in such perplexity that I know not where to make a beginning; certain it is that our poor brother, Master William, has for once been so ill advised that we must all needs be in shame and confusion on his account."

Margaret Stewart, from all accounts, proved a true and faithful helpmate to her husband, tended his declining years with great care, and was most attentive to him on his deathbed. She bore him three daughters, all of whom married; and she herself, some years after Knox's death, married Andrew Ker of Faudounside, one of Rizzio's murderers. Knox's two sons by his first wife, Marjory Bowes, Nathaniel and Eleazer, born in Geneva in 1557 and 1558, matriculated at the University of Cambridge eight days after their father's death. Nathaniel died in 1580 and his brother in 1591. No direct descendants of Knox are now known to exist.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FALL OF THE RULERS.

MARY had now been three years in the country, and the policy of compromise which she had been pursuing, under the advice of the Protestant Lords, was about to end in failure. Elizabeth was no nearer than she had been when Mary first landed in the country to a recognition of her as her successor to the English throne, and the other schemes and projects which her advisers had in their mind gave very little hope of fulfilment. In desperation Moray and Lethington favoured a marriage between Don Carlos, heir to the Spanish throne, and the Queen of Scots. In such a union Mary saw much that pleased her—the restoration of the old religion and the conquest of England. But this, too, fell through; so did the project of Elizabeth, who preferred that her cousin should marry the Lord Robert Dudley, her own discarded lover. Mary contemptuously dismissed him as “a groom.”

The Queen, thoroughly disappointed at the failure

of the policy hitherto pursued, determined to free herself from the tutelage of the Protestant Lords, and by following other counsel, or more probably the innate tendency of her own nature, to hew out a path of her own. Her eyes turned to the Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, her own cousin, and, after herself, the nearest to the English throne.

She recalled Lennox, who arrived in Scotland in September 1564. Shortly afterwards, in February of 1565, he was followed by Darnley, and the family was restored to the honours which it had forfeited twenty years before. The Darnley marriage had much to recommend it. He was a Roman Catholic, and his nearness to the English throne would seem to hold out hopes to Mary of the realisation of the dream of her life. To be Queen of the United Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and to see the old religion re-established in both countries, was her ambition; and one for which she had been plotting and scheming, along with the Pope and the heads of other Catholic countries, for some time. The breach between Mary and Moray became wider, and in a proclamation she referred to "some who bore the whole sway with us, and who would be kings themselves, or at least, leaving to us the bare title and name, would take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the kingdom."

About this time there appeared on the scene David Rizzio, an Italian adventurer, who was to have a

sinister influence on the life of Mary, and directly to involve her in the ruin which followed. He was a musician, had a knowledge of foreign languages, made himself useful to the Queen, and acted as her secretary. He was thought by the Protestants to be a Romish emissary, and there is no doubt that his policy tended towards the restoration of the Romish Church in Scotland. He was favourable to the Darnley marriage because he saw in the new King a Roman Catholic. He was a much abler man than Darnley. The latter was a vain and dissolute youth, utterly unfit for the position in which he was about to be placed, and the very last man that Mary should have married. These two, Mary and Rizzio, through the spring of 1565, ruled the Court, and the Protestant Lords withdrew and drew up a bond for their mutual support and defence. Knox and Moray would seem to have been reconciled at this time, but even they by their joint efforts could make no headway. Roman Catholics were growing bolder, and were holding services more openly. Mary still temporised, and half consented to hear the Protestant preachers, John Erskine of Dun by preference, for he was "a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness"; but when put to the test by the Assembly of 1565, which demanded the suppression of the Mass, she flatly refused, and affirmed that she would not give up her religion nor break with the Catholic Powers. The Protestants regarded this as a challenge, and



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several of the leading men took up arms, ready to act if support from England could be depended on.

On the 29th of July 1565 Mary publicly celebrated her marriage with Darnley. Elizabeth saw the full significance of this union, which put an end at once to the English alliance. Knox also perceived its purpose, and saw that it was intended to put an end to the Reformed religion. Moray, too, and the Protestant Lords read its lesson and fled from Edinburgh.

Knox had not been human if he did not gather some satisfaction from the fall of the "Rulers of the Court." They had despised his counsel, scoffed at his warnings, and disbelieved his prophecies. But the utter failure of their policy of compromise now proved that he possessed more political wisdom and foresight than they did. He was the only man in the country who seems to have abated no jot of hope for the future of the Reformed religion. He possibly saw in the present crisis a clearing of the air and a paving of the way for an honest policy which might yet end in success. He was well aware of Mary's correspondence with the Pope and the heads of Catholic countries, and it was with that knowledge in his mind that he preached in St. Giles' on the 19th of August a sermon which, under the thin veil of Old Testament incidents and characters, depicted the political situation of the hour.

Darnley was at church that Sunday. He would seem to have been Protestant or Catholic at will,

and besides it was the policy of the Queen to keep, outwardly at least, on good terms with the Reformed party. Knox himself admits that the service lasted an hour longer than usual. This may account for the restlessness which the King is said to have displayed, but however dull and uninteresting he may have thought the sermon the following passages must have startled him into attention. "The same justice remaineth in God to punish thee Scotland, and thee Edinburgh in especial, that before punished Judah and the city of Jerusalem, for this is the only cause why God taketh away the strong man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and the honourable, the councillor and the cunning artificer." The banishment of the Protestant Lords was thus alluded to, and Darnley and the Queen were distinctly referred to in what follows. "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." The King, we are told, was so moved at this sermon that "he would not dine, and being troubled with a great fury he passed in the afternoon to the hawking." Knox was roused from his bed that same evening to appear before the Council, which suspended him from preaching in Edinburgh "during such time that their Majesties should remain there."

The stay of the King and Queen in the capital was not long. In a week they were at the head of an army,

marching west to put down the revolt of the Protestant Lords, so Knox was permitted to resume his old duties. The Queen on this, as on every other, occasion acted with great promptitude and courage. She rode at the head of an army "in a steel cap, with pistols at her saddlebow." The rebel Lords, afraid to meet her, rode into Edinburgh on the 31st August 1565. Knox on this very day was preparing for publication the sermon which he had preached on the 19th of the same month. The Castle guns opened fire on the rebels, and he writes: "The terrible roaring of the guns and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart that my soul thirsteth to depart."

Little encouragement was given by the citizens of Edinburgh to the Protestant Lords and their thirteen hundred followers. Moray and his friends sought refuge in England; Elizabeth gave them but a cold reception, and Mary's authority for the time being was supreme.

The turn which events had taken brought trouble on more than the fallen Rulers. Their defeat involved the Church in a series of misfortunes which threatened at the time to prove fatal. Among those upon whom the blow fell most heavily were the clergy, whose stipends were not paid. They, as a consequence, were in dire poverty, and some of them were compelled to give up their charges and others to eke out a livelihood by engaging in secular work. Young lads who were looking forward to the ministry of the Church were forced to relinquish

their ambition and to take to some employment that promised more substantial reward. Knox was distressed at the sufferings of those who ought to have been in comfortable circumstances if a tithe of the property which belonged to the Church had been granted for their support.

This was one of the chief questions considered at the Assembly that year, and Knox during its sittings wrote two letters, one to the ministers and another to the congregations, exhorting the former not "to faint suddenly even in the brunt of the battle"; and admonishing the latter to prove their faith by their Christian liberality. "Let us therefore," he remarks, "Let us therefore begin to reverence the blessed Evangel of our salvation. Reverence and magnify it we cannot when that we suffer the true preachers thereof to be oppressed with poverty before our eyes, and yet we shut up the bowels of mercy from them." Rumours also were afloat that the Catholic Powers were about to combine in a general attack on Protestantism, and Mary it was known was a willing party to the league. "With the help of God and your Holiness," she wrote to the Pope, "I will leap over the dyke."

In view of these present troubles and ominous signs the General Assembly determined on a public Fast. Three reasons were given for this important step: the abounding sin in "all estates"; "the great hunger, famine, and oppression of the poor"; and the sad condition of their co-religionists "in France,

Flanders, and other parts." Knox now, as at all times, made himself the champion of the poor. He did not spare the new lairds, Protestants for the most part, who had dispossessed the ancient Church. He charges them with being far more tyrannical and oppressive than the clergy of the Romish Church had ever been. It was no argument for a landlord to say, "I may do with my own as best pleaseth me." The tenant and the labourer, according to Knox, had inherent rights and interests in the land equal to that of the proprietor himself. He had failed to nationalise the possessions of the ancient Church, but he did not relinquish his belief that they belonged to the people, and that they should be under the trusteeship of the Reformed Church for the support of the three great objects, religion, education, and the poor. He calls upon the landlords to let their faith express itself in works. "We see no good reason," he says, "why it should be thought impossible that men should begin to express in their lives that which in word they have publicly professed." These are some of the passages in the order, drawn up by Knox for the General Fast, fixed for the beginning of March. He saw in the present distress and suffering the judgment of the Almighty on the people for their sins, and he calls upon them with no uncertain voice to put themselves right, by confession, in the eyes of God; to amend their lives; and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them.

Calvinism is accused of being a mere intellectual system of doctrine, provocative of hypocrisy, and with no relation to personal conduct and life. If that be so, then Knox was not a Calvinist. Creed and conduct could not in his mind be separated; they were interdependent, and failure on the part of one brought discredit on the other. Knox immediately after this would seem to have gone to the south on a preaching tour. This he was charged to do by the Church. It was probably thought by his friends that his life was not safe in the capital, and he was instructed to remain "so long as occasion might suffer."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRIUMPH OF KNOX.

IT was during these months, when Knox was absent, that the plot was hatched for the murder of Rizzio. Morton declares that the Reformer had “neither art nor part” in it. That we can well believe. He did not love the shedding of blood, and no one ever suffered the last penalty because of him. He despised Rizzio, speaks contemptuously of him as that “vile knave Davie,” that “great abuser of this commonwealth,” and he would have been quite willing that the country should be got rid of him by a fair and open trial. But that was not the way of the Scottish nobles at that time. Assassination was openly accepted as a legitimate method of getting quit of a dangerous or obnoxious opponent. Rizzio had made himself intolerable by his arrogance, and Mary acted with the most fatal imprudence in showering favours on him and raising him to the highest position at the Court. Her marked preference for him also roused the jealousy of her husband, Darnley, who entered into the plot with

the Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, and the Lord Ruthven to get rid of the Italian adventurer at whatever cost. The murder took place on the evening of Saturday the 9th of March. Darnley entered the Queen's Cabinet, where she was at supper with Rizzio and her half-sister, the Countess of Argyle. The King was soon followed by Ruthven, and he by others, and Rizzio was done to death before Mary's very eyes.

Little was gained at the time by those who were most active in the plot. Mary acted with great determination. She at once talked Darnley over, detached him from the rest of the conspirators, and escaped with him to Dunbar. A week after she returned to the capital (18th of March) with a considerable following, and surrounded by the Catholic and several of the Protestant Lords. Mary's energy and courage on this occasion were worthy of the race from which she sprang. Shortly after her arrival in the country, when fighting the Earl of Huntly, she expressed to the English Ambassador her regret that "she was not a man to know what life it was, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack and knapschalle, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword."

In place of weakening Mary's position and strengthening that of Darnley by the murder of Rizzio, Morton and his fellow-conspirators found that they had accomplished quite the reverse. The Queen had talked over her weak husband, but she

despised him heartily for his recent conduct, and her contempt for him was soon to pass into hatred. His fellow-accomplices also turned upon him, for he had betrayed them to the Queen. They sought safety in flight. The Protestant cause now lacked the support which the presence of its chief leaders would have given it, and Mary and the Catholic party were accordingly in the ascendant.

Knox at this time also left the capital. On the 17th of March 1566 he turned his steps towards Ayrshire, departing "of the burgh at two hours afternoon with a great mourning of the godly of religion." Five days before he had penned, "with deliberate mind to his God," his famous Confession, prefacing it with the prayer, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit, and put an end at Thy good pleasure to this my miserable life, for justice and truth are not to be found among the sons of men." In the month of June an event of great national importance took place. On the 19th of that month Mary gave birth to a son in the Castle of Edinburgh. This child had a great destiny before him. It was reserved for him to realise the dream of his mother: the union, under him as monarch, of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

The quarrel between Mary and Darnley grew more bitter, and became a scandal to the whole of Europe. The Queen, who would seem never to have been able to continue for any length of time without committing her heart to the care of someone, how-

ever unworthy, began now to look with favour upon the Earl of Bothwell, who was ultimately to prove her ruin. He was a noble of the swash-buckler order, rash and venturesome, and the very last man to guide with wisdom the troubled affairs of Scotland. In the eyes of Knox he possessed two redeeming qualities: he was a Protestant, and the head of the House to which Knox's family were feudally related. It was probably for these reasons that he used his influence on behalf of the Reformed Church. Certainly while he was in favour better treatment was meted out to the ministers, who received as a gift, but not as a right, a part of their stipends.

On the 23rd of December an event took place which caused the greatest consternation among the Protestants. On that date the Archbishop of St. Andrews was restored to full Consistorial jurisdiction. The General Assembly which met in December instructed Knox to rouse the Protestant nobles to a sense of the great danger that threatened them, and he also wrote an epistle, on his own account, to the adherents of Protestantism throughout the country, awakening them to a full realisation of the significance of the act which the Queen had done. At the same Assembly Knox was commissioned to "address a letter to the pastors and bishops of England, in which in name of the Reformed Scottish Church he besought them to deal tenderly with the consciences of their brethren." He at the same time

determined to visit England. The object of his journey was partly, no doubt, to commune with and strengthen those who were being troubled by recent ecclesiastical enactments, chiefly affecting ritual. No record is left of this journey, but he would most likely visit Berwick, possibly Newcastle, and other places associated with his early ministry in the sister kingdom.

Knox had much need of this holiday, for since his return to Scotland, seven years before, he had laboured with an energy, zeal, and perseverance that would have taxed a much stronger constitution than his. He had taken the foremost part in carrying through the Reformation, with its accompanying Revolution; and in addition to his multifarious labours as preacher of the Gospel and minister of St. Giles', he had to carry the heavy responsibility of initiating and guiding the course of events towards a definite end. For several years, when deserted by his old associates, he had to fight the battle of Protestantism with almost no man of mark behind him; and were it not that he had roused the commons of Scotland to a sense of their religious and civil birthright, the cause which he championed must have been lost. With a wise prescience he fostered the Protestant religion in the chief towns and counties, and when, shortly after this date, the decision as to which religion was to triumph had to be taken, public opinion was found to be on his side. His duties as minister of Edinburgh were in themselves sufficient

for any ordinary man. When we consider the number of sermons that he preached weekly, their inordinate length, the meetings of his elders and deacons which he faithfully attended, the demands made upon his time and thought by seekers after truth, and others who were troubled in their conscience or by domestic or worldly affairs, our surprise is that he was able to bear up under it all, and to perform his various tasks not only with faithfulness but distinction.

But during all these years, indeed ever since 1559, he had another work on hand, one that in itself would have been sufficient for an ordinary man: that was the writing of his famous *History of the Reformation*. After the Lords of the Congregation had set themselves seriously to the reform of religion they found that their purpose and conduct were being misrepresented. Foreign nations were forming false opinions of them, through garbled reports sent by unfriendly hands. The leaders of the movement felt it to be their duty to put themselves right in the eyes of the world, and commissioned Knox to do this for them by giving a faithful account, day by day, of their proceedings. This he did in the second and third books of his *History*. In addition he wrote an introductory book and also a supplementary one, the first and fourth. It is fortunate for us that he did so, for they are by far the most interesting. In the first we get the measure of the author as an historian,

and in the fourth his personality is fully revealed. Were it not for the latter book Knox would not be the man he is in the hearts of Scotsmen. It is unconsciously autobiographical; and the vivid, forcible, and, at times, humorous sketches which he gives of incidents, characters, and encounters of a warlike and more pacific nature, make the period and the men that he describes live before us. It is not at all unlikely that he gave the finishing touches to his *History* while he was in England. In any case, during his stay a few months earlier in Kyle he wrote the preface to the fourth book. The fifth book was not written by him. He may have prepared the notes for it, but in its actual composition he had no part.

While Knox was absent in England events of the first importance were happening in Scotland. The breach between Mary and Darnley had become wider, the relations between the Queen and Bothwell closer, and the final outcome was the murder of the King at Kirk o' Field, near Edinburgh, on the 10th of February 1567. This dreadful crime caused the utmost consternation. Suspicion at once fixed on Bothwell, and his marriage with Mary on the 15th of May implicated her also in the tragedy. The national sense was shocked by this union. To make their marriage possible Bothwell had to procure a divorce from his wife, and as this was obtained from the Archbishop of St. Andrews the reason for the restoration of the Consistorial powers of

that prelate was at once seen. The nobles rose up in revolt against Mary and Bothwell, took the former prisoner at Carberry Hill, led her to Edinburgh amid the scoffs and jeers of the populace, and finally on the 16th of June confined her in Loch Leven Castle, where she remained till the 2nd of May 1568, when she made her escape. Both Mary and Bothwell were believed by the people to be guilty of the murder of Darnley. This conviction thoroughly roused the commons, who judged her condemned by the laws of God and of the nation. Knox's strenuous labours now bore fruit in the injured conscience of the community; and while the nobles for the most part were inclined to forgive and forget, the people would do neither, but were determined that no one suspected of murder, and who afterwards married her paramour, should reign over them.

The country was now without any government, and the only body that could act was the General Assembly. It was convened to meet on the 25th of June, and Knox returned from England in order to be present, but as the attendance was small it was decided that another meeting should be held on the 26th of July. No Assembly of equal importance had been held since the Reformed religion had been set up. It was the channel through which the national mind was to express itself, and upon it hung the fate of Mary. It must have appeared to Knox that all for which he had

been so long contending was to be achieved at last. He held the Queen to be guilty, and stirred the people to a sense of her iniquity and of the national shame which that iniquity entailed. The Assembly, so far as its power went, dethroned Mary, reaffirmed the Acts of 1560 establishing the new religion, and received an assurance from the Lords present that at the first meeting of the Estates Parliamentary assent should be given to all that had been done in the interests of the Church.

Knox's triumph was not yet absolute. The final victory was won when, on the 29th of July, the infant Prince was crowned at Stirling, Knox preaching the sermon. On the 22nd of August the Earl of Moray returned to act as Regent. The government of the country was now in capable hands; and Knox, between whom and the Earl the old friendship was resumed, would feel that the Reformed religion had triumphed at last. Parliament met on the 15th of December; Knox preached the opening sermon, and the Estates ratified afresh all that the Reformer had contended for. Knox and his colleagues put forth their whole strength to rally the people round the new government, and their efforts met with so marked success that those nobles who had stood aloof were compelled to come in and support the government of the Regent. Indeed, matters looked so promising that the Assembly which met on the 25th of December was able to write in the following hopeful strain to John Willock, then in England, and whom

they invited to return to Scotland to take his share in the task that was almost completed: "Our enemies, praise be God, are dashed, religion established, sufficient provision made for ministers, order taken and penalty appointed for all sort of transgression and transgressors. And above all, a godly magistrate, whom God of His Eternal and heavenly Providence hath reserved to this age to put in execution whatsoever He by His law commandeth."

Although the cause of the Reformation was practically won, there were many serious troubles ahead which the writers of this optimistic letter did not foresee. Moray's government after all was very unstable. Though it was "broad-based upon the people's will," it had many secret and open foes to contend against both in Scotland and in England. The Hamiltons could never forgive Moray the slight cast upon their House by his Regency, and Elizabeth was not in a mood to support those whom she regarded as rebels against their Queen.

Mary's party were far from idle, and on the 2nd of May 1568 they contrived her escape from Loch Leven Castle. The Battle of Langside was fought a fortnight afterwards; Mary was a fugitive in England, and Moray's triumph seemed complete. Knox, however, was not so hopeful. In letters written by him at this time traces are found not only of pessimism regarding the future of his country, but of decaying strength in himself. Until now his outlook had remained hopeful, but old age was

claiming him at last, and with it came that lack of energy which advancing years usually bring. His forebodings were fulfilled in the assassination of the Regent on the 23rd of January 1570, and his grief was intensified by the fact that the assassin, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, had been pardoned by the Regent on his intercession. At the funeral of Moray Knox preached the sermon from the text, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," and it is recorded that he moved "three thousand persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godly governor."

The death of Moray was indeed irreparable to the country, and particularly to Knox. He was the spiritual child of the Reformer; his splendid powers had grown and developed under the approving eye of Knox. They were bound together by a common cause and hope. In their patriotism and policy, religion and character, they were one. Moray was a born ruler, his prudence equalled his judgment, and his energy was only outstripped by his zeal. Scotland does well to remember him; and the popular judgment, which in the end seldom errs, has ever regarded him as the "Good Regent."

CHAPTER XX.

LAST YEARS AND DEATH.

KNOX'S public work was now practically over, and his ministry in Edinburgh was coming to an end. The two years of life still left him were clouded by the civil war into which his country had been plunged. Between the parties of the King and Queen there was a bitter struggle; friends, and even families, were divided, and no Scotsman can look back upon the period without regret and sorrow. In addition to the distress caused by the unsatisfactory condition of public affairs, Knox was also wounded by unscrupulous maligners who tried to injure his character and discredit his policy. He was the less able now to withstand such attacks, for in the autumn of this year he had a stroke of apoplexy which impeded his speech for some time.

He still displayed his old spirit, and repelled the attacks with scorn; and when the zeal of others was slackening he ceased not to inveigh from the pulpit against the Queen, and to declare that all the troubles from which the country was at that time

suffering were due to the leniency which they had displayed towards her who, he was thoroughly convinced, was guilty of the most heinous crimes. At the Meeting of the Assembly in March of that year libels against Knox were dropped on to the floor, or stuck on the door, inciting the members to condemn him for refusing to pray for the Queen, and calling upon him to justify his support of Elizabeth in view of the opinions against female rule advocated in the notorious *First Blast*.

These, after all, were but pin-pricks, which in the days of his hardy manhood would not have affected him much, nor are there many signs of their having disturbed him greatly now. A more serious cause of dejection was found in the fact that his old comrade and friend, Kirkcaldy of Grange, had forsaken him and joined the party of the Queen. Grange and he had been together in the Castle of St. Andrews, were fellow-prisoners in the French galleys, and had afterwards worked hand in hand in promoting the Reformation. Grange, who was a capable soldier and a staunch Protestant, was entrusted by the Regent with the charge of Edinburgh Castle, one of the most important posts in the country. Even prior to Moray's death Kirkcaldy showed signs of defection, which is supposed to have been due to the wiles of Lethington, who was a strong Queen's man, and as an inmate of the Castle had talked Kirkcaldy over. Knox had refrained from making any public reference to Kirkcaldy's

conduct, but when the Captain of the Castle stormed the Tolbooth and liberated one of his own followers who had been imprisoned on a charge of manslaughter, Knox felt that even old friendship could not demand his silence, and he broke out the following Sunday in the pulpit of St. Giles' into no measured condemnation of Grange's deed. Kirkcaldy, to whom a garbled account of the discourse had been conveyed, demanded that public reparation should be made by Knox, and even went the length of accusing him before the Session of maligning his character. Knox had no difficulty in meeting this attack. The true version of what he said was enough to refute the charges of Kirkcaldy.

The adherents of the Queen were now flocking to Edinburgh, and finding welcome shelter in the Castle. The King's party, under Lennox, who had been appointed Regent, were stationed at Leith. A conflict seemed imminent. The friends of Knox were alarmed lest any harm should befall him, for the Castle guns commanded the city, and cannons had been posted on the steeple of St. Giles', the largest of them being christened by the soldiers "John Knox." Friends in Ayrshire, who had heard that Grange was threatening Knox's life, wrote to the Captain of the Castle warning him against any attack on Knox's person, and recalling to his mind the great work which the Reformer had accomplished. Friends in Edinburgh besought him to leave the city, and Grange even offered him the shelter of the

Castle. Knox steadily resisted all appeals; but a shot fired into his house, and which might have proved fatal if he had been occupying his usual seat, was significant of the intention of the more evil-minded of his enemies, so on the 5th of May 1571 he departed from Edinburgh and crossed to Fife.

After staying for a short time at Abbotshall, near Kirkcaldy, he pursued his journey to St. Andrews, which he reached in the beginning of July 1571. He was accompanied by his wife and family, and made arrangements for his temporary settlement in the "cold grey city by the sea." He was safe in St. Andrews from the cannon of Edinburgh Castle, but he was not to experience that peace which his soul desired, for, whatever it may be now, St. Andrews was then a hot-bed of cliques, ecclesiastical and academical, and Knox was dragged into the squabbles in which the leading citizens seemed to find their chief delight. Of the three colleges which comprised the University, St. Leonard's was the only one which favoured the Reformation; and the city, as a whole, was divided in its allegiance between the old faith and the new.

Pen portraits showing what Knox was like during the two last years of his life have been left us by Richard Bannatyne and James Melville. The former was Knox's secretary and personal attendant, and the latter was a student in St. Leonard's College at the time when the Reformer was resident in St. Andrews. Melville gives a graphic description of Knox's

appearances in St. Andrews at this time. "But of all the benefits I had that year," he says, "was the coming of that most notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr. John Knox, to St. Andrews, who, by the faction of the Queen occupying the Castle and Town of Edinburgh, was compelled to remove therefrom, with a number of the best, and chose to come to St. Andrews. I heard him teach there the prophecy of Daniel that summer and winter following. I had my pen and my little book and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderate for the space of half an hour, but when he entered to application he made me so to grow and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. . . . Mr. Knox would sometime come in and repose him in our college yard and call us scholars unto him, and bless us and exhort us to know God and His work in our country, and stand by the good cause; to use our time well and learn the good instructions and follow the good example of our masters. . . . I saw him every day of his doctrine go slowly and warily, with a furring of martrix about his neck, a staff in the one hand, and good godly Richard Bannatyne, his servant, holding up the other oxter, from the Abbey to the Parish Kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, where he behoved to lean at his first entry, but ere he had done with his sermon he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding that pulpit in blads and flie out of it."

Knox still kept a watchful eye on domestic and foreign affairs, and though "half deid," as he himself expresses it, was quite alive to, and deeply interested in, all that was passing. Accordingly when in 1572 Morton introduced his new policy of creating bishops, Knox resisted him to the utmost of his power. It is possible that the Earl experienced some difficulty in finding sufficient money to carry on the war against the Queen's party, and it is not at all unlikely, besides, that, in keeping with his grasping nature, he wished to add to his own possessions. In any case he was determined to lay his hands on what remained of the Church's property, and to accomplish this with a seeming compliance to the law and constitution he introduced what is known as "Tulchan Bishops." In other words, while bishops were to be appointed to the various Sees, their salaries were to be nominal, and Morton for one would pocket the original stipend. It was a mean device, and no one can regret its ultimate failure.

The first to receive the revived honour was John Douglas, the Rector of the University, who was nominated Archbishop of St. Andrews. Morton, afraid lest the appointment might miscarry, was present at the service. Wynram preached the sermon, and Knox was asked by the Earl to deliver the ordination charge. He refused, and would take no part in the inauguration of the new Bishop. Knox experienced now a repetition of the pin-pricks which in Edinburgh, a short time previously, galled without

wounding him. He never could forgive the Hamiltons for their conduct during the Regency of Moray, nor could he forget that it was one of that name and house who was the Regent's assassin. There was a Hamilton in St. Andrews at this time who did his best to discredit the Reformer, and who charged him with being one of the signatories to the plot for the murder of Rizzio. Knox immediately brought him to his senses, but the calumniator pursued Knox after his death with vile charges which, disbelieved then, are now all but forgotten.

It was at this time also that Knox published his reply to the Jesuit Tyrie. This learned and Catholic Scotsman, who had been specially trained in Rome for the purpose, attacked the Reformed religion in a letter sent to his brother. The production having fallen into Knox's hands, he immediately set himself to reply to the charges point by point. This was in 1566, and now in St. Andrews, in 1572, he publishes the piece with a preface and appendix, which may be regarded as his literary farewell to the world. It is evident that he was not altogether satisfied with his residence in St. Andrews at this time, and that he felt the petty squabbles in which he had been involved. It is only on this ground that we can account for the letter which he addressed to the Assembly which met in Perth in the beginning of August. In his communication he charges the Church to keep a watchful eye on the Universities, and on no account to permit them to

escape from its control. Such a warning would be unneeded now. The Universities have been practically liberated from the government of the Church, but it is an open question whether the new relations in which they have been placed is more to their advantage.

Knox left St. Andrews on the 17th of August. A truce prevailed between the two parties of the King and Queen, the citizens were returning to Edinburgh, and Knox's own congregation wished him back. Craig, his colleague, was not giving satisfaction. He was suspected of being in sympathy with the Castle. On the 4th of August Commissioners came to Knox requesting his return. He complied, and preached in St. Giles' on the last Sunday of the month. Knox was nothing loth to leave St. Andrews. He had not been particularly happy there, and his heart was in Edinburgh. There he would be with his own congregation, and he would also be in touch with public affairs. He was not able, however, to preach in the great church, as his shattered health made it impossible for him to stand the strain. He had to conduct the service in the Tolbooth, a part of the church which from its limited size enabled him to preach with the hope of being heard by the congregation. One of his first acts after his return was the appointment of a colleague and successor. Craig had now deserted him, and Knox, who knew that his end could not be long delayed, was most anxious to have the place filled at the earliest moment. Choice fell upon Lawson, Sub-

Principal of Aberdeen University. Knox urged him to come at once, that they might "confer together of heavenly things." "Haste," he adds, "lest ye come too late." In due course Lawson was inducted to his new office, and Knox now could turn his mind to other things.

An event of deep significance and far-reaching consequence now occurred in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which caused the greatest consternation all over Europe. Knox at once took advantage of it to strengthen the cause of Protestantism, and the result was that, mainly through his efforts, a league was entered into by Scotland, England, and other Protestant countries, against Roman Catholicism.

Mary was still the cause of great trouble, and Elizabeth was finding her, though a prisoner, a disturbing factor in the country. It would accordingly seem to have been decided that she should be sent back to Scotland and there tried and executed. Mar and Morton would appear to have agreed to this, nor could Knox have any objections. His opinion of Mary was well known; he judged her deserving of death.

Killigrew, the English Agent, in writing to Cecil on the matter, gives a description of Knox's health and disposition at this time which is of considerable interest: "John Knox is now so feeble as scarce can he stand alone or speak to be heard of any audience, yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place where a certain number do hear him, and



NETHERBOW PORT, EDINBURGH.
After an old Print.

preacheth with the same vehemence and zeal that he ever did. He doth reverence your Lordship much, and willed me once again to send you word that he thanked God he had obtained at His hands that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is truly and simply preached throughout Scotland, which doth so comfort him as he now desireth to be out of this miserable life. He said further that it was not long of your Lordship that he was not a great bishop in England but that effect grown in Scotland, he being an instrument, doth much more satisfy him. He desired me to make his last commendations most humbly to your Lordship, and with all that he prayed God to increase His strong spirit in you, saying, 'There was never more need'; and quoth he to me, 'Take heed how ye believe them of the Castle, for sure they will deceive you, and trust me I know they seek nothing more than the ruin of your Mistress, which they have been about for a long time.'"

On November the 9th (1572) Knox preached his last sermon. It was at the induction of his colleague Mr. Lawson in St. Giles'. He was so feeble that he scarcely could be heard. After the benediction was pronounced he made homewards, followed by the congregation and leaning on his staff. He reached his house in the Netherbow and never again left it. On the 11th he was attacked by a severe cough, his breathing became difficult, and feeling that the end was near he called one of his servants and paid him his wages, with the words,

“Thou wilt never get no more from me in this life.” His mind now began to wander. On Friday, thinking it was Sunday, he wished to go to church to preach “on the resurrection.” On Saturday when two friends called he ordered a hogshead of wine to be pierced in their honour, and urged them to drink, and to continue sending for it as long as it lasted, as he himself would “never tarry until it was drunken.”

On Monday the 17th he called the office-bearers of St. Giles’ around him, and in solemn words reviewed his ministry and bade farewell to them all. Lethington in the Castle was the cause of much dispeace to Knox during his last days on earth. The Secretary complained to the Kirk Session that Knox had slandered him as an “enemy to all religion,” and with having said “that heaven and hell are things devised to fray bairns.” Accompanying the complaint was a demand for evidence or apology. Knox was too weak to reply, as he otherwise would have done, but he appealed to all who heard him if Lethington’s actions did not bear out all that he had said. For Kirkcaldy of Grange, Lethington’s companion in the Castle, he felt much pity, for he knew that he was but the tool of the Secretary, and he made a last effort, through Lindsay, the minister of Leith, to induce him to give up the Castle and join his old friends, warning him at the same time of what would happen unless this advice were followed.

He could not now speak except with great pain.

Everyone knew that his end could not be long delayed, and his friends, one after another, called to take the last farewell. The nobles in Edinburgh, Ruthven, Morton, Boyd, and Lindsay, spent a few moments at his bedside. Morton, who was soon to be Regent, was asked if he had been privy to the murder of Darnley, and receiving a reply in the negative, Knox spoke out in his usual plain manner, charging him to use his position and influence better in time to come "than you have done in time past. If so you do, God shall bless and honour you, but if you do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame." Women too, "devout and honourable," came for the last look and word. To one of them who praised him for his work he replied with a flash of the old spirit, "Tongue, tongue, lady, flesh of itself is overproud and needs no means to esteem itself."

On Friday the 21st he ordered Bannatyne to have his coffin prepared. On the Sunday he thought the end had come. His last night on earth was spent in a spiritual wrestle, Satan tempting him to trust in his own works, but through the grace of God he gained the victory. On Monday the 24th he called to his wife, "Go read where I cast my first anchor." She turned to the 17th chapter of John. After this he fell into a disturbed slumber. Shortly after ten the evening prayers were read. When finished, they asked him if he had heard. "Would to God," he answered, "that you and all men had

heard them as I have heard them." Towards eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh and said, "Now it is come." Bannatyne drew near and asked for one sign that he heard the words of comfort which he had just spoken to him, and which the Reformer himself had so often declared to others. Knox, as if "collecting his whole strength," lifted his hand, and without apparent struggle passed peacefully away. On Wednesday following, the 26th, he was buried immediately to the south of St. Giles' Church. The Regent Morton, standing by the grave, gave him an "honourable testimony," and pronounced the memorable eulogy, "Here lies one who neither flattered nor feared any flesh."

What was the personal appearance of this man who holds the highest place in the esteem of all Scotsmen? A contemporary, one Peter Young, Buchanan's assistant in the education of James VI., thus describes it in a letter to Beza:—

"In stature he was slightly under the middle height, of well-knit and graceful figure, with shoulders somewhat broad, longish fingers, head of moderate size, hair black, complexion somewhat dark, and general appearance not unpleasing. In his stern and severe countenance there was a natural dignity and majesty, not without a certain grace, and in anger there was an air of command on his brow. Under a somewhat narrow forehead his brows stood out under a slight ridge over his ruddy and slightly swelling cheeks, so that his eyes seemed to retreat

into his head. The colour of his eyes was bluish-grey, their glance keen and animated, his face was rather long, his nose of more than ordinary length, the mouth large, the lips full, the upper a little thicker than the lower, his black beard mingled with grey, a span and a half long and moderately thick." Such was the man in outward appearance, and the history of Scotland, political, social, and religious, from then till now, has been but an unfolding of what he was in heart and mind and spirit; and it has borne ample testimony to the Reformer's own confident hope when he said, "What I have been to my country albeit this ungrateful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth."

APPENDIX



WHEN WAS JOHN KNOX BORN?

CONSIDERABLE interest has lately been manifested in the date of Knox's birth, but as only a few years, after all, are in dispute, and as no one believes that any point of vital importance hangs on the issue, the discussion may be safely left in the hands of the contending critics. Some significance may of course attach to the question in view of the quater-centenary celebration of the Reformer's birth having been arranged to take place this year, but unless something more convincing than anything that has yet been said against the traditionary view appears, the Churches may proceed with their preparations without any misgiving.

1. The authorities primarily involved in the question are four in number, two on each side. For the 1505 date there are Spottiswoode and David Buchanan; for a later date Beza and Sir Peter Young. Now the first important fact that emerges is that Spottiswoode and Buchanan *agree*. "He died," says Spottiswoode, "the twenty-seventh of November, in the sixty-seventh year of his age." "He departed," writes Buchanan, "about eleven

hours at night, the 67 years of his age," and in an earlier part of his biographical sketch of Knox he says that the Reformer was born in "the year of Christ 1505." But Beza and Sir Peter Young *disagree*. Beza in his *Icones*, published in Geneva in 1580, says that Knox died in his fifty-seventh year (quinquaginta septem annorum), and Sir Peter Young in a letter to Beza, discovered in the Ducal Library at Gotha, and printed in Dr. Hume Brown's *Life of Knox*, says that the Reformer died in his fifty-ninth year — Decessit undesexagesimo ætatis anno.

2. Spottiswoode and Buchanan wrote *independently* of each other. Spottiswoode died in 1639, and as Buchanan's edition of Knox's *History* was not published till 1644, he could not have had that work before him, nor could Buchanan have seen Spottiswoode's *History*, which was not published till 1655. Professor Cowan's attempt (*Athenæum*, December 3, 1904) to prove, from internal evidence, that Buchanan had Spottiswoode's MS. before him is too far-fetched to be of much weight. Because both authors speak of Knox as being born of "honest parentage," the one he thinks must have copied from the other. Everyone, of course, knows that this was almost a stereotyped phrase to which no one could claim an original or prescriptive right. Beza and Sir Peter Young *did not* write independently of each other. Beza, according to Dr. Hay Fleming (*Scotsman*, May 27, 1904), had Sir Peter Young's letter before him when he wrote his *Icones*. The letter was written 13th November 1579, and the *Icones* appeared in 1580.

3. Both Spottiswoode and Buchanan must have

been familiar with Beza's *Icones*. It was dedicated to King James VI., was a book well known at the time on account of its author and subject, yet they reject his statement regarding Knox's age. They must have had more reliable evidence before them.

4. Even Beza would seem to have doubted Young's testimony, for he makes Knox out to have been 57 when he died, while his correspondent declares that he was 59. Must we fall back on the old view that Beza's 57 is a misprint for 67? This would explain his disagreement with Young, and Spottiswoode and Buchanan's apparent disagreement with him.

5. Nor can there be any doubt as to who is the writer of greatest authority. Spottiswoode unquestionably is admitted on all hands to have more weight than Beza, and to be as a rule more accurate. His facts are generally admitted even by inimical historians, and the worst that can be said against him is that he was opposed to Presbyterianism. But take, for instance, Beza's "Icon" of Knox. Carlyle declares it to be "a blotch of ignorant confusion," and he proves his assertion by printed references. Dr. Hay Fleming indulges the hope that Lawson's letter to Beza, which Young told him was being sent, giving full particulars of Knox, may turn up. If it does, Beza will be found guilty of having ignored or grossly misrepresented its contents, for we can hardly conceive Lawson's sending to Geneva such a "blotch of ignorant confusion" as Beza's *Icones*.

6. Sir Peter Young was a student at St. Andrews when Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, and he must have frequently seen the Reformer, then in the

full vigour of his manhood, for Knox made St. Andrews his headquarters at that time. But Young left for the Continent in 1562, and did not return again till 1568-69, the very year when Knox wrote to John Wood, "I live as a man already dead from all civil affairs and therefore I praise my God." Again that same year he writes to a friend in England, "Are not thou (Knox) in that estate by age that nature itself calleth thee from the pleasure of things temporal."

Now the Knox whom Young describes in his letter to Beza is not this Knox, but the Knox of 1559, whose image had been imprinted on the young student's mind. Indeed it is doubtful if Young saw Knox on his return from the Continent, for he was immediately appointed to assist George Buchanan in tutoring the King at Stirling, "where he was fixed to the palace never to be taken from it unless by turns."

Young's pen-portrait of Knox is of a man somewhat turned fifty, "beard black mingled with grey," full of vigour, "well knit and graceful figure,"—such a man as Knox was when in 1559 Young saw him at St. Andrews, and certainly not such a man as he was in 1569, a year before he had a stroke of apoplexy. Young, accordingly, would naturally, from his first and only recollection of Knox, be inclined to make him younger than he really was at the time of his death, and he could have had no special knowledge of the date of the Reformer's birth. Spottiswoode was in a different position. His father, who was Knox's colleague and friend, lived for a number of years after the Reformer's death, so that the future historian, though only seven when Knox died,

would be in a position to get the most reliable information on the point at issue.

7. Knox's repeated references (two of which we have quoted) to himself as an old man, during the closing years of his life, tell their own story; and such eminent authorities as the late Professor Mitchell and Dr. Hume Brown saw no reason, even with Sir Peter Young's letter before them, to give up the 1505 date.

8. The minor points mentioned by Dr. Cowan and Mr. Andrew Lang need not concern us much.

(a) Beza's testimony is regarded as weighty on the ground that he "knew Knox for several years in Switzerland." There is no evidence for this assertion. There is no record of him ever having seen Knox. He did not go to Geneva until Knox had left it. Besides, if he knew Knox, what was the necessity for Sir Peter Young sending him his pen-portrait of the Reformer?

(b) Much is made of the tradition that Knox studied under Major in St. Andrews. There is nothing to prove this; but, admitting it, what then? Does that prove that he did not study at Glasgow University? It does not. Knox was at Glasgow in 1522, and Major left Glasgow for St. Andrews in 1523. It is possible that Knox may have followed him. But it is argued that Knox was under Major at St. Andrews between 1529 and 1535, and the only fact given in support of this view is that six or seven full pages of his *History* are devoted to events that took place in St. Andrews during these years, about a page for each year. Surely an eye-witness, as Dr. Cowan alleges him to have been, of the events chronicled would have given more; a

careful searcher for facts and documents, such as Knox was, could not have given less.

(c) Nor is there anything extraordinary, as Mr. Andrew Lang alleges, in Knox, a man of thirty-nine or forty, showing deference to George Wishart. Wishart's enthusiasm and representative position are a sufficient explanation. Knox's respect for Calvin's theological eminence can be accounted for in the same manner. Greatness does not go by age.

(d) To accept the later date would reduce by eight or ten years the blank in the first period of his life. It certainly would, but Knox does not by any means stand alone in this respect. There is a blank of twenty years in David Buchanan's own life; and as for Calderwood, the Church historian, the year of his birth, the place of his education, and the character of the family from which he was descended are all unknown. The earliest ascertained fact of his life is his settlement in 1604 as minister at Crailing in Roxburghshire.

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